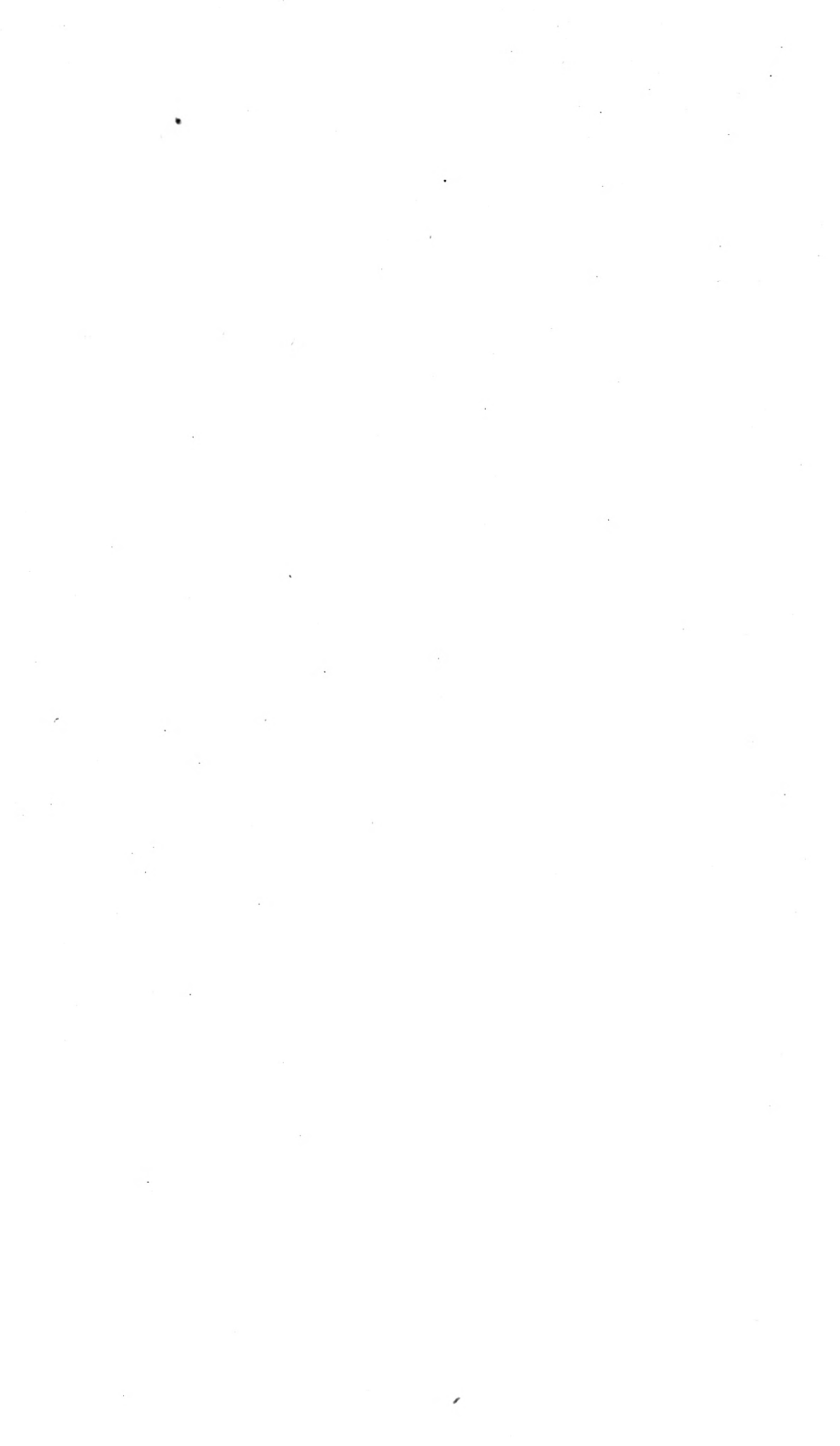




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THE ENGLISH

11

HISTORICAL REVIEW

EDITED BY

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FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE AND LECTURER IN DIPLOMATIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the Seventeenth Century*

### PART II.—DUTCH TRADE IN THE BASIN OF THE RIO NEGRO.

COMMERCIAL intercourse between the Dutch settlers on the Essequibo and the native tribes of the far interior began very early in the seventeenth century. Evidence exists in the well-known narrative of Padre Christoval de Acuña<sup>1</sup> which proves that already in 1639 Dutch wares, brought by traders from the north, were found in the possession of Indians living in the delta which divides the Amazon from the Negro. The passage runs thus :—

Thirty-two leagues from the mouth of the river Cuchigara there is another on the north side, called by the natives Basururu,<sup>2</sup> which divides

<sup>1</sup> *Nuevo Descubrimiento del Gran Rio de las Amazonas*. Madrid, 1641. The Jesuit father Christoval de Acuña, by order of King Philip IV, accompanied the expedition of Pedro Teixeira on its return voyage from Quito to Pará as official historiographer. The translation is partly taken from Sir Clements Markham's *Valley of the Amazons*, pp. 108, 110, 111 (Hakluyt Society), but carefully compared with the Spanish original.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this river, like those of many others, has changed since the time of Acuña, the reason of this being that the original natives were entirely driven away or destroyed by the Portuguese slave-raiders. The Spanish missionary Samuel Fritz, ascending the river in 1691, recounts in his journal (MS. Bibl. Nac. de Evora) that he found the shore between the mouths of the Negro and Cuchiguara entirely deserted. The name, however, survived till 1755, when it occurs for the last time in a report of Governor Mendouça Furtado. It now bears the name Macracapuru. The description of this river by Lieut. Kerndon, U.S. Navy, in 1854 proves the identity: '4 Jan., at 7 P.M., we stopped at the village of Pescará, at the mouth of the Lake Macracapuru, forty-five miles from the mouth of the Purus (i.e. the eastern mouth). It is situated

the land into great lakes, where there are many islands, which are peopled by numerous tribes. The land is high. . . . In general they call all the natives who inhabit this broad region Carabuyanas, but more precisely the tribes into which they are divided are as follows: the Caraguanas, &c. . . . These Indians use bows and arrows, and some of them have iron tools, such as axes, knives, and mattocks. On asking them carefully, through their language, whence these things came, they answered they bought them of those Indians who in this direction are nearer the sea, and that these received them from some white men, like ourselves, who use the same arms, swords, and arquebuses and who dwell upon the sea coast. They added that these white men could only be distinguished from ourselves by their hair, which is all yellow. These are sufficient signs that they are the Hollanders, who have possession of the mouth of the Rio Dulce,<sup>3</sup> or Felipe. These Hollanders, in 1638, landed their forces in Guiana, in the jurisdiction of the new kingdom of Granada, and not only got possession of the settlement, but the affair was so sudden that our people were unable to take away the most holy sacrament, which remained captive in the hands of its enemies. As they knew how much this capture was valued among catholics, they hoped for a large ransom for it. When we left these parts the Spaniards were preparing some good companies of soldiers, who, with Christian zeal, were ready to give their lives to rescue their Lord, with whose favour they will doubtless attain their worthy desires.

In this passage it will be noticed that Acuña, though himself, as his whole narrative shows, entirely ignorant of the geography of the country lying to the north of the river Amazon, evidently reports with great accuracy the information gathered from the natives. The iron wares which they possessed are brought to them by other Indians in that—*i.e.* northern—direction, nearer the sea. These Indians, as will be shown later, were Caribs from the district of north-west Guiana, lying between the lower river Essequibo and the Orinoco. These Caribs were for the greater part of two centuries not only the close allies but the commercial emissaries of the Dutch in their dealings with the tribes of the interior. The name by which the Dutch were known to the Caribs, and by their agency to all the Indians of Guiana, was *Parana-Ghiri*,<sup>4</sup> meaning ‘men from the sea.’ When Acuña writes that the iron goods came from ‘white men who dwelt upon the sea coast,’

on an eminence 100 feet high. The entrance to the lake is bold and wide, quite 300 yards across. A man of Pescara told me it takes two days’ journey to the opening of the lake; that the lake was very long and about three miles wide; that it was full of islands, and that no one knew its upper extremity.’

<sup>3</sup> Rio Dolce was the early name given to the river Essequibo. So it appears in the maps of Ortelius, 1587; of Mercator, 1595; Hondius, 1602, and others. Acuña had heard that the Dutch had had settlements on the Rio Felipe, at the mouth of the Amazon, and he evidently thought Felipe an alternative for Dolce. He speaks a little further on of ‘Dulce o el Felipe.’

<sup>4</sup> See Schomburgk’s edition of Raleigh’s *Guiana*, notes, pp. 9 and 77. To this day it is the name by which the Dutch and their successors, the English, are known to the tribes of the Parimé-Rupununi savannahs.

he was reproducing the literal translation made by his interpreter of a word which, in the mouth of the speakers, signified Dutchmen. The reference to the raid upon Santo Thomé, of which an account was given in the *English Historical Review* for 1901,<sup>5</sup> is a touch which leaves no possibility of doubt that the narrator identified 'these fair-haired white men' with the colonists of Essequibo.

This is further borne out, and moreover the route of communication indicated, by a passage in the Jesuit father's next section. After speaking of the tribes who inhabit the Rio Negro, he adds—

And the first inhabitants of a branch that this river throws off, by which, according to my informants, it finds exit into the Rio Grande, in whose mouth the Hollanders are living, are the Guaranaquazanas.

He then proceeds to recommend that the spot at which this branch discharges itself into the Rio Negro should be fortified,

so that the passage to the enemy to all this new world shall remain entirely closed, that without doubt cupidity will essay one day. I do not hesitate to affirm that the Rio Grande, into which this branch of the Negro discharges itself, is the Dulce or the Felipe.

Amidst much that is vague and obscure in this paragraph, in which Acuña confesses to his inability to distinguish between the various rivers upon whose mouths he had heard of Dutch settlements,<sup>6</sup> the fact distinctly emerges that the branch of the Rio Negro to which he is referring is that known later by the name of the Rio Branco, and that the communication of which he speaks is that between the head waters of this river and those of the Rupununi, a tributary of the Essequibo. The position of this 'branch' is indeed identified by the fact that the Guaranaquazanas were still living at the mouth of the Branco in 1775,<sup>7</sup> and amidst all his con-

<sup>5</sup> 'The Dutch in Western Guiana,' *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-3. The following from a report of the commander of the relief expedition mentioned by Acuña is given to make the reference absolutely clear: 'Escribiola el sargento maior Diego Ruiz Maldonado, en el biaxe que llevo el socorro a la Guiana por horden de Don Martin de Saabedra y Guzman, presidente, governador y capitán-general del Nuevo Reino de Granada. . . . El año de 1638 asalto el enemigo Olandes la Ciudad de Sante Thomé de Guaiana, quemola y sus templos, llevo la custodia del santissimo sacramento, teniendole como prisionero en su fuerza de Esquibo con guardia. A el socorro y restauracion de lo perdido embio Don Martin de Saaavedra y Guzman, un tercio de mas de duzientes ynfantes,' &c., 1638-9. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. MS. H. 180.

<sup>6</sup> In the Spanish manuscripts which refer to the attack on Sante Thomé in 1637 the Dutch are described as being settled not only on the Essequibo but on the Amacuru within the mouth of the Orinoco. It was from Amacuru that the attacking force actually set out. Acuña confused these two settlements with one another, and with those other settlements at the mouth of the Amazon destroyed by Teixeira in 1628-9. The Rio Dolce (Essequibo), Rio Felipe (northern mouth of Amazon), and Rio Grande (Orinoco) were to him one and the same river, *i.e.* the river colonised by the Dutch.

<sup>7</sup> F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, auditor intendente-general of the captaincy of Rio Negro, in his *Diario da Viagem*, 1775, section cccxli., speaking of the village of Carvoeiro, on the south bank of the Negro, says, 'This village consists of the Manoa, Paraviana, and Uaranáocena tribes . . . opposite this village the river Uarancoa

fusion of nomenclature the father lets it be clearly understood that he believes the northern river to be the Dulce, or Essequibo.

The evidence of Acuña may therefore be conveniently summarised in the two following statements :--

(1) That the Dutch of Essequibo carried on a trade in iron goods and other wares with the natives of the interior which extended as far as the banks of the Rio Negro.

(2) That this trade followed the Rupununi-Branco route and was conducted by the agency of Indians who dwelt near the coast.

We will now take each of these statements and see whether they can be substantiated by evidence from other sources :—

(1) In Major John Scott's 'Description of Guiana'<sup>8</sup> the writer states that he derived much of his information from two men 'who happened to be prisoners to the author in his voyage to Guiana, 1665,' when he commanded an English invading force, and whom he describes as 'the two greatest travellers that ever were in Guiana of Christians.' The one was Matthias Matteson, of whom mention has already been made.<sup>9</sup> 'The other,' to quote Scott's words, 'was one Hendrickson, a Switz by nation, that had served some Dutch merchants in those parts twenty-seven years in quality of a factor with the upland Indians of Guiana.' Of the upland Indians he says—

The Occowyes, Shawhauns, and Semicorals are great, powerful nations that live in the uplands of Guiana, either under the line or in south latitude, and there hath none soe conversed with them as to make a judgment of their numbers, but its most certaine they are settled in a most fertile country, and cover a vast tract of land, beginning at ye Mountains of the Sun on the west and north, and extending themselves to Rio Negro, 500 miles south and east; a famous river there empties itself into the Great Amazonas. They had constant warr with some nations on the islands in the Amazonas, and are often gauld by the willey Careebs, who often when they are engaged abroad visett their townes to their noe small prejudice.

It will be observed that, according to Scott, the activities of this Hendrickson, as factor to the upland Indians, began in 1637 or 1638, at a date earlier, therefore, than Acuña's visit to the Basururú. The Dutch merchants that he served must have been Jan de Moor and Company, for these were the only private firm of merchants privileged to trade in the colony of Essequibo.<sup>10</sup> The names of the tribes with whom he had relations, under the disguise of the Englishman's spelling, convey but little information. Under the form 'Occowyes,' indeed, it is not difficult to recognise discharges itself. It was formerly occupied by the Uaranáocena tribe.' The river Uaranacoa is one of the mouths of the Branco; the Uaranáocena are the Guarana-quazanás of Acuña.

<sup>8</sup> Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 3662, fol. 37 verso; see *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 641.

<sup>9</sup> *Ante*, vol. xvi. p. 641, xviii. pp. 653 seq.

<sup>10</sup> *Ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 669-74.

the Ackawois or Accuways, the widely extended group of tribes who are spread over the middle or forest region of Guiana. With regard to the 'Shawhauns,' Scott says in his 'Description of the River Amazonas,'<sup>11</sup> 'It is most certain that there is both gold, silver, and emerald in many of the countries on or adjacent to the Amazonas, as at Swanis, near the source of the Black River.' The 'Shahauns' and the 'Swanis' are but different ways of transcribing 'Suanes,' a tribe living between the Amazon and the Negro, whose name may be found in Delisle's map<sup>12</sup> of 1700 between two sites marked *village d'or* and *mines d'or*. The 'Semicorals' are more difficult to identify, but it appears not to be unlikely that the word may be a corruption of Kenicarus or Cenicarus,<sup>13</sup> the name by which the appavelled Indians of the Parimé, spoken of by many early writers, were known. If this is the case these tribal names would seem to have been chosen as representative of three different zones of Hendrickson's trading: the first, that of the 'Occowyes,' between the Upper Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Rupununi; the second, that of the 'Semicorals,' in the Branco basin; the third, that of the 'Shawhauns,' in the delta of the Negro.

While Scott's account of Hendrickson carries back the beginning of his service as factor for Jan de Moor & Co. to 1638, there is reason to believe that this was not the first time that the Switzer had acted as factor in Essequibo. In 1627, as we have mentioned,<sup>14</sup> Admiral Lucifer, when taking out colonists to the river Wiapoco, found three survivors of Captain Oudaen's settlement at Corupá; one of these, a Dutchman, had almost forgotten his mother tongue, and another, the spokesman of the fugitives, apparently not a Dutchman, was Jan Hendrickson. It may be assumed that Lucifer carried this man back with him to report to the West India Company's directors the destruction of their Amazon colony. They reached Flushing on 25 Oct. In the minutes of the Zeeland chamber<sup>15</sup> for 10 April 1628 may be found a resolution that the ship 'Armuyden' be commissioned to

<sup>11</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A, 175.

<sup>12</sup> Venezuelan Atlas, no. 36. Acuña, describing the low-lying land between the mouth of the Japura and the Negro, its lakes, and connecting streams, says, 'Islands are formed which are peopled by many tribes, but that which is largest and most populous is the Island of Zuanas.' In Delisle's map of 1703 the name is written Zuanas.

<sup>13</sup> These Indians, who wore clothes and hats, are mentioned by Raleigh, Keymis, Acuña, and others. Schomburgk, in his edition of Raleigh's *Guiana*, quotes in his note Hartzinck's *Beschryving van Guiana* as saying, 'The borders of Lake Parimé are inhabited by numerous natives; some are clothed,' and himself observes, 'We have little doubt that the clothed Indians alluded to by Hartzinck were Kenicarus or half-civilised Indians, who came from the river Branco.' See also Spix and Martius, *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. 1303 (1831).

<sup>14</sup> *Ante*, vol. xviii. pp. 659, 660; De Laet, *Jaerlijck Verhael*, pp. 112, 117.

<sup>15</sup> Rijk's Archief, The Hague, W.I.C., O. C. 'Resolutie Boeck. Kamer Zeeland.' *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 64.

carry out thirty-five men to various places on the wild coast of Guiana, the final destination being Essequibo. On 17 April the minutes record, 'Jan Hendrickson Benckelaer engaged to lie on the wild coast as assistant for three years;' and under date 26 April 1632, 'Benckelaer coming from Essequibo shall be paid his wages.' Everything points to the identity of this Jan Hendrickson with the man rescued on the Wiapoco, the surname of 'Benckelaer,' as was not uncommon in the early seventeenth century, being given to him on account of his birthplace and to distinguish him from others with the same patronymic. Benckelaer apparently means a 'man of Bencken,' and the only places bearing that name are in Switzerland.<sup>16</sup> The man's previous experience on the Amazon would naturally lead to his employment in pushing on trade with the inland tribes living in the direction of that river, such as we find him, according to Scott, actually engaged upon. Moreover the incentive which induced him to seek for the post of factor on the Essequibo may have come from accounts given to him of precious stones to be found in the upper reaches of that river. For Hendrickson had a predecessor in the exploitation of the far interior of Guiana.

The story is interesting and shall be told at length as illustrative of the Dutch methods of trading with the Wild Coast, and of the importance of the Essequibo colony as early as 1625. We have seen<sup>17</sup> how the French *pères de famille*, under Jesse des Forestes, after their unfortunate experience as colonists at Wiapoco, had, in the early summer of 1625, been taken on board the 'Vliegende Draeck' by Geleyn van Stabels, of Flushing, by order of the West India Company's directors. Stabels had been with Admiral Lucifer in the 'Arent,' convoying Captain Oudaen and his settlers to Corupá, and now he and his chief, as was the custom of the time, were coasting slowly along to their ultimate destination, Essequibo, calling as they went at the various river mouths. On 13 August the two ships were together at Seriname, and sailed thence on the 14th, the 'Arent' apparently direct for Essequibo, the 'Draeck,' however, stopping *en route* at Berbice and Demerary. The Demerary was reached on the 15th, and on the following day Stabels left in his long boat for the Essequibo to see the admiral and learn his wishes. Six days later the long boat returned with instructions for the 'Draeck' to go to the Essequibo and fetch the remainder of the merchandise which the Admiral had left. Lucifer himself seems to have stayed at Fort Kijkoveral, which, according to Scott, was founded in 1616, while the 'Arent' had left possibly on a cruise to the mouth of the Orinoco. Again, after

<sup>16</sup> There are two places named Bencken, one to the west of the Lake of Zürich. General Byam in 1665 speaks of 'one younker Hendryck, a Switts' (*infra* p. 17).

<sup>17</sup> *Ante*, vol. xviii. pp. 656-8.



another interval of six days, the 'Draeck' returned to Demarary with the admiral on board, and then discharged him and the cargo on board the 'Arent,' which was proceeding straight home.<sup>18</sup>

It will be seen that Jesse des Forestes himself spent six days at Kijkoveral. While there, he tells us, he met a fellow countryman, with whom he naturally conversed. The passage of the journal which relates what passed between them is worth quoting.

I saw there a Frenchman that had spent three years there, who showed me a piece of rock crystal as big as two fists, through which one could see a man's features, so clear it was. He told me that he had taken it above the second fall of the river, where there was a mine of crystal, and that it was found at the foot of a mountain, where it consisted of very large stones that the force of the waters had torn away, and with which one could fill infinite canoes. He gave a piece of the stone that he had to Geleyn van Stabels, of Flushing.<sup>19</sup>

The possessor of the crystals was plainly a *ligger*, or trading factor, in the Dutch service, who had completed the usual three years' term of his engagement.<sup>20</sup> He was doubtless a French refugee,<sup>21</sup> like Jesse des Forestes, himself and his companions, the *pères de famille*, and a servant of Jan de Moor & Co. It is important to observe that he claims to have himself explored the

<sup>18</sup> Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 179, B; *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 61: 'Le douzième d'Aoust, nous partismes de Soraname pour aller à Ezikebe. Le troisième nous arrivâmes à Seraname ou nous trouvâmes l'Aigle Noir Vice-Admiral de Lucifer qui avoit pris quelques bois de lettre que ses gens avoient coupés. Le quatorzième nous arrivâmes au droit de Berbise où nous envoyâmes la chaloupe pour traicter. Le quinzième nous arrivâmes à Demelari. Le seizième notre chaloupe fut à Ezikebe pour porter notre maître au bord de l'Amiral de sçavoir sa volonté . . . le vingt-deuxième notre chaloupe estant de retour, nostre navire fut à Ezikebe querer le reste des marchandises que l'Amiral y avoit laissé. Le vingt-huitième nous retournâmes d'Ezikebe enclust [*sic*] à Demelari le 1, 2, et 3, nous débarquâmes l'Amiral et Drogen verd dans l'Aigle Noir qui devait retourner au pays.' That the vessels actually went to Kijkoveral is shown by the map accompanying this narrative, where their course among the islands and up the estuary is accurately marked, and their anchorage opposite the island of Kijkoveral. That they were then able, without apparent difficulty, to make their way so far up this stream is evidence that its navigation was familiarly known. *Comp. ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 667-8.

<sup>19</sup> Sloane MS. 179 B. *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 62. Geleyn van Stabels is thus a link of connexion between the Frenchman and Jan Hendrickson.

<sup>20</sup> *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 63-5. Extracts from the proceedings of the Zeeland chamber. '17 Dec. 1626, Johannes Beverlander is taken into the company's service for three years to lie (*liggen*) in the River of Isekepe. 23 Aug. 1627, it was resolved to raise the wages of Jan van der Goes in Essequibo after his first three years (for which he is bound to the company). 13 April 1628, Jan van Woerden, of Flushing, is engaged for 20 guilders a month to lie in the Amazon for the space of three years. 17 April 1628, Jan Hendrickson Benckelaer is engaged to lie on the Wild Coast as assistant for the space of three years. Also Burger Graeff was engaged to lie on the Wild Coast for the space of three years.'

<sup>21</sup> If this Frenchman returned home, as is not improbable, in the ship of Geleyn van Stabels, he may be identical with Claude Prevost, with whom in 1626 De Moor made arrangements for taking out some colonists to Cayenne; but this is merely conjecture. *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 63.

interior of the country and to have seen the crystal mine with his own eyes. This crystal mine, as later evidence from Dutch sources with high probability indicates,<sup>22</sup> lies far to the south (in 3° 20' N. lat.), on the Calikko or Canuku Mountains, close to the river Takutú, and the personal exploitation of it by this Dutch factor shows that already before 1625 commercial and friendly relations had been established between the agents of the authorities at Kijkoveral and the tribes living in the Parimé (Branco) basin.

It is in vain that we look through the meagre official records that have survived<sup>23</sup> for reference to this far inland traffic of the colonists. They deal in the briefest manner only with the most necessary details of administration. The almost unintentional allusions to this traffic, however, in the two curiously interesting Sloane manuscripts<sup>24</sup> not only furnish proof that it existed during a period of at least forty years before 1665, but also, when read in the light thrown upon them by the statement of Acuña, afford reasonable evidence for supposing that its existence was continuous.

(2) We now turn to the second branch of our inquiry, which again divides itself into two heads. First, what was the route these Dutch traders followed; and secondly, who were the Indians, spoken of by Acuña, who acted as their agents? A passage, to be quoted directly, from Captain Keymis's<sup>25</sup> narrative of his voyage to Guiana in 1596 will be found to suggest the answers to both queries.

It does not fall within my purpose to enter at length into any account of the mythical Lake Paytiti, of the golden city of Manoa, and of El Dorado, the Gilded King. It is sufficient to say that during the whole of the sixteenth century the legend of this treasure-house of the southern continent exercised a marvellous fascination over men's minds, and that adventurer after adventurer perished in the vain search for the mystic lake, which rumour placed now in one now in another of many widely separated localities within the vast area of the Amazon basin.<sup>26</sup> The famous voyage of Sir Walter

<sup>22</sup> *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., iv. 39. See the despatch of the W.I.C. directors to director-general, Essequibo, 9 Oct. 1769. 'So we come to your letter of 3 June last, containing an ample account of the various discoveries made by the postholder of Arinda, Gerrit Janssen, in his journey to the Crystal Mine, otherwise called the Calikko Mountain.'

<sup>23</sup> No extant Dutch records refer to the beginnings of the settlement, and all the records for the period 1645-1657 are lost.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscripts of Scott and Des Forestes, Sloane 3662 and 179 B.

<sup>25</sup> Cayley's *Life of Raleigh*, i. 159, 236, 283; Schomburgk's edition of Raleigh's *Discovery of the Empire of Guiana*, Intr., pp. 51-2; Humboldt and Bonplan's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, 1799-1804*, Eng. tr., v. 794. Schomburgk remarks that from the date of the publication of this passage 'the isthmus which is formed by the rivers Rupununi and Parima became the classical soil of El Dorado de Parima.'

<sup>26</sup> See Markham's introduction to *The Search for El Dorado, 1560-1* (Hakluyt Society).

Raleigh to Guiana in 1595 was avowedly made in search for El Dorado, in the belief that the object of his quest was to be found in the Guiana hinterland. His converse with many natives in the course of his voyage confirmed him in this belief, which, through the publication of what may be styled his epoch-making *Discovery of the Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa*, became rapidly, through many translations, diffused throughout Europe.<sup>27</sup> But Raleigh, although he indicated that Manoa 'is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200 leagues long, like unto Mare Caspiã,' did not give any actual data for fixing the exact position of his imaginary inland sea. This was reserved for his lieutenant, Captain Keymis, under whose command a second expedition was despatched to the coast of Guiana in 1596. Keymis, on his return, likewise published an account of his voyage, which contained the passage above referred to.

The Indians, to show the worthiness of Dessekebe (Essequibo), for it is very large and full of islands in the mouth, do call it the brother of Orinoque (Orinoco); it lieth southerly in the land, and from the mouth of it unto the head they pass in twenty days; then taking their provisions, they carry it on their shoulders one day's journey; afterwards they return to their canoes, and bear them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Jaos call Roponowini, the Charibes Parime, which is of such bigness that they know no difference between it and the main sea. There be infinite numbers of canoes in this lake, and I suppose it is no other than that whereon Manoa standeth.

It is difficult to exaggerate the deep influence which the publication of this passage had upon the minds of geographers. Immediately the Dutchman Jodocus Hondius combined the descriptions of Raleigh and Keymis for the construction of his map entitled 'Nieuwe Caerte van het Goudrycke Landt Guiana, 1599.' In this map appears for the first time that great lake 200 leagues long and 40 broad, bearing the name Parimé, or Foponowini,<sup>28</sup> and he fixed its position as covering what is now known to be the Rupununi-Parimé (Branco) Savannah. For 150 years from this date every map of Guiana contains this lake, and it was not until the result of the scientific explorations of Alexander von Humboldt were made known at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the belief in the existence of such a lake was at last dissipated. His

<sup>27</sup> An abridged Latin translation was published in Nuremberg, 1599, by Levinus Hulsius with five curious prints. The second of them represents 'Manoa o el Dorado' with part of the Essequibo River and the Indians carrying their boats and cargoes overland to the lake, as described by Keymis.

<sup>28</sup> On the lake is written a translation of Keymis's words, 'Dit Lac wordt van de Natie Canibales genaempt Parime, ende van de Jaos Fopono Wini;' so too the maps of same date of Hulsius and De Bry. See also later maps De Laet, 1624; Blaeuw, 1635, 1640-2; Sanson, 1656; and others. Most of these have simply Parime Lacus; Sanson, Parime, or Roponowini. D'Anville in his great map of 1748 left it out for the first time on the authority of the Dutch explorer Nicolas Horstman.

conclusions were finally verified by the great traveller Sir Robert Schomburgk, who spent some eight years (1835–1844) in a personal investigation of the whole of Central Guiana. In a footnote to his edition of Raleigh <sup>29</sup> Schomburgk gives the following explanation of Keymis's statement:—

From the southern foot of the Pacaraima Range extended the great savannahs of the Rupununi, Takutu, and Rio Branco or Parima, which occupy about 14,400 square miles, their average height above the sea being from 350 to 400 feet. These savannahs are inundated during the rainy season, and afford at that period, with the exception of a short portage, a communication between the Rupununi and the Pirara, a tributary of the Mahu or Ireng, which falls into the Takutu, and the latter into the Rio Branco or Parima.

The information which Keymis acquired in 1596 is thus shown to be on the whole marvellously accurate.<sup>30</sup> Even the period of twenty days is incidentally mentioned by a recent traveller <sup>31</sup> as that which it would normally take to proceed by canoe from the estuary of the Essequibo by way of the Rupununi to the Pirara portage.

Nowhere, not even in England itself, did the narratives of Raleigh and his lieutenant excite so much interest and such general attention as in the United Provinces. The idea of reaching the far-famed El Dorado by the route indicated by Keymis must henceforth have hovered before the eyes of the enterprising merchants, who were so eagerly on the look-out in the first decades of the seventeenth century for fresh avenues for profitable trade on the wild coast. It was not long in taking practical shape. The foundation of a settlement on the Essequibo in 1616, on an island 30 leagues inland, and at the point of junction of three rivers communicating with the far interior, and under the conduct of a man <sup>32</sup> who in the Spanish service on the Orinoco had,

<sup>29</sup> P. 76. A living traveller, Mr. Im Thurn, in his interesting book *Among the Indians of Guiana*, thus writes: 'Below at my feet lay a vast and level plain. . . . In the far distance the plain was bounded by the ridges of the Pacaraima Mountains, which were at that moment much hidden by dense white clouds. . . . Presently the sun began to shine with power, and lighted up each jutting fantastic point of this low-lying mist until the whole seemed a city of temples and towers, crowned with gilded spires and minarets. The level plain at my feet was the so-called lake Amococo or Parima, and the glittering cloud-city was on the supposed site of the fabled golden city of El Dorado or Manoa' (p. 36).

<sup>30</sup> *Exploracion oficial por la primera vez desde el Norte de la América del Sur*, por F. Michelena y Rojas, 1867. This author writes, 'It is in these parts that the valley of the Amazons communicates with that of Essequibo by means of the Avaricuru, a tributary of the Rupununi, which is united by a portage of a few hours' journey with Lake Anucu. . . . A short portage of 800 yards separates the basin of the Amazons from that of the Essequibo' (p. 419).

<sup>31</sup> Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> Scott's 'Description of Guiana,' Sloane MS. 3662. For a full discussion of the authenticity of Scott's account of the foundation of the Essequibo colony and other matters relating to its early history see *ante*, vol. xvi. p. 640 *et seq.* One of the chief

according to Major John Scott, already acquired 'the good liking of the natives whose humours he perfectly understood,' is suggestive not of a plantation but of a trading post established for the opening up of traffic with the tribes of the hinterland. The firm of Zeeland merchants who sent out Groenewegen in 1616 were almost certainly the same as those in whose employment Hendrickson acted as 'factor with the upland Indians' from 1638 to 1665 (that is, Jan de Moor & Co.), and everything indicates that, from the first, commerce with the interior was a leading motive which prompted the enterprise.

Acuña in the paragraph already quoted states that the Indians on the Basururú had received iron goods from white men by the agency of other Indians, who lived nearer the sea. Who these Indians were is suggested by the extract we have given from Captain Keymis. After describing the Pirara portage he says that the Indians bear their canoes to the side of a lake called by the Jaos Roponowini, and by the Charibes Parimé. The Parimé was really the name not of a lake at all, but of a river, that is, of that great arm of the Rio Negro, now known as the Rio Branco, into which travellers from the Essequibo and Rupununi after crossing the Pirara portage descend by a series of navigable tributaries. The Caribs, it is clear, were not only familiar with the portage, but with the communication with the Rio Negro that lay beyond.

This is entirely in accordance with all we know about the Caribs from other sources. The Caribs, in the opinion of those who speak with most authority on the subject,<sup>33</sup> were, at the time of which we are treating, comparatively speaking, recent immigrants into Guiana. They were the most warlike and powerful of all the tribes, and yet, unlike the others, they occupied no distinct tract of the country which was specially their own. They are supposed to have originally inhabited the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and to have been driven thence to the mainland in the early days of European settlement in the West Indies. But, despite their warlike qualities, they made no attempt to subjugate the land which they had made their new home. Whether deterred by the near presence and menace of the white man or from other causes, when first known to history they are found scattered far and wide in small settlements among the other tribes, though far more thickly than elsewhere in the district between the Pomeroon and

points established in that article is that the colony was undoubtedly founded by private enterprise, and that private enterprise had a large part in its development even in the period after 1624, when it passed under the administration of the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch West India Company. The firm of Jan de Moor & Co., whose beginnings are recorded in the Alás MS., had, as the records show, a privileged position to trade in the colony.

<sup>33</sup> Im Thurn, pp. 173-5, &c.; Brett, *The Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 315, 338, &c.

the Orinoco, the place, no doubt, where the first immigrants landed; but, though separated, these scattered communities were in constant communication with each other, the habit of the Caribs being to rove about in strong bands up and down the country, creating trade routes for themselves, and bartering goods and slaves either by good-will or by force. They, in fact, occupied a position apart among the other Indian natives, a position at once dominant and ubiquitous.

The following extracts<sup>31</sup> from Charles de Rochefort's *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles*, published in 1658, have an important bearing upon our subject, for they show that even in the middle of the seventeenth century this wide diffusion of the Caribs had excited attention, and also indicate the source from which the writer drew his information :—

It is a thing out of all controversie there are certain savages who bear the name of Carribians in some quarters of the southerly part of America, where the Spaniards never had any commerce. For not only those of the same nation with our Islanders, who inhabit along those coasts of the Meridional America, and are neer neighbours to the Dutch Colonies of Cayenna and Burbica [Berbice], but also who live far within that Meridional Continent, beyond the sources of the most remarkable rivers, call themselves Caribbeans. . . . And to give a more particular account of these Colonies of the Caribbeans, which are in the Meridional Continent of America . . . The Dutch relations acquaint us, that, advancing yet further towards the Æquator, there lies, at 7 degrees from that line, the great and famous River of Essequeba, neer which are planted first the Arougues [Arrawaks] and next the Caribbians, who are continually in war with them, and have their habitation above the falls of that River, which descend with great violence from the mountains; and thence these Caribbians reach to the source of the same River, and are very numerous and possessed of a vast territory.

Thus this French author testifies, in 1658, that the Caribs were to be found dwelling along the river of Essequibo above the falls, and for an indefinite distance beyond, and he cites the relations of Dutch travellers as his authorities.

This leads us to examine next what is known as to the relations of the Dutch with the Caribs at this time. The records that have come down to us show them to have been of the closest kind, and unique in the history of the dealings of white colonists in America with the native races. The friendship between the two peoples, which continued unbroken for wellnigh two centuries, appears, from certain despatches of the Spanish lieutenant-general in Trinidad, to have been already thoroughly cemented in 1614. In one of

<sup>31</sup> Our extracts are taken from an English translation by John Davies of Kidwell, 1666, pp. 205 and 226. It has been compared with the original and is a faithful rendering.

them<sup>25</sup> an account is given of the dislodgment by Captain Melchior Cortes of some Dutch settlers from a fort they had built on the river Corentine. Cortes states that the Dutch 'defended themselves courageously, with the assistance of the Carib folk, who likewise fought with equal courage.' In the fort, when captured, 'there was found burnt a very large quantity of booty—axes, knives, cutlasses, and other things with which they kept the Carib race at their disposal, whose daughters they used to marry.' In another, headed 'Razon del Estado de las cousas de la Isla de la Trinidad,'<sup>26</sup> the following passage occurs—

It is proved by the information of six witnesses that this island is generally surrounded by the Flemish and Caribs both by sea and land . . . the Caribs even coming as far as the city to rob and ill-treat them, which comes of their strong alliance with the Flemish, always moving together.

Twenty-three years after this the documents which recount the attack made upon Santo Thomé de Guayana in 1637 (of which mention is made by Acuña) furnish abundant material for our purpose. For example, the *cabildo* (corporation) of Guayana, in a report dated February 1638,<sup>27</sup> write—

This town is in a situation of great distress, with the enemy so near and powerful. The enemy hold seven towns on this coast, and all the Caribs are joined with them, and form a league and confederation with the object of destroying us, in order to occupy this river.

They then proceed to tell the story of the burning of Santo Thomé and the capture of the blessed sacrament, adding, 'The captain who has done this is called Captain Llanes, who speaks the Carib and Aruaca languages well.' Two years later, in a sworn deposition,<sup>28</sup> an officer of the relieving force sent from New Granada, after speaking of the Dutch settlements and fortifications, continues—

Captain Llanes commanded in Essequivo, and besides their own forces they are further protected by 10,000 to 12,000 Caribs, in the vicinity of whom they frequent and who are their allies.

Reasons have already been given by me for holding that this 'Captain Llanes' could be no other than Aert Adriaensz Groenewegen,<sup>29</sup> who first as head of the 'De Moor' settlers, then as

<sup>25</sup> *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* p. 57.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 102, 103; see also pp. 110, 111, 115, 120, 121, 124, 128.

<sup>28</sup> Deposition of Captain Don Francisco de Salazar. Arch. Gen. de Indias, Simancas, secular audiencia de Santa Fé. Salazar in his deposition makes the interesting statement that the object of the attack of Captain Llanes was to set free a Dutchman named 'Monsieur,' who had been taken prisoner at Tobago and was their governor. This was Cornelis, son of Jan de Moor. See *ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-2.

<sup>29</sup> *Ante*, vol. xvi. pp. 671-2. 'Llanes' is the mispronunciation by the Spanish Indians of 'Adriaenz,' the patronymic by which Groenewegen was generally known.

commandeur for the Zeeland chamber, was for forty-eight years serving in Essequibo. According to Major John Scott he not only had very great influence and authority with the native tribes, but was one of the Dutch who married Carib wives.

This alliance, however, of the Dutch with the Caribs was one not for offensive and defensive purposes only, but for trade, and especially the trade in red slaves. Scott's remark that the Shawhauns and Semicorals, the Indian tribes of the Negro basin, with whom the factor Hendrickson trafficked, 'are often gauld by the wiley [wily?] Careebs, who often when they are ingaged abroad visett their townes, to their noe small prejudice,' may be compared with the statement in a report of Major Diego Ruiz Maldonado in 1639: <sup>40</sup> 'The Caribs sell these Lutherans the Indian women they steal from the villages, and thereby they are in their service, and they also barter pirogues to enter the rivers.' Moreover in a letter of the governor of Guayana to the king in 1637 we read, <sup>41</sup> 'The trade and traffic [of the Dutch in Essequibo] are very great, and the Indians frequent them very willingly for the sake of the considerable articles of barter they give them; and that trade and still more is increasing daily . . . and they are making every effort to extend further.' If this statement is compared with the information given to Acuña in 1639 by the Indians of the mouth of the Negro that 'they bought [their iron tools] of those Indians who in this direction are nearer the sea, and that these received them from some white men, like ourselves . . . who dwell upon the sea coast,' and who 'could only be distinguished from ourselves by their hair, which is all yellow,' it will be seen that all the lines of evidence converge to show that the Dutch of Essequibo did carry on, through their factors, a regular barter trade with the tribes of the Negro basin, and by the agency of Caribs. <sup>42</sup>

The method by which this trade was actually carried on is well described by Padre Joseph Gumilla, a Spanish Jesuit, who, having been a missionary <sup>43</sup> on the Dutch borderland during the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century, could from personal knowledge speak with authority on the subject. After saying that before the Dutch founded their colonies the principal objects of the

Many of the Indians cannot produce the 'r' sound. Thus Rupununi becomes Apononi.

<sup>40</sup> *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., i. 120.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* p. 107.

<sup>42</sup> The Caribs had colonies on the Branco, Negro, and Amazon, and even further south, from an early period. In Delisle's map of 1700, side by side with the Suanes (Shawhauns) are the Quarabes (Caribs). At one end of the Basururú we find the Caribans, at the other the Caripunas, local names for Caribs. In the following century the Caripunas of the Parimé savannah are constantly mentioned as the friends and agents of the Dutch. Schomburgk (*Raleigh*, p. 56) comments on the interchangeability of 'p' and 'b' in the Indian dialects. Carapana = Caribiana.

<sup>43</sup> He was for a number of years head of the Jesuit mission in Guiana.



war among the native tribes was to capture the women and children he proceeds—

But since the Dutch established themselves on this coast the object of the war was changed, and now has no other aim than the commerce and profit that results from it, because the Dutch buy from the Caribs as many prisoners as they bring, and even pay them in advance. . . . The fleets of the Caribs go up stream, and they buy from friendly tribes all the captives that they have been able to make in their wars, that are as barbarous as they are unjust, the price of each captive being two axes, two choppers, some beads, or other similar trifles. . . . After they have collected as many head (*piezas*) as they can buy in those very remote tribes, who are distant as much as 600 leagues from the coast, they leave in possession of the chiefs the iron goods and beads that are left over, so that they (the chiefs) may within the year go on buying until their (the Caribs') return in the following year; and, to avoid all trickery, two or three Caribs remain in each one of those tribes to keep guard over the merchandise they call *rescates*,<sup>44</sup> and had better have called captives, since they thus deprive so many innocent folk of liberty. On departing they protest to the chiefs 'that if' on their return they find that the Caribs who have been left with them have received any injury or annoyance, that they will burn their villages and carry off all their wives and children,' so that the chiefs take much care of their guests. As soon as their business is concluded they turn their prows down stream until they arrive at the coast, where are the great part of their villages; when they have reached them they pass on to the Dutch colonies to pay their debts and to receive a fresh advance for the next voyage.<sup>45</sup>

It will be seen that these inland expeditions were carried out regularly and systematically, and that the Caribs, themselves the commissioned agents of the Dutch, were recognised by the widely scattered and distant tribes of the far interior that they visited as a kind of overlords.

In the records of the eighteenth century there is abundant evidence that Dutchmen were accustomed to accompany the Caribs on these journeys, and probably this was always the case.<sup>46</sup> It was so certainly in the expedition of 1661, an account of which

<sup>44</sup> 'Tropas de resgate,' was the regular Portuguese name for the expeditions sent up the Amazon to collect slaves. The word literally means 'rescues.' It was supposed that only captives taken in war and condemned to death—'de corda'—were enslaved. 'Eram de corda, e como taes se diziam resgatados.' Azevedo, *Os Jesuitas no Grao Pará*, p. 66.

<sup>45</sup> *Historia Natural, Civil y Geographica de las Naciones situadas en las Riberas del Rio Orinoco*, por Padre Joseph Gumilla, 1741, tom ii. pp. 72-4.

<sup>46</sup> *Brit. Case Venez.*, app., iii. p. 84. Gumilla himself in a report says, 'Se entremeten algunos Olandeses en las armadas de los Indios Caribes, pintados al uso de aquellos Barbaros con lo qual los animan,' p. 64. Another Spanish report: 'Los Olandeses natibes en aquellas Colonias que acompañan á los Carives los enseñan á manejar las armas.' Another, app. ii. p. 148: 'Algunos an estado mas de diez años entre los Caribes de fixo, haciendo dicho comercio de Poytos, y estos sin moverse los embian á Esquivo á sus apoderados quando les embian otros resgates para comprar mas á los Caribes, lo menos que estan es un año, o dos hasta tres.'

has been preserved to us by the careful diligence of Scott. In the section of his 'Description of the Amazonas' headed 'Of the Commodities,'<sup>47</sup> that writer tells us the story of an exploration made by Captain Matteson<sup>48</sup> from San Thomé of Guayana, at the head of a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians, which penetrated, evidently in search of El Dorado, to some spot on the western part of the Great Parimé Savannah.<sup>49</sup> This was in 1655. What happened later shall be told in Scott's own words.

In the year 1661 he (Matteson), being disengaged from the Spanish service, went to Desse Keebe (Essequibo), which is a great river on the north side of Guiana in 9 degrees of latitude, and sent to the Dutch there; and one Captain Groonwegle [Groenewegen], governor of that colonie, gladly joyned with him, and they attempted a voyage to the place he had been with ye Spaniards, and were a hundred leagues from the fort south-south-east, but a quarrel happened betwixt the Carreebs they had with them and other Indians there they must pass through,<sup>50</sup> and being but fourteen Hollanders and 400 Careebs, did not dare to advance and leave an enemy in their back, returned again.

Matteson and his followers on this occasion would seem to have made their way considerably beyond the Pirara portage, probably to the river Takutú, possibly as far as the Branco (Parimé) itself. This expedition was one of the last enterprises of the veteran Commandeur Groenewegen, and must be looked upon as no mere trading voyage, but as a serious attempt, made officially, at the exploration of the Parimé Savannah, with a view to the exploitation of its reputed mineral wealth. The death of Groenewegen in 1664, followed as it was by the English conquest of Essequibo by Major

<sup>47</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. A 175, f. 356.

<sup>48</sup> The story of this man's career for forty years, first in the Dutch, then the Portuguese, then in the Spanish service at Santo Thomé (for twenty-two years), has been already told (*ante*, vol. xviii, p. 653 *seq.*) In 1661 he re-entered the Dutch service, and after his capture by Scott in 1665 that of England. He was lost in a hurricane with Lord Willoughby of Parham, 1666.

<sup>49</sup> Scott says, 'They marched eightie days east and east-south-east, partly by periagues, and most on foot till they came to a Colonie of Indians scittuate on a faire plaine not far from a great lake, and a mightie ridge of mountains from whence they brought a quantitie of Gould and traded with the natives for some vessels and weapons of silver; and this Captain Mattison had several emeralds that he brought from thence. He was of opinion that they were not above fiftie leagues from the head of Dessekeebe.' Everything in this description points to Matteson having followed the river Caroni to its sources, and then made his way to the south-east of the celebrated Mount Roraima. Schomburgk (*Raleigh*, p. 29, note) says, 'There is near the source of one of the chief branches of the river Caroni, at Mount Roraima, a mineral substance (jasper), resembling in colour verde antique; it is of so hard a substance that it is used in lieu of flint by the natives, who besides carry on with it a trade of barter with the other tribes.'

<sup>50</sup> These Indians were possibly the warlike Manoa of the Upper Negro. They were itinerant traders, like the Caribs, and frequented the Parimé. The imaginary city of Manoa on Lake Parimé no doubt derived its name from them. The Dutch records of 1723-4 record hostile collisions between them and the Caribs even in the Upper Essequibo, where their trading parties had penetrated. See *Brit. Case Venez.* app., ii. 2, 3.

John Scott in 1665, put a stop, however, for the time to any ambitious schemes in this direction, but probably scarcely interrupted the regular trading with the tribes of the interior.

The notice in General Byam's narrative that in August 1665 'one younker Hendryck, a Switts, was sent to still the Indians'<sup>51</sup> may be taken to signify that the native tribes continued loyal to the Dutch, and that Hendrickson's services as a factor among them did not terminate with his captivity. The English conquest was, in fact, exceedingly short-lived and in all probability scarcely affected the operations of the inland traders, who would be able to keep up their communications with the coast through Berbice,<sup>52</sup> which remained continuously in Dutch hands. A document exists in the Biblioteca Nacional at Lisbon which shows that in 1667 the presence of the Dutch in the district which lay to the west of what was then the Portuguese frontier fortress of Corupá (Gurupa) had excited the alarm of the governor of Maranhão. He speaks of 'their always making their way through that district from the north, treating and trading with the natives, a matter which demands serious consideration,' adding, 'Hence a captain should be very vigilant and careful in his guard of his majesty's fortress, which has been entrusted to him.'<sup>53</sup>

During the following nineteen years<sup>54</sup> the archives have nothing to tell us about the commerce of the Dutch traders in the Negro. This is not wonderful, for the region which they frequented was a *terra incognita* to all Europeans save themselves, and their own object in their daring journeys to these remote tribes in the heart of an unknown continent was profit, not publicity. It was not until the adventurers came into contact with the Portuguese missionaries and slave-hunting troops (*tropas de resgate*) that their presence or their doings found a chronicler. A cursory glance at the history of Pará and Maranhão during the period between 1668 and 1686 at once accounts for the silence of the records of those colonies upon any other matters than those of the disorders of the country. It was a period of disturbance and anarchy, of acute disputes between the Jesuits and the inhabitants, ending, in 1684, in open rebellion.<sup>55</sup> So far from advancing the Portuguese dominion further inland, even the fortress of Corupá (Gurupá) was allowed

<sup>51</sup> *Journal of Guiana*, 1665-7, Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 3662.

<sup>52</sup> General Byam states (*ibid.*) that Essequibo was retaken by the Dutch in 1666 by a force from Berbice under the commandant Matthijs Bergenaar. A point on the Essequibo, not many miles from the mouth of the Rupununi, is connected by a frequented path of about ten miles with the Berbice.

<sup>53</sup> *Arquivo do Conselho Ultramarino* Lembretes, 1668-72. No. d'Ordem 589. Accusation brought by Governor Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho against the captain of the fortress of Gurupá for negligence in his duty. 9 Jan. 1668.

<sup>54</sup> A raid upon the Omaguas is reported by a Spanish Jesuit missionary in 1681. See Rodriguez, *El Marañon y Amazonas*, 1684, pp. 395, 399.

<sup>55</sup> Lucio d'Azevedo, *Os Jesuitas no Grão Pará*, Lisbon, 1901; cap. v., *A Anarchia*,

to fall into ruin.<sup>56</sup> The appointment of an able and vigorous governor, Gomes Freire de Andrade, in 1684, in the very crisis of the revolt at São Luis, led to the speedy restoration of order, and then to measures being taken for the development and extension of the colony.<sup>57</sup> He caused several expeditions to be equipped for the exploration of the Amazon and its tributaries, and for the pushing forward of missionary enterprise. He himself left a report upon these expeditions and their results for the information of his successor, Artur Saa de Menezes, who became governor in 1687. In this document he relates how one of these exploring parties had entered the Rio Madeira, and had found that the natives on the banks of that river were supplied by foreigners with iron goods. To use the governor's own words, 'these (foreigners) enter by the Rio Orinoco, that disembogues in the coast in which they live, and they come introducing themselves so far down the Madeira as to arrive at an encounter with our canoes.' He then adds, 'The Rio Negro also is frequented by the foreigners, and with so much greater boldness that it is rarely that they are not to be found in it, trafficking.'<sup>58</sup> At this period then, when their possession of the Rio Negro was still unchallenged and undisturbed, we find that these enterprising Hollanders, not content even with that vast field for the barter of their wares, were pushing on their trade along the main stream of the Amazons,<sup>59</sup> and into some at least of its great tributaries southwards.

But besides the presence of the Dutch two other causes contributed at this time to arouse the Portuguese to a sense of the insecurity of their hold upon the river Amazon. Their possession of the northern mouth of the Cabo de Norte was threatened by the French from Cayenne, and that of the Solimões<sup>60</sup> by the astonishing success of the Spanish Jesuit missions among the Omaguas and Jurimaguas, under the direction of Padre Samuel Fritz.<sup>61</sup> In 1689

p. 109, 1667-8; *Desordem Geral*, p. 118, 1684; *Revolução em São Luiz*, p. 120, 1685; *Gomes Freire de Andrade restabelece a ordem*, 1686: Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, ii. 500-633.

<sup>56</sup> *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa*, Arch. Conselho. Ultr., *Cartas de Maranhão*, vol. i. f. 69; *Bibl. pub. d'Evora*, cod. cxvi. ff. 1-7, *Noticiario Maranhense*.

<sup>57</sup> Domingo Teixeira, *Vida de G. Freyre de Andrade*. Lisbon, 1724.

<sup>58</sup> *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa*. 'Entra destes pello Rio Orinoco que desagua na costa em que habitam e vem se introduzindo já tanto pello Madeira abaixo que chegão a encontrar-se com as nossas canoas. . . . Tambem o Rio Negro he frequentado dos estrangeiros e con tanta mais demasia que raras vezes deixão de se achar nelle, comerciando.' Andrade imagines the Dutch must have come by the Orinoco, because he was ignorant of the very existence of Rio Branco.

<sup>59</sup> The account in Manoel Rodriguez's *El Marañon y Amazonas* of the raid on the Omaguas in 1681 renders it highly probable that the whole Amazon River between the mouths of the Madeira and of the Iça was visited at this period by the Dutch.

<sup>60</sup> Solimões is the Portuguese name for the Amazon between the mouths of the rivers Negro and Napo.

<sup>61</sup> This extraordinary man entered upon his labours among the Omaguas in 1686,

Padre Samuel, having heard that a Portuguese troop of slave-raiders had ascended the river Solimões as far as the Cuchivaras (mouth of Purús), determined to go down stream to protest in person against what he regarded as an intrusion into the territory of the king of Spain. He did more than this, for, being in a weak state of health from severe attacks of fever, he not only joined the troop, but went down in their company to Belem to recruit, and to state his case before the governor in person. He reached Pará more dead than alive, and was nursed in the Jesuit college for two months. The question of the boundary, which he had raised, was referred to the decision of the home government, and meanwhile the missionary was detained for eighteen months until a reply had been received from the king. The decision was that he should be allowed to return to his field of labour; and under the escort of a Portuguese troop, under the command of Antonio de Miranda, he started on 9 July 1691 on his long ascent, the record of which, as told by himself, accurately portrays the extent of Portuguese jurisdiction in the river at that date.

Padre Samuel, in the early days of September, visited a Mercenarian missionary on the river Urubú, by whom he had been kindly treated on his descent two years before. This was the highest missionary settlement as yet founded.<sup>62</sup> A new fort had been built at the mouth of the Tapajos, but though the king had commanded a fort to be erected at the mouth of the Negro it had not been begun. Fritz visited the Tarumas, the tribe living on the north side of the mouth of the Negro, and was received by them in the most friendly fashion. They begged him to remain and be their padre, as they had no love for the Portuguese. Having reached once more his mission of the Omaguas, Fritz set to work with redoubled energy to lay his views on the frontier question before the Spanish governor at Lima, and to resist to his utmost the advance of the Portuguese into what he held to be the domains of his most catholic majesty. This attitude of his, and the hold that he had

and succeeded in converting them and the neighbouring tribes, Jurimaguas, Aizuares, and others, to Christianity. Such was the fascination he exercised over the minds of the Indians that in a very few years even the tribes living at the mouth of the Negro and on the Urubú received him as if he were more than a mortal man. The tale of his labours between 1689 and 1727 is told by himself in his journals and letters (though unfortunately a portion of these was lost through the upsetting of a boat), which are of the greatest value, as is also the map which he constructed of the Amazon River, and which was printed at Quito in 1707. A manuscript copy of a large part of these journals and letters lies in the Public Library of Evora, in Portugal, and was inspected personally by me in October 1901.

<sup>62</sup> The statements made by Ribeiro de Sampaio, ouvidor-general of the Rio Negro, in his *Diarioda Viagem*, 1774-5, on this subject are entirely inaccurate. Padre Frei Theodosio was, according to Samuel Fritz, who stayed with him both in 1689 and 1691, a missionary on the Urubú, and not among the Tarumas and Aroaquis, up the Negro.

won over the affections of the Indians, thoroughly alarmed the Portuguese authorities. Artur Saa de Menezes had been succeeded in 1691 as governor of Maranhão and Pará by Antonio Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, a man of enterprise and vigour. He at once took in hand the pressing need of strengthening the existing forts on the Amazon and erecting new ones, but was sorely hampered by the lack of funds and supplies. The records tell us that in February 1693<sup>63</sup> the construction of the guard house at the mouth of the Rio Negro was delayed for want of master masons, but there is evidence that it was begun in November of that year,<sup>64</sup> and that it was completed and garrisoned shortly afterwards. From this time forward egress from the Rio Negro was closed to the Dutchmen.

Simultaneously with the building of the fort the attention of the government, stimulated doubtless by all that they had heard of the success of Samuel Fritz, was directed to the regulation and pressing forward of missionary effort. By a royal order, dated 13 March 1693,<sup>65</sup> a division of missionary districts was made. In the region which we are specially considering the district of the Jesuits was placed to the south of the Amazon, those of the Mercenarians and Carmelites to the north. The Rio Negro and the delta that lay between the Negro and the Solimões, and both banks of the Solimões, fell to the Carmelites, who began from 1695 onwards to push forward along this last-named river,<sup>66</sup> with a view to checking the further advance eastward of the Spanish mission under Padre Samuel Fritz. Not yet for some years was any mission settlement founded on the Rio Negro higher than that of the Tarumas, near the fort.

This was the state of things when, early in 1695, the same Antonio de Miranda who had escorted Padre Samuel back to his mission in the autumn of 1691 was despatched on an expedition of inquiry up the Solimões, the objects of this expedition being to discover whether the Castilians were journeying about in the villages of the Cambebás, and, as report said, raising fortifications within the Portuguese dominions, and to ascertain, if possible, the exact position of the boundary mark set up by Pedro Teixeira. Before, however, proceeding to execute his main commission, Miranda sailed a short distance up the Negro, as far as the mouth of the river Anauinenas, where he parleyed with the headmen of that tribe, 'impressing upon them the advantage of maintaining

<sup>63</sup> Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, Archivo do Cons. Ultr., *Cartas do Maranhão*.

<sup>64</sup> Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, Archivo do Cons. Ultr., 'Consultas,' no. 843; 'Requirimentos,' no. 68. This last document gives the names of the first two captains of the fort, Ambrosio Muniz Barreyos and Luis de Moraes Bitancour.

<sup>65</sup> Bibl. Pub. d'Evora, Cod. cxv. ff. 2-12.

<sup>66</sup> Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, 'Consultas,' no. 843; despatches of Governor Albuquerque Coelho, 1697, with enclosures; *Cartas do Maranhão*, lib. i.

good relations with the Portuguese by assisting in the service of that fort, which it had pleased his majesty to order to be constructed in those parts for their better security,<sup>67</sup> and more to the same effect. His official report then proceeds as follows:—

After having made these parleys and delayed a sufficiently long time in these villages, I was inquiring whether along those their shores any Castilians or strangers were in the habit of passing and doing trade with them; and upon this particular they replied that Castilians had never come into their lands, and they were still less aware that any such had been fortifying themselves in the villages of the Cambebas, since they lay so distant that they had no reason for getting to know it; but entering sometimes into the houses of these Indians I saw various foreign articles, such as iron implements, knives, and other like commodities, and questioning from whence these things came to them they told me that the strangers were in the habit of bringing them from the head waters of their river; and that such were in the habit of coming and trafficking with their gossips (*compadres*); and that by their contracts with the same Indians they used to distribute these commodities amongst them, the which they esteem the more because they are much better than ours, for which cause they never want any of ours, and any that they have they attach small value to. On this particular I warned them that they should not trade with the strangers that one presumes to be Hollanders, since your lordship so commanded it, and that as vassals of his majesty they ought to keep his laws and orders, which they promised to do; but it seems to me that never will they dispense with this convenience, unless they be prevented by other means, because, as they find the commodities of these strangers better than ours, they are always sure to stick to those they value most, and unless we put a stop to this commerce, by other means, it is impossible that they should ever cease to keep up their communication,<sup>68</sup> which is much to our prejudice.

<sup>67</sup> Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, 'Consultas,' no. 843; copy of report of Antonio de Miranda, Belem in Pará, 25 May 1695. The tribe, who were called Anavilhanos, lived in the islands which stud the broad stream of the Rio Negro, opposite the mouth of the Anauinenas. The Cambebas, to whom Miranda was sent, are the same as the Omaguas. Omagua is a Peruvian word, Cambeba a Tupi word, both signifying 'flat-head,' it being the custom of this tribe to deform in infancy the heads of their children.

<sup>68</sup> Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, *Cartas do Maranhão*, lib. ii. ff. 41, 109, &c.; 'Requerimentos,' Arch. do Cons. Ultr., Rio Negro, 1775. The first missionary 'aldeia' of the Portuguese in the Negro was that known as Santo Elias do Tarumas, dating from 1692. A rising of the natives in 1712 against the missionaries on the Urubú and Matary destroyed these mission stations, and apparently that of the Tarumas also, for in 1715 the captain of the fort makes the complaint that he can find no priest to administer the sacraments to his soldiers, since there are no missionaries nearer than four or five days' journey from the blockhouse. Before 1719 it had, however, been permanently restored, as the record exists of the confirmation of Frey Jeronymo Coelho, as head of the mission of Santo Elias dos Tarumas, on 22 May of that year. In the evidence brought before the court of inquiry into Portuguese claims on the Rio Branco, held by the ouvidor-general, F. X. Ribeiro de Sampaio, in 1775, it was stated by several witnesses that this Frey Jeronymo de Coelho, as missionary of the Tarumas, carried on trade with the Dutch during the year 1720 and onwards. At a later time, when the Dutch trade was driven from the Negro, the Tarumas, in their hatred to the Portuguese, abandoned their homes and settled under Dutch protection near the sources of the Essequibo, where a remnant of them still live.

About eighteen months later the governor, Antonio Albuquerque, himself made a journey of inspection into the interior, and he likewise makes a statement about the Dutch commerce to the following effect:—

In the Rio Negro they informed me that the Hollanders were in the habit of coming to traffick with the natives, ascending by the river Orinoco, which is below Cayana, and crossing by land some days' journey to this part of the river Amazon with a quantity of goods; these they expend liberally in bartering with the Indians for slaves, and with this object hide them from the missionaries and the head of the block-house.<sup>69</sup>

Thus, through the very fact that the Portuguese were at the close of the seventeenth century beginning to circumscribe the sphere of Dutch enterprise to the east and south of the mouth of the Negro, strong evidence comes to hand, testifying to both the extent and the regularity of the traffic which the Hollanders carried on in the lower reaches of that river, and to the intimate relations of good-will and friendship existing between the traders and the native tribes whom they supplied with goods.

Another remarkable piece of first-hand evidence, of the same date as the preceding, reaches us on the authority of Padre Samuel Fritz,<sup>70</sup> not only showing that this traffic was not confined to the Lower Negro, but also indicating the route and the manner in which the commodities travelled to their destination. Fritz writes—

On 14 March (1695) I arrived at the settlement of N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ra</sup> de las Nieves<sup>71</sup> of the Jurimaguas. . . . Before my arrival the caciques of the Aizuares and Banomas<sup>72</sup> had charged them of N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>ra</sup> de las Nieves to advise them when I should arrive at the place, since they wished to come to see and parley with me, and so a few days after my arrival at the first advice the said caciques set out, ascending from very remote parts, having some of them spent more than twenty days in arriving. Meanwhile I occupied myself in instructing the Jurimaguas in their tongue, which is quite different from that of the Omaguas. The caciques arrived. I explained to them also in part the mysteries of the Christian religion, and I gave them to understand how for love of them alone, that they should not go to hell, had I come from very distant lands, and I moved about amongst them with very great inconvenience, because they lived so far from one another in islands unsuitable for the erection of a fixed church. More than this, they already saw themselves so persecuted by the Portu-

<sup>69</sup> Antonio Albuquerque, in his entire ignorance of the geography of Guiana, and of the existence of such rivers as the Branco or the Essequibo, speaks of the latter as the Orinoco. He had clearly heard rumours of the Pirara portage.

<sup>70</sup> Bibl. Pub. d'Evora, Cod. cxv. ff. 2-15; 'Carta del Padre Samuel al Padre Diego Franco Altamirano, visitador de la provincia de Quito en que se refiere lo sucedido en la mission de Omaguas, Jurimaguas, &c., desde Septiembre de 1693 hasta fines de Julio 1696.'

<sup>71</sup> A little below the mouth of the river Jutay.

<sup>72</sup> Tribes living lower down the Salimões by the mouth of the Jupura and beyond.



guese that I had counselled them to transport<sup>73</sup> themselves up stream to the neighbourhood of San Joaquin of the Omaguas, where I would assist and instruct them with much love, and they were agreeing with all that I said to them. . . . I perceived that, notwithstanding that all showed themselves desirous of following me up the river, they had many motives to keep them back from this resolution; and the principal is this, that living down there they easily and at little cost provide themselves with English iron goods from the river Orinoco, because they buy them with necklaces that they make of shells,<sup>74</sup> that are more valued among those tribes than those of glass. With these necklaces the traders that they call 'Cavauri' go to lands of other heathen, and ransom captives; these they then convey by the Rio Negro to the Guaranaguas up to the place where the English arrive, because in a few days from these Guaranaguas travelling by land one arrives at the Pajonales and Rio Orinoco.

In this passage Fritz, whose personal acquaintance with the upper portion of the main stream of the Amazon was so exceptional, and whose writings and map added so much to geographical knowledge, shows himself to be as ignorant of the geography of the Rio Negro and of the vast region lying between that river and the sea as Governor Antonio Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho and the rest of his contemporaries. He knew of no great river emptying itself northwards into the Caribbean Sea, except the Orinoco, and apparently he was unaware of the existence of the Dutch colonies on the coast. The statement that these goods were English was no doubt a mere inference on his part, as it may be regarded as certain that the natives, in this case, as in that of Acuña in 1639, spoke of the foreigners by some descriptive term signifying 'fair white men from the sea,' a translation into their own tongue of the *Parana-Ghiri* of the Caribs.

The place, however, to which these foreigners came with their goods for distribution can be identified with the spot afterwards occupied by the Portuguese settlement of Carvoeiro or Aricari. The following passage, from a description of the Amazons and Negro, published in 1770,<sup>75</sup> makes this sufficiently clear.

The river Uaranacua (western mouth of the Rio Branco) borders on the settlement of Carvoeiro. It was inhabited formerly by Indians, of the Uaranacuacena and Parauaana nations. Less than half a day's voyage from it up stream there formerly was founded on its eastern bank a village of Indians that united themselves to the settlement of Carvoeiro, it being still on the bank of the river Cavauri or Caburi.

<sup>73</sup> A few years later (1702) these tribes did desert their homes and sought refuge high up the river under Spanish protection.

<sup>74</sup> 'Abalorios que hacen de caracoles;' comp. Gumilla, ii. 72, quoted above, p. 15: 'E precio de cada cautivo, dos hachas, dos machetes, alguns cuchillos, alguns abalorios u otra friolera semejante.'

<sup>75</sup> Bras, Annexe, i. 182; see also 'Diario da Viagem que fez Ribeiro de Sampaio, 1774-5' (Brit. Mus., 702, e. 27), sections cccxl. cccxli. The Guaranaguas, or Uaranacuenas, are the Guaranaguazanas of Acuña.

And a glance at Fritz's own map<sup>76</sup> enables us to see that he places the Indian tribe, whom he names 'Cavauri,' in that locality between the mouth of the Cuchivaras (Purús) and the Negro, where the Rio Caburi in reality flows. Thus the transit of goods took place between the Cavauri, who lived on the south side of the Negro, and the Guaranaguas or Uaranacuacenas, who lived half a day distant on the north side, at the mouth of the Branco. The last sentence of the quotation from Fritz is a reflexion of the dim and confused impression made upon him by the description by the Indians of the route by the Branco,<sup>77</sup> the Pirara portage, and the Essequibo. We have here an excellent illustration of the way in which these Dutch factors made use not only of the Caribs, but of other native tribes in the far interior, as commercial travellers, commissioned to carry their axes, knives, and other barter goods still further afield.<sup>78</sup>

But one thing is needed to set the seal upon the deductions that have been drawn from the reports of the Portuguese governor of Pará and from the journal of the Spanish missionary of the Omaguas, a piece of confirmatory testimony from an official upon the Guiana coast. This is not wanting. The authorities that have been quoted from the side of the Amazon can be supplemented in a remarkable way by a passage from a despatch of Francisco de Menezes, governor of Trinidad, to the king, dated 29 Aug. 1784.<sup>79</sup> This governor reports that he has received news of the return of a Carib expedition from the head waters of the Orinoco, whither they had voyaged in search of El Dorado, and that 'they (the Caribs) had gone to the settlements of the Dutch to ascend with them to the said head waters.' His conceptions of the geography of the river at the mouth of which his own governorship lay will be apparent from the following extract:—

I cannot refrain from submitting to your majesty's royal consideration the paucity of men, arms, and ammunition there is in this province for the purpose of being able to resist any attack that might be made by the natives by whom the Orinoco is so infested, wherein there are four settlements of Dutch fortified with forts and artillery, the one in the river of Berbice, another in that of Essequibo, another in that of Bauruma [Pomeroon], and another in that of Surinam, all affluents of the Orinoco.

<sup>76</sup> This map represents the Rio Negro (which Fritz never entered) as having a course from north to south instead of from west to east. Not till D'Anville published his map, fifty years later (1748), are the Rio Negro and its tributaries correctly represented. His information came through the channel of the scientific French traveller De la Condamine, who, on his part, drew his knowledge largely from the itinerary and sketch map of the Dutch explorer Nicolas Horstman, 1739-40.

<sup>77</sup> The Pajonales (or Paxonales) of Fritz are possibly the same as the Paxianas of the Portuguese, a tribe living up the Branco. This tribe was well known as traders.

<sup>78</sup> During the second and third decades of the eighteenth century the Dutch formed a close alliance for trading purposes with the powerful tribe of the Manaos, still higher up the Negro.

<sup>79</sup> Archivo General de Indias. Seville. MS.

They have penetrated a good way into the interior of the country, and I have very trustworthy information that they have even forges for smelting metals established in the interior of the country, a matter which gives food for consideration, taken together with the reports of the said Caribs, for they said they were going in search of the Dutch at Berbice, in order to go up with them on their discovery.

Two statements here demand especial attention. First, it will be seen that, according to Francisco de Menezes, the rivers occupied by the Dutch on the Guiana coast were all affluents of the Orinoco. So extraordinary a blunder on the part of a high official so advantageously placed for knowing the facts at once explains, and to some extent justifies, the assumption of Fritz, Albuquerque, and others that the only trade route between the Rio Negro and foreigners on the North Sea was by way of the Orinoco. Secondly, the assertion is made on 'very trustworthy information' that the Dutch in 1694 were firmly established in the far hinterland of their Guiana colonies and were contemplating a further advance. Their recorded presence, therefore, in 1695 in the Negro and the Solimões need occasion no surprise. The facts reported by Antonio de Miranda and Samuel Fritz are the natural sequel to those contained in the despatch of Francisco de Menezes.

At this point the task, which we had proposed, of tracing out from slight and meagre notices, scattered here and there among the buried records of early colonisation on the Amazons and in Guiana, an account of the intercourse between the Dutch of Essequibo and the Indians of the Negro basin during the seventeenth century comes to a close. It has not been an easy task, for the region with which we have been dealing was (as previously stated) unknown during this period to any Europeans save the Dutch traders, and the allusions to their operations, in documents treating of other subjects, are usually hazy and indefinite, and often difficult of interpretation. It was to be expected that it should be so. The confident boldness, however, with which these factors penetrated so many hundreds of leagues inland, amidst countless dangers from the cataracts and rapids which barred their way, from disease, and still more from the hostility or the treachery of the untamed savages, who roamed along the river banks and in the savannahs of the interior, cannot but arouse our wonder, and it is only right that such extraordinary hardihood, accompanied as it must have been by marvellous skill in dealing with and conciliating the natives, should have some record in history. That it has not been possible to make it more complete is due not to lack of industry in research, but to lack of material. Considering the nature of the subject, one ought rather to be grateful that the archives have produced so much than surprised that they contained so little.

## Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion.'

### PART I.—THE ORIGINAL 'HISTORY.'

CLARENDON'S *History of the Rebellion*, as published, is a composite narrative, consisting of portions written at different times and with different objects. Some parts of it were written during the author's first exile, between 1646 and 1648, others during his second, between 1668 and 1671. Some portions were designed merely to narrate the great events he had witnessed, others were originally intended to relate and vindicate his own career. At one time his narrative is based on documentary evidence which he had before his eyes whilst he wrote, at another time it rests solely on the treacherous foundation of his own memory. Thus the different parts of Clarendon's great work are of very varying degrees of trustworthiness, and in order to form a just estimate of the correctness of any particular statement it is necessary fully to appreciate these distinctions. By studying them it is possible to arrive at a correct estimate of the value of the *History of the Rebellion*.

Roughly speaking the published *History of the Rebellion* with which the world is familiar consists of three separate parts. There is Hyde's original narrative of public events, written between 1646 and 1648, which will be referred to in this inquiry as the 'History.' There is, secondly, the autobiography written by Hyde in his second exile, between 1668 and 1670, which will be referred to as the 'Life.' Finally, there is the published *History of the Rebellion*, which was put together in 1671 by the simple process of dovetailing the 'History' into the 'Life' and adding a certain amount of new material to supplement and complete the two. I propose to examine each of these three parts separately, discussing the conditions under which it was written, the object which the author set before himself, and the authorities which he had at his disposal at the time of writing.

In March 1645 King Charles had sent Hyde into the west of England as one of the council attending upon the prince of Wales. The disasters of that year's campaign, and the defeat of Hopton's army at Torrington by Fairfax on 16 Feb. 1646, obliged the

prince to fly from England. On 4 March 1646 he and his council took refuge at the Scilly Islands, and on 16 April, when the approach of the parliamentary fleet rendered his further residence there dangerous, they removed to Jersey. It was during this six weeks' halt that Hyde conceived the idea of writing his 'History,' which is dated on the first page 'Silly, March 18, 1645.'<sup>1</sup>

His motives for undertaking a formidable task were of several kinds. 'If for no other reason yet lest posterity may be deceived,' begins the manuscript, 'it will not be unuseful . . . to present to the world a full and clear narration of the grounds, circumstances, and artifices of this rebellion.' But though he wrote his narrative for the information of posterity it was not destined for immediate or integral publication. 'A piece of this nature,' he adds, '. . . wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, . . . must be boldly looked upon and mentioned, is not likely to be published, at least in the age in which it is writ.' In a letter to Sir John Berkeley, dated 14 Aug. 1646, Hyde explains that though his freedom of speech 'will make the work unfit in this age for communication, yet it may be fit for the perusal and comfort of some men; and being transmitted through good hands, may tell posterity that the whole nation was not so bad as it will be then thought to have been.'<sup>2</sup> In a similar tone he wrote to Nicholas on 15 Nov. 1646: 'I write with all fidelity and freedom of all I know, of persons and things, and the oversights and omissions on both sides, in order to what they desired; so that you may believe it will make mad work among friends and foes if it were published.'

Nevertheless, though unsuited for publication itself, it was intended to serve as the material from which a history might be compiled. 'It may not be difficult,' observes Hyde, 'to collect somewhat out of that store more proper, and not unuseful, for the public view' (i. § 3). 'Out of it enough may be chosen to make a perfect story,' he told Nicholas, adding, 'If I die I appoint it to be delivered to you, to whose care (with a couple of good fellows more) I shall leave it; that either of you dying, you may so preserve it, that in due time somewhat by your care may be published.'<sup>3</sup> Six months

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray, book i. §§ 1, 3. Any detailed criticism of Clarendon must be based upon this edition. Dr. Macray's edition of the *History of the Rebellion*, published in 1888, was the first to give the correct text, to indicate the sources from which each part of the text was derived, and to add the dates which Hyde had prefixed or appended to the different parts of his manuscript. In the date given above 1645 means, of course, 1646 in our modern reckoning. There are two manuscripts of the original 'History.' One is in Clarendon's own hand and is styled 'MS. Clarendon 112.' The other is a transcript in the handwriting of William Edgeman, Clarendon's secretary, as far as p. 244, and from p. 265 to p. 270 in the handwriting of another person. This is now Rawlinson MS. D. 811.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon MS. 2280, printed by Dr. Macray in his preface to the *History of the Rebellion*, p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 289; cf. *Rebellion*, i. 3.

later, on 4 April 1647, Hyde made his will, drawing up at the same time a document headed 'My Desires concerning my Papers.'<sup>4</sup> His 'Relation of these troubles,' if he should not live to complete it in such a manner as might be fit to communicate it to the public view, was to be delivered to Secretary Nicholas. The king was to direct what should be done with the manuscripts of which it consisted. 'If it shall be thought fit that anything out of them shall be published (for as they now are, they are rather as exact memorials of passages, with such freedom both to things and persons as must not pass into the light, than a digested relation),' they were to be perused by six friends named, or as many of them as Nicholas should select to advise with him as to the necessary alterations and additions.

However Hyde had a more practical and immediate object than to supply the future historian with materials. He wrote to show not merely how a kingdom had been lost, but how it might be regained. In his preface he observes, 'We may not find the case so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the wounds may be again bound up. . . And I have the more willingly induced myself to this unequal task out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that end.' The narrative which follows 'may serve to inform myself and some others what we are to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have done.'<sup>5</sup> To Nicholas he wrote, 'As soon as I found myself alone I thought the best way to provide myself for new business against the time I should be called to it . . . was to look over the faults of the old, and so I resolved to write the history of these evil times, and of this most lovely rebellion.' Therefore the original of his narrative was 'to be kept for their perusal who may be the wiser for knowing the most secret truths.' It was to be reserved for the instruction of the king's advisers and of the king himself. The manuscript was, after the author's death, to be delivered to the king, 'who will not find himself flattered in it, nor irreverently handled, though the truth will better become a dead than a living man.' In the last resort the king was absolutely to decide whether any portion of the work should be printed or not.<sup>6</sup>

This reference to the king is significant. Though the vindication of Charles I was not the primary object with which Hyde wrote, it was throughout one of his objects. He believed that the history which at some future time was to be compiled from his writings would serve to defend the reputation of his master. 'I flatter myself,' he wrote to Charles on 21 Nov. 1646, 'with an opinion that I am doing your majesty some service in this excellent island, whilst I am preparing the story of your sufferings, that posterity may tremble at the reading of what the present age

<sup>4</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 357.

<sup>5</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 288, 289, 357.

blushes not to execute.'<sup>7</sup> This letter was never delivered, but Charles was informed of Hyde's project, and approved of it. In the autumn of 1647, whilst he was at Hampton Court, he wrote to him, with his own hand, 'a very gracious and kind letter,' in which he 'thanked him for undertaking the work he was upon,' and promised him 'some contribution towards it.'<sup>8</sup> In the following April Hyde himself told Prince Charles that the king had 'graciously vouchsafed to pardon and approve his design,' though the contribution promised had not yet arrived.<sup>9</sup> Twenty-five years later, in the preface to the ninth book of the *History of the Rebellion*, written in 1671, Clarendon spoke as if the desire to vindicate the king had been the chief if not the sole cause of his great undertaking. 'I first undertook this difficult work,' he said, 'with his approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication.' But in reality his original motives, as defined by himself at the time, were less simple; the 'History' was meant to narrate and to instruct as well as to vindicate, and at first the didactic purpose predominated over the other two. This didactic purpose is the distinguishing characteristic of the 'History' as compared with the 'Life,' and with the completed *History of the Rebellion*. Hence the very numerous digressions which interrupt the course of the story. Hence the insistence on the errors committed in the past, and the suggestions as to the policy to be adopted in the future.

In the original sketch of the first two books Hyde sets forth the errors which marked the early part of the king's reign, obliged him in 1640 to summon the Long Parliament, and led eventually to the downfall of the monarchy.<sup>10</sup> He does not speculate about the general cause of the rebellion, nor search far back for its sources. 'I shall not,' he says, 'lead any man farther back in this journey for the discovery of the entrance into the dark ways than the beginning of this king's reign.' The original cause of the present discontents was the mistake made by Charles and his advisers in dealing with the first three parliaments of the reign. 'No man can show me a source from whence these waters of bitterness we now taste have more probably flowed than from this unseasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolution of parliaments.' He discusses the cause of this error, attributes it mainly to the influence of Buckingham and Weston, and concludes by observing that

<sup>7</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 293.

<sup>8</sup> *Rebellion*, x. 120; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 384. The contribution in question was Sir E. Walker's narrative of the campaign of 1644. See *post*, p. 54, note 95.

<sup>9</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 400.

<sup>10</sup> In the first book of the *History of the Rebellion* the only portions which belong to the 'History' written in 1646 are §§ 1-12 and 147-65. The passages quoted in this summary of the early part of the reign of Charles I are from sections 4, 6, 12, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, and 156 of the first book.

the course of exempting men from prosecution by dissolving of parliaments made the powers of parliaments more formidable, as conceived to be without limit; whereas, if they had been frequently summoned, and seasonably dissolved after their wisdom in applying medicines and cures, as well as their industry in discovering diseases, had been discerned, they would easily have been applied to the uses for which they were first instituted, and been of no less esteem with the crown than of veneration with the people.

Hyde next proceeds to discuss the abuses and the errors of the period during which Charles I governed without a parliament. The abuses were of several kinds—first, supplemental acts of state made to supply defects of laws, such as the levy of tonnage and poundage without act of parliament; secondly, the revival of obsolete laws, such as the law of knighthood and the forest laws; new extraordinary impositions, such as ship money, 'a word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom.' In order to support these 'extraordinary ways' the jurisdictions of the star chamber and the council table were enlarged 'to a vast extent,' and from 'courts of law' they became 'courts of revenue.' As a result 'those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, were never more in danger to be destroyed.'

Speaking as a practical politician he feels bound to point out 'that the circumstances and proceedings in these new extraordinary cases, stratagems, and impositions were very impolitic, and even destructive to the services intended.' It was a mistake to demand ship money as a legal right, instead of as 'an imposition by the state, under the notion of necessity, upon a prospect of danger.' It was a mistake to have it adjudged a right 'by sworn judges of the law,' 'upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law.' The greatest mistake of all was the employment of the judges in these proceedings. 'The damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges by being made use of in this and the like acts of power.' True to his object of drawing instruction for the future from the errors of the past, he now proceeds to consider in general 'the form and circumstance of proceeding in cases of an unusual nature,' proposing as a model the practice of the days of Queen Elizabeth. Twice he apologises for the freedom of his censures. 'Here I cannot but let myself loose to say,' 'Here I cannot but again take the liberty to say.' But throughout he attributes the king's errors to his councillors and ministers, not to himself. As he had laid on Buckingham and Weston the responsibility for the mistakes committed by Charles in dealing with his first three parliaments, so now he attributes the errors he has just described



to 'the spirit and over-activity of the lawyers,' especially to Noy and Finch. And as a set-off to these errors he dwells on the happiness and prosperity which kingdom and church enjoyed during those twelve years of the king's personal government.

Hyde then proceeds to treat in a similar fashion the history of the Scottish troubles.<sup>11</sup> Of the original error of imposing the liturgy on Scotland, of the manner in which it was imposed, and of the military mistakes committed in the conduct of the first Scotch war, he says nothing, or rather reserves his opinion.<sup>12</sup> He enumerates, however, a large number of political blunders subsequently committed by the king. The first of these was the king's summoning the nobility to attend him in the expedition against the Scots.

The pomp of this journey of his majesty (for it was rather like a progress than a march) was the first error committed and was in truth the ground of all the errors and misfortunes that ensued. . . . Affairs only succeed well when willing instruments are engaged in the prosecution . . . the nobility and gentry working so much upon the soldier that his majesty found it necessary to entertain the first overture of a treaty.

The next error was that the king did not personally repair to Scotland, as he promised by the treaty of Berwick that he would do.

This alteration, which they presently called a receding from the agreement, gave them a great advantage, and was very prejudicial to the king; and if he had gone thither in person he would very probably have disposed them to a reasonable conformity. . . . Next to his majesty's not going, the sending the earl of Traquair as his commissioner was thought by many of the worst consequence.<sup>13</sup>

The error which was most fatal of all was the hasty dissolution of the Short Parliament by the king, 'the most immediate cause

<sup>11</sup> Of book ii. as printed in the *History of the Rebellion* the only parts belonging to Hyde's first narrative written in 1646 are those relating to the second Scotch war and its consequences, viz. §§ 81, 82, and 85-130. Clarendon's original account of the disturbances and of the first Scotch war is printed by Dr. Macray in a footnote, vol. i. pp. 97-106. For Clarendon's judgment of the conduct of the Scots see also a letter from him to Nicholas, 12 Feb. 1647, printed in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 336.

<sup>12</sup> 'Whether that liturgy was compiled with care and circumspection, whether it were recommended to the people with discretion and prudence, or whether the people were prepared by due circumstances to receive it, whether the bishops of that kingdom or this were more passionate and unskilful in the prosecution than for the time they ought to have been, or whether the supreme ministers of state employed and trusted by the king there were friends to the church, and so concerned enough in the disorders in the bud, I determine not, but leave all men to their own judgment upon the books of that time, written by both parties and still extant. . . . Whether the Scots were at that time ready to receive such a strength, or whether they were in truth ever after strong enough to have encountered it, I cannot say, having heard several persons who might be presumed to know much severally discourse it.' Note to *Rebellion*, i. 166 in Dr. Macray's edition.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* These two passages and that quoted in note 12 are all from the original account mentioned above.

of all that hath since gone amiss.' Hyde goes on to sum up the mistakes made during and after the second Scotch war. The king should have refused to summon a parliament so long as the Scots were in England. He should have reorganised the army and marched once more against the Scots. He should not have allowed himself to be persuaded to convene the council of peers. He should have taken care that the negotiators of the Ripon treaty were properly instructed in the history of the Scotch troubles and in the justice of the king's case against the Scots. The 'last and most confounding error' was the removing the treaty to London, and consenting that the Scotch commissioners should reside there before a peace was concluded.<sup>14</sup>

Hyde notes all these mistakes not so much for the information of future historians as for the practical guidance of those whose duty it might be to advise the king in the future. He could criticise freely the errors which had been committed by the government between 1625 and 1640, for he wrote as one who had been merely a spectator of the events which he related. Only as a member of the Short Parliament had he been personally concerned, and there he had taken the side of the opposition. The fact that he had since entered the king's service, and was now engaged in vindicating Charles and the party which had supported Charles during the civil war, could not make him deny his past or abdicate his independence of judgment. He could not forget that the constitutional royalists, to which section of the king's party he belonged, had consistently condemned the king's earlier policy, and he was not disposed to suppress this condemnation in his 'History.' A few months later his friend Sir Edward Nicholas urged him to publish a vindication of the king against certain charges brought by parliamentary writers. Hyde was willing to do so with regard to some of the questions referred to, such as the imputation that the king was too slow in declaring against the Irish rebels, not justified in his proceedings against the Scots, and so on. But there were some parts of the king's ecclesiastical policy which he found utterly indefensible, as, for instance, the reception given to papal agents.

I must tell you beforehand (said he) I will offer no excuse for the entertaining of Con, who came after Panzani, and was succeeded by Rosetti, which was a business of so much folly, or worse, that I have mentioned it in my *Prolegomenon* (of those distempers and exorbitances of government which prepared the people to submit to the fury of the parliament) as an offence and scandal to religion, in the same degree the ship money was to liberty and property. Therefore you must think in what age my scribble is like to see light.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Rebellion*, ii. 118-127.

<sup>15</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 336; cf. *History of the Rebellion*, ii. 98.

Nicholas, it is evident, would have liked Hyde to make the 'History' a thoroughgoing vindication of the king, and to print it as soon as possible. Hyde, however, reflecting upon the freedom with which he had felt it his duty to criticise the king's past policy, perceived that such a course was impossible. He told Nicholas that anything immediately needed for the vindication of the king should be published immediately and issued separately. 'The "History" will require much time before it will be done, and very much time and second thoughts, after it be done, before it will be published.'<sup>16</sup>

After completing this outspoken introduction, which formed the first book of the original 'History,' Hyde proceeded to narrate more at length the story of the first two sessions of the Long Parliament. The second book of the original 'History' related the first session of the Long Parliament, ending with the king's journey to Scotland in August 1641, and covering the same ground as the third book of the published *History of the Rebellion*. It was finished on 15 June 1646.<sup>17</sup> The third book of the original 'History,' which corresponds roughly to the fourth book of the published *History of the Rebellion*, carried the story of the Long Parliament down to March 1642, when the king finally left the neighbourhood of London to establish himself at York. It is not dated at the end, but there is evidence that it was completed between August and October 1646.<sup>18</sup>

The progress of Hyde's account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament was for a time delayed by the necessity of defending himself against the accusations of some of his own party. A section of the defeated royalists attributed the ill success of the king's forces in the west during 1645 and the spring of 1646 to the interference of the council of the prince of Wales with the plans of the military commanders. Those commanders, Lord Goring and Sir Richard Greenville, were loud in their complaints, and they found many partisans at court. Hyde undertook to defend himself and his fellow councillors, and to prove that the real cause of the loss of the west was the misconduct of Goring and Greenville. The result was a narrative 'concerning the western business,' filling some seventy-one folio pages, which was commenced on 31 July.

Finding (says Hyde) that they who have been only faulty, and been the principal authors of all the unhappy accidents, have, to redeem themselves from censure, taken all the crooked and indirect ways to lay

<sup>16</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 336.

<sup>17</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, iii. 271, note.

<sup>18</sup> I am now come to the king's leaving London,' wrote Hyde to Sir John Berkeley on 14 Aug. 1646 (Macray, p. xiii). He refers probably to the king's removal from Whitehall to Hampton Court on 10 Jan. 1642 (*Rebellion*, iv. 195), but possibly to the removal to York mentioned at the end of the same book. The beginning of the next book is dated 5 Oct. 1646. Moreover in a letter to Lord Bristol, dated 1 Feb. 1647, Hyde speaks of his third book as completed (*Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 335).

aspersions upon the council of the prince, as if their unskilfulness, impetuosity, and activity had produced those mischieves . . . I have thought it worth my labour, for the satisfaction of those few who cannot be misled but by being misinformed, to set down this plain, true narration of all the material passages and accidents that happened from the time of the prince's leaving Oxford to the instant of his leaving Jersey.<sup>19</sup>

This narrative, written while the events referred to were still fresh in Hyde's memory, and based upon papers which had passed between the military commanders and the prince's council during the period in question,<sup>20</sup> is extremely full and detailed. Naturally it is not impartial, and Hyde's understanding of military operations was limited, but it is a very effective disclosure of the misconduct of the two leaders in question. It supplemented the narrative of Hopton's proceedings, which that general had already presented to the princes on 13 April 1646, by showing that Goring's faults had irretrievably destroyed the efficiency of the army, and rendered success impossible when Hopton took command.<sup>21</sup> It also furnished an answer to the vindication of himself which was subsequently published by Sir Richard Greenville.<sup>22</sup> Five-and-twenty years later the narrative was with some slight omissions incorporated in the *History of the Rebellion*. Hyde also incorporated in it in the same fashion a shorter narrative of the dealings of the prince's council with the duke of Hamilton, written at the same time for a similar purpose.<sup>23</sup>

After these two digressions into the politics of the present, to which the necessity of vindicating himself had compelled him, Hyde returned to his narrative of the first and second sessions of the Long Parliament. There is no part of the original 'History' which demands more careful scrutiny, none in which his partisanship is more obvious and his representation of facts more one-sided. It was not that he was anxious to vindicate himself; he neither states how far he himself went with the popular party nor why he separated himself from it. His object was rather to vindicate the little party of constitutional royalists whose leader he was, and to show why they came to support the cause of the king against the

<sup>19</sup> For an account of the manuscript of the narrative see Macray, i. p. xi. Dr. Macray prints the commencement of it in a note to sect. 7 of book ix. of the *History of the Rebellion*, and the conclusion as a note to sect. 12 of book x. It fills 102 sections of the printed *History*.

<sup>20</sup> A selection from these papers is printed in Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 6-37.

<sup>21</sup> Hopton's narrative is printed in Carte's *Original Letters*, i. 109-126.

<sup>22</sup> Greenville's vindication, which was originally published in 1647, is reprinted in Carte's *Original Letters*, i. 96-109. For some remarks upon it see Hyde's letter of 16 Dec. 1647 to Hopton, amongst the Clarendon MSS. Greenville wrote subsequently a longer apology for his career, entitled *Sir Richard Greenville's Single Defence against all Aspersions, &c.*, which is reprinted in Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, i. 544-56, ed. 1732.

<sup>23</sup> This narrative is comprised in sections 151-60 of book ix. of the *History of the Rebellion* and is dated 10 Sept. 1646 (*History of the Rebellion*, ix. 151, note).

parliament. He speaks of them as men who out of the most abstracted sense of loyalty to the king and duty to the country, severed from any relations to the king or hopes from the court, preserved their own innocence, and endeavoured to uphold the good old frame of government. To explain their action he has to show that it was not the king but the Long Parliament that endeavoured to overthrow the old constitution, and this is the thesis which underlies his representation of events.

Hyde starts with the proposition that the rebellion and the civil war were the work of a minority. At the beginning of the Long Parliament whatever design of change or revolution existed was confined to half a dozen men. These leaders and a score of their friends were 'the persons by whose arts and interests the rest were disposed, the lesser wheels moving entirely by their virtue and impulsion.' It was easy to bring this about.

There was yet no manner of difficulty in swaying and guiding the affections of men, all having brought resolution and animosity enough against the excesses and exorbitancies that had been exercised in the former government, and dislike enough to the persons guilty of the same, and not yet discerning there was any other intention than of a just and regular proceeding and reformation upon both.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover while the violent party 'were never absent in any article of time in which anything that concerned their aims was handled,' the 'men of moderation and sober purposes' were very remiss in attending the house. This afforded opportunity for the passing of extreme measures which would otherwise have been rejected. For instance, when the Grand Remonstrance was passed — 'that absurd, fatal Remonstrance, the first visible ground and foundation of that rage and madness in the people of which they could never since be cured' — not much more than half the members were present.<sup>25</sup>

I know not (adds Hyde) how those men have already answered it to their own consciences, or how they will answer it to Him who will discern their consciences, who having assumed their country's trust, and, it may be, with great earnestness laboured to procure that trust, by their supine laziness, negligence, and absence, were the first inlets to these inundations, and so contributed to those licenses which have overwhelmed us. For by this means, a handful of men, much inferior in the beginning in number and interests, came to give laws to the major part; and to show that three diligent persons are a greater number in arithmetic, as well as a more significant number in logic, than ten unconcerned, they by plurality of voices in the end converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions.<sup>26</sup>

The popular leaders sedulously employed every chance to favour their designs. Hyde bids the reader observe 'from how little inci-

<sup>24</sup> *Rebellion*, iii. 56, note.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 74, note.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 5, 74, 261.

dents and small circumstances, by the art and industry of those men, the greatest matters have flowed towards the confusion we now labour under.'<sup>27</sup> Their success was not due to accident, but to a deliberate plan for obtaining control of the parliament. He therefore enumerates at length the 'ill arts' by which they achieved their object. They began by endeavouring to pack the house with men of their own faction; 'they took great care by their committee of elections to remove as many of those members as they suspected not to be inclinable to their passions upon pretence that they were not regularly chosen, that so they might bring in others more compliable in their places.' They encouraged and invited petitions in favour of their policy, regardless of the 'strange uningenuity and mountebankry that was practised' in procuring some of these petitions. They checked petitions which they disliked, and sometimes punished the petitioners. They sanctioned the license of the press, and allowed 'the most seditious and scurrilous pamphlets' to be freely printed, also printing and circulating their own votes and remonstrances, contrary to all law and precedent. They appointed unconstitutional committees and entrusted them with exorbitant powers, so as to monopolise the authority of parliament in their own hands, because 'they found it easier to transact anything contrived and framed by such a committee than originally offered and debated in either house, before the mystery was understood by their proselytes, and when those who too well understood it did render their designs sometimes ineffectual.' They intimidated those who opposed their designs by censuring and imprisoning members for speaking freely, according to their consciences, in matters of debate, and publishing the names of those who opposed popular measures, while with the same object their allies in the house of lords abused the right of entering protests 'to the end that their opinions might be taken notice of, and who were opposite to them, whereby the good and bad lords were known and published.' Finally they employed the London mob to throng round the doors of the two houses, in order to insult and threaten all who refused to vote for the attainder of Strafford, the exclusion of bishops from the upper house, or the militia bill.

There was nothing new in this thesis. It was simply the development of the declaration which Hyde had written in March 1644 for the anti-parliament called by the king at Oxford.<sup>28</sup> In

<sup>27</sup> *Rebellion*, iii. 167.

<sup>28</sup> The declaration is printed at length in the old *Parliamentary History*, xiii. 86-113. Compare with p. 97 of it the following passages of the *History of the Rebellion*, viz. on the packing of the house, iii. 12, 36; on petitions, iii. 67; iv. 244, 262, 340; v. 51; on the license of the press, iii. 56, 65; iv. 190; on the use made of committees, iv. 10, 213; on the suppression of freedom of debate, iii. 141, iv. 255, 338; on the employment of mobs, iii. 196, iv. 106-120, 271; on the abuse of the right of protest, iv. 254.

that manifesto he had set forth briefly the 'ill arts' of the parliamentary leaders, which he narrates more fully in the 'History,' and the 'acts of force and violence' by which royalist members had been forced to absent themselves from Westminster. On these things 'the lords and commons in parliament assembled at Oxford' enlarged, in order to undeceive the people, and to prevent their fellow subjects being any longer seduced into unlawful actions 'by colour and pretence of parliament.' And their conclusion was that the parliament at Westminster was not 'a full and free convention of parliament,' and had no longer a moral or constitutional claim to represent the nation. This is exactly the conclusion that Hyde's account of the first two sessions of the Long Parliament was meant to impress upon posterity, and upon those few contemporaries who should be privileged to read his 'History.'

What amount of truth is there in this representation of the facts? Was the breach between king and people simply the result of the machinations of a few ambitious men? ✓

On the contrary there is overwhelming evidence of the depth and reality of the feeling which Hyde assumes to have been manufactured by the parliamentary leaders. The 'fears and jealousies' which he asserts to be entirely unfounded rested on a very solid basis of facts. The king's double-dealing and his repeated attempts to appeal to force rendered confidence impossible, obliged the house of commons continually to demand fresh concessions and stronger securities, and raised the popular excitement to fever heat. Hyde's partisanship is shown not merely by his statements, but by his omissions. His accounts of the Army Plot, the Incident, the dispute about the government of the Tower, and the attempted arrest of the five members are disingenuous and inaccurate. He cannot avoid relating these episodes, but he minimises their importance, misstates their history, and conceals their connexion with the general policy of the king and the progress of the breach between king and parliament.

Hyde was not personally responsible for the impeachment and attempted arrest of the five members. 'If the king could but have had the patience to have sat still' and had adopted a policy of passive resistance, he thought that all would have gone well. He describes himself and his friends as 'strangely surprised at the matter and manner of that accusation,' and foreseeing 'from the minute, the infinite disadvantage that it would bring to the king's affairs.'<sup>29</sup> But he blames the impeachment simply as an error of judgment, 'the king considering rather what was just than what was

<sup>29</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, iv. 217, 218, and the long extract from the original 'History' printed as a note to 149. It is to be observed that in the passages taken from the 'Life' of himself, written in 1668, and not meant for the king's eye, Hyde blames both acts much more outspokenly. Cf. iv. 158, 192.

expedient, without communicating it to any of his council, and so not sufficiently weighing the circumstances and the way of doing it as well as the matter itself.' As for the attempted arrest of the impeached members by the king, he confines himself to a bare relation of the fact, and he could hardly do more, seeing that his chief business had been to apologise for it in the numerous declarations which he drew up for the king in the spring and summer of 1642. In this case too the 'History' simply repeats and enforces the arguments contained in the polemical writings of its author.

The 'History' is still more misleading in its account of the events which followed the attempted arrest of the five members. Hyde represents the king's attitude as entirely passive, and that of the parliament as wantonly aggressive. As a matter of fact the king's intention during the first week after he left London was to appeal to force. Hence the armed gatherings at Kingston and Windsor, the strengthening of the garrison of the Tower, and the attempts to secure the possession of Portsmouth and Hull. Not till the complete failure of this scheme did Charles adopt a conciliatory attitude.<sup>30</sup> The historian mentions these incidents, but uses every art to conceal their significance and their relation to each other. Yet the aggressive designs these acts revealed, and not any dread of mob violence, led the lords to pass the Militia Bill, and shattered for the time the king's party in the upper house. Hyde's account of the events of January and February 1642 is a tissue of misrepresentations.<sup>31</sup>

It is at this point in his narrative that Hyde begins to insert the declarations he wrote in defence of the king. One of the distinguishing characteristics of the original 'History' as compared with the 'Life' is the number of manifestoes and state papers which it contains, sometimes in an abridged form, sometimes at full length. Hyde includes the declarations of both parties, giving, for instance, a summary of the Grand Remonstrance, as well as the two answers

<sup>30</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, x. 152-67.

<sup>31</sup> See the minute examination of it by Dr. A. Buff, published at Giessen in 1868 as a dissertation for the degree of doctor at Heidelberg. 'Überhaupt ist seine ganze Darstellung der Ereignisse in den ersten vier Wochen nach der Flucht des Königs aus London nicht als ein Gewebe von Entstellungen . . . Zur Erreichung seines Zweckes scheut sich unser Autor keineswegs auch geradezu Erdichtungen aufzutischen; doch zieht er im Ganzen vor durch geschickte Fälschung, besonders Verschiebung der Chronologie und gelegentliche boshafte Bemerkungen die Thatsachen in ein unrichtiges Licht zu setzen. Die Geschicklichkeit, mit der er dies zu Wege bringt, ist nicht gering; freilich hat er, obwohl er für einen Geschichtsschreiber viel zu sehr Advocat ist, doch auch andererseits, um einen vollendeten Vertheidiger zu machen, wieder zu viel historischen Sinn. Er kann nicht schweigen. Die Wahrheit, oder wenigstens Anklänge daran, sickern ihm, trotz alle Bemühungen, an allen Ecken und Enden durch, und in Folge dessen erscheint seine Erzählung öfters in nicht geringem Grade widerspruchsvoll und durcheinander' (pp. 19, 20). The contradictions which Dr. Buff refers to are partly explained by the opposition between the 'History' and the Life.



to it published by the king.<sup>32</sup> One of these answers to the Remonstrance was the first of the long series of papers in which his pen was employed in his master's service.<sup>33</sup>

The next book of the original 'History,' the fourth, which corresponds with the present fifth book, covers the period from March to August 1642. It is dated at the beginning 5 Oct. 1646 and at the end 14 June 1647.<sup>34</sup> This book consists almost entirely of the manifestoes published by king and parliament during the interval that elapsed between the king's removal to York and the commencement of the war.

It contains (he wrote to the earl of Bristol) all the passages from the king's going to York to the setting up the standard, which time being wholly spent in talk, and all that followed of action proceeding from that talk, I have been obliged to set down (which I had a great mind to have avoided) many declarations even *in terminis*; so that this book consists upon the matter of little else but declarations.<sup>35</sup>

From the artistic point of view the intrusion of these enormous and somewhat dull documents is a great error. The progress of the narrative is impeded and its coherency destroyed. The book which contains them is a sort of Serbonian bog in which many readers of the *History of the Rebellion* flounder and sink. One contemporary critic, the earl of Bristol, apparently recommended Hyde to omit the manifestoes, and either greatly to abridge them or to insert them in an appendix.

The method you propose (replied Hyde) would unquestionably be most agreeable to the major part of readers, yet I doubt whether it is to be exactly observed in the work I am upon. For your lordship knows that there is a great deal of difference between troubling the series of grave and weighty actions and counsels with tedious relations of formal despatches (though of notable moment), and the relating solemn acts and consultations, from which all the matter of action is raised and continued. And therefore you will find D'Avila (who, I think, hath written as ours should be written, and from whence no question our gamesters learned much of their play)<sup>36</sup> insert the declarations of both sides in the main body of the story, as the foundations upon which all that was after done was built.<sup>37</sup>

There were, however, other motives which probably influenced

<sup>32</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, iv. 59, 82, 493.

<sup>33</sup> 'Life,' ii. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, v. 1, note, and preface, p. x.

<sup>35</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 334.

<sup>36</sup> Sir P. Warwick says of Hampden: 'He was very well read in history; and I remember the first time I ever saw that of D'Avila of the *Civil Wars of France*; it was lent me under the title of Mr. Hambden's *Vade-Mecum*; and I believe no copy was liker an original than that rebellion was like ours' (*Memoirs*, p. 240).

<sup>37</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 334. The letter is dated 1 Feb. 1647. 'I have no hope of bringing this wild story within any reasonable bounds, to invite readers by the smallness of the bulk,' says Hyde, doubtless in answer to the suggestion that he should make his 'History' short enough to be popular.

Hyde more than the desire to imitate D'Avila. One motive was to justify himself and the policy which he had recommended. He was proud of his declarations<sup>38</sup> and regarded them as having produced an important practical effect. It was true that 'these paper skirmishes left neither side better inclined to the other, but by sharpening each other drew the matter nearer to an issue.' On the other hand by their means the king

so well informed the people that they began to question both the logic and the law of the parliament . . . The people were every day visibly reformed in their understandings from the superstitious reverence they had paid the two houses, and grew sensible of their duty to the king, and of those invasions which were offered to the royal dignity.<sup>39</sup>

Hyde no doubt somewhat exaggerated the influence of his pen, but Sir Philip Warwick estimates its value very highly. It was owing to Hyde, he says, that

his majesty's propositions, messages, replies, and declarations, were so well answering unto the rules of the house, and the subject matters treated of, and found so much better acceptance with the world than those of the house of commons, which, for a time, was very advantageous to his majesty's service, for it drew the curtain and made plain the deceitfulness and unwarrantable designs of the contrivers in parliament, and the reasonableness of his majesty's propositions.<sup>40</sup>

But Hyde's pen would have been of little value had not the king also adopted Hyde's policy. In January 1642, in consequence of his ill-judged attempt against the five members, the 'king had fallen in ten days from such a height and greatness that his enemies feared to such a lowness that his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him.'<sup>41</sup> Now that force had failed, Charles in

<sup>38</sup> The first declaration drawn up by Hyde for the king was the king's answer to the Grand Remonstrance, published in January 1642 (see *Rebellion*, bk. iv. 168-73; 'Life,' ii. 1-3, ed. 1857). From 23 Feb. 1642 he was the accredited penman of his party, and was on that day ordered by the king to prepare answers to all the parliamentary manifestoes and messages ('Life,' iii. 28). During 1642 only two of the king's declarations were not written by Hyde, viz. the declaration apologising for the king's attack on Brentford, which was written by Falkland, and the answer to the Nineteen Propositions, which was the work of Falkland and Culpeper together (*Rebellion*, v. 325, vi. 126, n.; 'Life,' ii. 61).

<sup>39</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, v. 30, 150, 333, 336.

<sup>40</sup> He proceeds to criticise less favourably the style and in some respects the substance of Hyde's papers (Warwick's *Memoirs*, p. 197). A wise lord he remembers 'used to say, 'Our good pen will harm us.' Hobbes also censures the constitutional theories contained in them, blaming Hyde and his party as 'in love with a sort of monarchy which they used to praise by the name of mixed monarchy, though it were indeed nothing else but pure anarchy,' and as ignorant of 'the essential rights of sovereignty' (*Behemoth, Maseres Tracts*, 567, 575). The best proof of the effectiveness of the papers at the time is the increasing wrath of the parliamentary party against their framer. Cf. *Rebellion*, v. 158, 169, 175, 188, 193, 233.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 217.

his extremity fell back on the policy of which Hyde was the exponent. Its keynote was reverence for the law, 'that great and admirable mystery,' which Hyde worshipped with a sincere if somewhat superstitious devotion.<sup>42</sup> Inspired by him the king resolved

to shelter himself wholly under the law, to grant anything that by the law he was obliged to grant, and to deny what by the law was in his own power, and which he found inconvenient to consent to, and to oppose and punish any extravagant attempt by the force and power of the law, presuming that the king and the law together would have been strong enough for any encounter that could happen.<sup>43</sup>

Thus by a strange reversal of parts 'the known laws of the land' became the watchword of the royalists, and Pym's panegyric of the law was turned against Pym himself. Hyde's policy, as Mr. Gardiner points out, had its defects, but it had at least a marvellous temporary success. 'He gave the king a party, and that party, though defeated in the field and doomed to many years of proscription, rose again to embrace the whole nation for a time.'<sup>44</sup> Of the policy which effected these things Hyde's declarations were the statement and the vindication. They contained the record of his greatest practical achievement and the fullest exposition of his political creed. The theory of the constitution which they embodied had been accepted by his party as a temporary expedient; he wished them to adopt it as the permanent basis of their future policy. To repeat the declarations, to recall their success, and to emphasise their significance were necessary to his purpose.

At one moment Hyde thought of devoting a whole book of the 'History' to a detailed exposition of the English constitution as he understood it. This was to have been inserted after the declarations, and as a sort of introduction to the account of the Civil War. It would have been the fifth book of the original 'History.'

It is moulded (he told Bristol) to contain a discourse of the just regal power of the king of England, and of his negative voice, of the militia, and of the great seal by the laws of England, of the original, at least of the antiquity and constitution of parliaments, of their jurisdiction and privileges, of the power of the house of peers by the law, and of the natural limits and extent of the commons.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> No doubt the utterances of both Pym and Hyde on the subject of law were largely influenced by Hooker's famous passage concerning it. Hyde quotes Hooker (v. 286), and, as Mr. Gardiner shows, modelled the first sentence of the *History of the Rebellion* on the first sentence of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* (*Great Civil War*, iii. 122).

<sup>43</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, v. 12.

<sup>44</sup> *History of England*, x. 169.

<sup>45</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 334. Dr. Macray remarks that in the author's own pagination of the manuscript of the 'History' there is a gap of eighty pages. 'These pages were left for an intended fifth book, of which the outline remains in a paper of

This design was never carried out, because Hyde could not procure in Jersey the notes and records which he needed as his authorities.<sup>46</sup>

To some extent the place of this unwritten treatise is supplied by the digressions scattered through the 'History.' Hyde is one of the most discursive of writers, and these digressions are of all kinds. More than once he turns aside to give a picture of the times, 'conceiving it to be no less a part of history and more useful to posterity to leave a picture of the times than of the persons, or the narrative of the matter of fact, which cannot be so well understood as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.'<sup>47</sup> Once he even inserts a lengthy essay on the nature of true courage.<sup>48</sup> But these digressions most frequently deal with constitutional questions, and form a series of little essays on particular points which supplement and explain the view embodied in the manifestoes. In one place Hyde discusses the constitutional significance of the king's assent to bills, and the necessity of properly informing his majesty on the subject of those presented to him.<sup>49</sup> In others he treats of privilege of parliament, its extent and its limitations, and of the right of protest exercised by the peers and on one occasion claimed by the bishops.<sup>50</sup> He considers also the connexion of church and state, the question of the policy to be pursued towards foreign protestants, the history of the High Commission court, and the validity of political maxims, such as *Salus populi suprema lex* and *Male posita est lex quae tumultuarie posita est*.<sup>51</sup>

Of these constitutional digressions the most important are those dealing with the subject of the privy council. According to Hyde's view the king's failure properly to estimate the importance memoranda of events noticed in books iii.-vii., in Hyde's own hand (*Cal. Clar. S. P.* i. 503). It runs as follows:—

' Lib V.

' Introduction and Summing up the case  
 Originall institution and growth of Parliaments  
 Jurisdiction and power  
 Ordinances  
 Negative Voyce  
 Power of the Crowne  
 Militia  
 Great Seale

' Episcopacy and power of Bishoppes etc. ; intermixture and relation betweene the Ecclesiasticall and Civil State.'

' In consequence of the omission of this proposed essay . . . the earlier books were subsequently redivided and the original numbers were altered.'

<sup>46</sup> 'The fifth book,' says the letter to Bristol, 'I intend to be a greater *Hiatus*, if such notes and records as I have sent for to London come safely to me.' By '*Hiatus*' he means digression, and the comparison suggested is with the original fourth book containing the declarations (*Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 334).

<sup>47</sup> *Rebellion*, vii. 286 ; cf. i. 159-65, ii. 128-30, vii. 276-86.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 264, note.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 55.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 143, 231-6, 254.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 257 ; iv. 40, 305 ; v. 154 ; vi. 180.

of that institution, and to maintain its authority accordingly, had been one of the chief causes of the fall of the monarchy. One of the king's early errors was suffering the debates at the council board, when delinquents were summoned before it, to be conducted in public.<sup>52</sup> More serious still were the consequences of permitting privy councillors to be examined by parliament as to matters which had passed in council.

The damage was not to be expressed, and the ruin that last act brought to the king was irreparable; for . . . it banished for ever all future freedom from that board and the persons from whom his majesty was to expect advice in his greatest straits, all men satisfying themselves that they were no more obliged to deliver their opinions there freely, when they might be impeached in another place for so doing.<sup>53</sup>

An error as great was the king's appointment of eight new councillors in February 1641, chosen as 'being all persons that time very gracious to the people,' and thought to be in favour of reformation of abuses in church and state. 'The reputation, if not the government,' of the state depends greatly on a right choice of privy councillors.

There are certain opinions, certain propositions and general principles, that whatsoever does not hold, does not believe, is not without great danger to be accepted for a privy councillor. As whosoever is not fixed to monarchic grounds, the preservation and upholding whereof is the chief end of such a council, whosoever does not believe that, in order to that great end, there is a dignity, a freedom, a jurisdiction most essential to be preserved in and to that place, and takes not the preservation thereof to heart, ought never to be received there. . . . And princes cannot be too strict, too tender in this consideration in the constituting the body of their privy council, upon the prudent doing whereof much of their safety, more of their honour and reputation . . . both at home and abroad, necessarily depends; and the inadvertences on this point have been, mediately or immediately, the root and the spring of all the calamities that have ensued.<sup>54</sup>

If the king himself failed to appreciate the proper position of the council it was hardly likely that others would do so. During the war the authority of the council was still further diminished.

The soldiers, thinking the king's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with but the martial, and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate, and by the authority and prudence whereof provision could be only reasonably expected for the countenance and support of the army.<sup>55</sup>

Hyde then enlarges on the importance of holding public debates in the council on questions of moment, and the folly of under-

<sup>52</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 155.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 45-8.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 51.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 278.

valuing the wisdom of the whole body on account of the infirmities of particular members. Foremost amongst those who thus disesteemed the council was Prince Rupert, 'and it may be a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince underwent, and the kingdom by it.'<sup>56</sup>

The sum of all these observations on the history of the council is this practical conclusion :—

The truth is, the sinking and near desperate condition of monarchy in this kingdom can never be buoyed up but by a prudent and steady council attending upon the vigour and vivacity of the king; nor be preserved and improved when it is up but by cherishing and preserving the wisdom, integrity, dignity, and reputation of that council.<sup>57</sup>

Here again, as in so many other instances, the distinct didactic purpose which inspires Hyde's original narrative is plainly apparent. He wrote not merely to point out the political mistakes of the past, but to lay down the true policy for the future; 'to provide,' as he says, 'for new business against the time I should be called to it; to inform myself and some others what we are to do.'

In book vi. Hyde embarked upon the history of the civil war itself, to which that book and the following one are entirely devoted. Each covers the history of a year's campaign, taking the year as ending according to the old reckoning, in March instead of December. Thus the sixth book commences with the setting up of the king's standard at Nottingham in August 1642, and ends with the preparations for the peace negotiations which took place in April 1643, while the seventh book ends with Prince Rupert's relief of Newark, in March 1644. Book vi. was written between 23 June 1647 and 14 Oct. 1647, and book vii. is dated at the beginning 18 Oct. 1647 and at the end 8 March 1647-8.<sup>58</sup>

With this part of the 'History' Hyde's real difficulties began. He did not understand military affairs, and had taken no personal part in the campaigns which it was now his business to record. In

<sup>56</sup> The opposition of the king's civil and military advisers is very frequently mentioned by Clarendon, book vi. 134, n.; vii. 44, 278-82; viii. *passim*. Newcastle, Wilmot, and Goring are similarly blamed.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 53. This view was shared by the little body of constitutional royalists to which Hyde belonged, and is very clearly expressed in a letter written by Nicholas to Lord Hatton in 1652. 'As I am sure our late master (now with God) lost all by despising of councils and by undervaluing of counsellors, so Queen Elizabeth kept up her honour and esteem by the value she set on councils and on her counsellors. And untill the king shall have a well composed council sworn of honest and thorough loyal men that will trust one another, and in whom honest men will and may confide, and that shall have more reputation with the king and respect from the courtiers than in the time of the late king of blessed memory, I cannot hope that his majesty's affairs will prosper' (*Nicholas Papers*, ed. Warner, i. 305; cf. pp. 161, 289). Clarendon again puts the view forward in his account of his own ministry: Continuation of the 'Life,' pp. 562, 912.

<sup>58</sup> See Dr. Macray's preface to the *History of the Rebellion*, p. x, and his notes at the beginning and end of the books in question.

his account of the causes and preliminaries of the war he had dealt mainly with transactions in which he had been an actor and events which had taken place under his eyes, but even in dealing with them he had been hampered by want of help and by the limitations of his own knowledge. 'I began as well as I could without any papers upon the stock of my own memory,' was his announcement to Sir John Berkeley.<sup>59</sup> Similarly he apologised to the king for his presumption in undertaking to write 'upon the stock of an ill memory, refreshed only with some few pamphlets and diurnals.'<sup>60</sup> Except some letters relating to the quarrels of the king's commanders in the west, he seems to have brought no materials with him when he left England. 'If I had my own papers, which I left in Oxford, they would help me,' were his words to Nicholas.<sup>61</sup>

Hyde therefore sought assistance from every quarter, but the friend upon whom he most relied for help was Secretary Nicholas.

I desire (said he) you will by all your diligence, intercourse, and dexterity procure such materials for me for my 'History' as you know necessary, which I take to be so much your work, that if you fail in it, I will put marginal notes into the 'History,' that shall reproach you for want of contribution. By you—that is, by your care—I must be supplied with all the acts of countenance and confederacy which have passed from France, Holland, Spain in favour of the rogues in England; from you I must have all the passages in the war, which have only been remembered by Sir Edward Walker, from whom you must recover them, besides your own memorials of Ireland, &c.<sup>62</sup>

To Lord Digby Hyde wrote—

I pray let your secretaries collect all material passages concerning Ireland you think fit to impart to me. I would be glad you could yourself collect as many particulars of Count Harcourt's negotiations in England, of Duke Hamilton's commitment, and of the marquis of Montrose's managery in Scotland, and any other things you imagine conducing to my work.<sup>63</sup>

He asked for information to correct what he had written, as well as to provide material for what yet remained to be written. The earl of Bristol was requested to call to mind the details of the treaty with the Scots in 1639, 'and upon what grounds and in what particulars the failing of the performance thereof was on his majesty's behalf,' and to add thereto his reminiscences of the temper and the proceedings of the house of lords during the early part of 1642.<sup>64</sup> From Lord Culpeper and the earl of Forth he hoped to get some light upon the military operations of the king's chief army.

The reason why I joined the old general with you in the businesse of Edghill, which I intend shall comprehend the business of Brentford too,

<sup>59</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, ed. Macray, preface, p. xiii.

<sup>60</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 385.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* i. 289.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 218.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 331.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 321.

with all the intervenient passages, is because I know upon your memory and interrogatoryes, you may easily supply yoursele from him (provided you have patience) with very materiall circumstances ; and it may bee if you spend an houre more with my Lord Wilmott (who commanded the left wing where you were not) you may make your discourse the more perfect. The like care I expect from you concerning the seige of Gloucester, the raising that seige, and retreite, the oversight there, the quick march after, and the first battle of Newbury (where wee lost deare Falkland, whom the next age shall be taught to valew more than the present did), your next yeares march into and out of the West, with the second and third businesse of Newbury. And all these (though I doe not look you should doe it altogether in as little roome and as little time as I aske it) you will with the assistance of Sir Edward Walker, who I presume hath short memorialls as to times and things, finde not very difficult.<sup>65</sup>

From another friend, Dr. Steward, Hyde requested information about the peace negotiations at Uxbridge in the spring of 1645.

I must continue my sute still to you, for your recollecting the passages in debate at Uxbridge and the assercions of the divines on both sydes, which under your favour are very fitt for my purpose, for as I thinke the treaty is not sufficiently cominicated to the world by the books which you mencion, and that I ought to publish the absurd arguments they gave for what they desired, as well as the monstrous propositions they made, soe I shall not satisfy mysele unlesse in the businesse of the Church I shall give an account of the principal arguments that were urged on both parts.<sup>66</sup>

These applications for documentary assistance are interesting, because they show with what conscientiousness Hyde set to work to collect evidence, and so illustrate his conception of the duty of an historian. Unfortunately they met with a very unsatisfactory response from other royalists. Lord Digby, for instance, gave him no help.

Your two secretaries (complained Hyde), by your dictating, might supply me with many things necessary for the work you know I have in hand, which I often wish I had never begun, having found less assistance for it than I thought I should have done, as if all men had a desire the ill should be remembered, and the good forgotten.<sup>67</sup>

The result is that some parts of the civil war are treated in a very slight and perfunctory fashion. The account of the campaigns

<sup>65</sup> Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 43. As secretary of the council of war it was Walker's duty to keep notes of the proceedings of the council and orders issued. Culpeper does not seem to have sent the contribution asked for ; at least there is no trace of it amongst the Clarendon MSS. On the other hand the account of Edgehill in the 'History' is so detailed that it looks as if the author had documentary evidence of some kind to assist his memory.

<sup>66</sup> Clarendon MSS. no. 2408, 8 Jan. 1647; cf. *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 328. Hyde also asked Steward for information about Laud.

<sup>67</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 383.



in the north of England is both meagre and inaccurate. Of what happened during the king's stay at York there is a detailed and fairly accurate narrative in book v., from the time when Charles established himself at York (19 March 1642) to the setting up of the standard at Nottingham (22 Aug.) Of the latter part of this period Hyde wrote as an eye-witness, for he arrived at York himself early in June 1642. As the war proceeds Hyde's account of northern affairs grows more and more scanty. In book vi. he relates the march of Newcastle into Yorkshire, the landing of the queen, and the defection of Sir Hugh Cholmley. In book vii. he begins to give an account of Newcastle's successes, and then breaks off abruptly, leaving two pages blank, to be filled up later. In the remainder of the book there are merely occasional references to Newcastle's victories, with a few lines on the siege of Hull and the causes which prevented the marquis from marching south to join the king. The battle of Atherton Moor is never mentioned at all. Towards the end of the book there is an account of the entry of the Scots into England, of the siege of Newark, of the defeat of Bellasis at Selby (which is misdated), of the retreat of Newcastle to York, and of Rupert's relief of Newark.<sup>68</sup>

Hyde thought it necessary to explain this inadequate treatment of northern affairs, and to apologise for it. The marquis of Newcastle's actions, he says,

were so prosperous, and so full of notable accidents, that they deserve a history apart, and therefore I shall only insert such of them in this place as were most signal, and which had the greatest influence upon the series of the greatest affairs.<sup>69</sup>

It was not the writer's fault. He had spared no pains to inform himself upon the subject, and had applied directly to Newcastle for help. On 5 Aug. 1646 he wrote to Lord Widdrington, saying that he was writing 'a plain, faithful narrative' of the rebellion, and asking for information from himself and from the marquis of Newcastle.

Your lordship hath had a noble part in those attempts which have been made to rescue our miserable country from the tyranny she now groans under; and by the happiness you enjoy in the friendship of that excellent person (whose conduct was never unprosperous) well know by what skill and virtue the north of England was recovered to his majesty, and with what difficulties defended. And if you find that his lordship himself may not be prevailed with to adorn those actions with his own incomparable stile (which indeed would render them fit to be bound up with the other Commentaries), vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship, that by your means I may be trusted with such counsels and occurrences as you shall judge fit to be submitted to the ill apparel I shall be able to supply them

<sup>68</sup> *Rebellion*, vi. 257-268; vii. 121, note, 135, 176, note, 400, 416.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 121.

with ; which I shall take care (how simple soever) shall not defraud them of their due integrity, which will be ornament enough.<sup>70</sup>

Widdrington's reply is not now in existence, but, in spite of this flattering appeal, both he and Newcastle refused their help. Nothing daunted, Hyde made a fresh attempt on Newcastle through Dr. John Earles.

I am very glad (for my own sake) that you have the happiness to be known to my lord Newcastle. I commit the managing what concerns me, both in substance and circumstance, wholly to your direction and dexterity.<sup>71</sup>

The result of this new application was a second refusal. On 13 Feb. 1646-7 Hyde wrote to Earles—

I told you, I believe, in one of my former letters what answer I had from my lord Newcastle by my lord Widdrington, which was the very same you now send me, with which I must acquiesce, though you on my behalf might have sayd how hard a thing it is to set asyde that part of the story and proceed with the rest, which will not only make an hiatus in one place, but perplex the whole beside ; therefore (though you must not in my name urge it and I am more willing to wayte for . . . . .<sup>72</sup> conduct, till I may have the honour to wayte on my lord, of which I am very ambitious, and of whose favour I am very sensible), I could wish you could procure mee the general relation of the severall counties, and if it were possible the transactions with Sir John Hotham, which mee thinks you might picke up dexterously by conference with my lord Widdrington and some others, by which I might frame the current of my story, which will be else much interrupted.

Finally about a month later, 16 March 1646-7, Hyde wrote again to Earles, saying—

I would not have you importune my lord Newcastle further in the old business, nor put yourself to more trouble in it ; for since I find most men so unconcerned to contribute towards it, and some who are very able to satisfy me in what I have desired so positive against the doing it, contrary to my expectation, I have resolved to lay the task aside till a fitter season.<sup>73</sup>

As the more important actors in the northern war failed him, Hyde turned to the minor personages for assistance. In book vi. he mentions the revolt of Sir Hugh Cholmley, the governor of Scarborough, who changed sides directly after the queen's arrival in Yorkshire.

He had done very notable service to the parliament, and oftener defeated the earl of Newcastle's troops than any officer of those parts . . .

<sup>70</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 246.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 322.

<sup>72</sup> A tear in the letter; supply 'an account of my lord's own.' This is from Clarendon MS. no. 2442, a letter of 12 Feb. 1646-7, of which a part only is printed (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 338).

<sup>73</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 350.

He had been in truth hurried to that party rather by the engagement of Sir John Hotham, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination.

In May 1647 Cholmley came to reside at Rouen. To him Hyde at last applied; he wrote to Hopton on 30 April 1648, 'I received a civil letter from Sir Hugh Cholmley, so that upon that correspondence I shall draw what I can from him.'<sup>74</sup> In the end Hyde received from Cholmley three papers relating to the war in Yorkshire, viz. *Memorials touching Scarborough*,<sup>75</sup> *Memorials touching the battle of York*,<sup>76</sup> *Observations touching the Hothams*.<sup>77</sup> From other sources he obtained a brief note on the battle of Marston Moor, and a short account of military proceedings at and near Newcastle from 1641 to 1645.<sup>78</sup> All these, however, were received too late to be utilised in the 'History,' so they were laid by till the time should come to revise and supplement it.

For different reasons Hyde says very little about the progress of the war in Ireland. He declares his intention of relating events there only so far as they influenced events in England.

In this discourse of Ireland I cannot be imagined, neither do I intend to mention, any of the memorable actions or other transactions within that kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business than had immediate reference to and dependence on the difference between the king and the two houses of parliament.<sup>79</sup>

Throughout he labours to vindicate Charles from the accusations of favouring the rebels and obstructing the reduction of Ireland, and seeks to justify the cessation of arms which took place there in 1643.

He saw that it was not in his power to compose the distractions of England or to prevent those of Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he began to think of any expedients which might allay the distemper in Ireland, that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that towards the procuring of it in his other dominions.<sup>80</sup>

Hyde quotes the letters of the Irish council at length in order to prove that the cessation was forced upon Ormond and the Irish government by the neglect of the English parliament to supply them with arms, provisions, and money. He further argues that the refusal of the parliament to co-operate with Charles in the reduction of the rebels freed him from the obligation not to make peace with them without the parliament's consent.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, vi. 268; Clarendon MS. 2770.

<sup>75</sup> Clarendon MS. no. 1669; never printed.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* no. 1764; printed in the *English Historical Review*, v. (1890) 345.

<sup>77</sup> Clarendon MS. no. 1809; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 181.

<sup>78</sup> Clarendon MSS. nos. 1805, 2064. The first of these is printed by Dr. Macray in a footnote to the *History of the Rebellion*, viii. 75.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 296.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 329.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 337.

As a member of the privy council Hyde had been consulted both in regard to the cessation and as to the employment of the Irish forces in England, and he approved of both expedients. At the treaty of Uxbridge in January 1645 he was appointed to deliver the answer agreed upon by the king's commissioners on 'the business of Ireland,' which he did 'so particularly and convincingly, that those of the parliament were in much confusion, and the king's commissioners much pleased.'<sup>82</sup> He possessed therefore, as he hints, some personal knowledge of the king's Irish policy, and it is probable that he also derived some assistance from Nicholas in writing the part of the 'History' which relates to it.<sup>83</sup>

The very full and detailed account of the progress of the war in the west of England given in books vi. and vii. affords a curious contrast to the imperfect accounts of the northern and the Irish war. In this case Hyde had the inestimable advantage of being able to base his story upon documents drawn up for his use by officers concerned in the campaigns related. Hopton wrote for him two narratives, which recounted his own services from the time when the marquis of Hertford set up the king's standard to the capture of Bristol, told how the Cornish army was originally raised, and described its successive victories. Slingsby, one of Hopton's officers, also put on paper his recollections of the battles of Lansdown and Roundway and of the storming of Bristol. Hyde followed Hopton's narratives very closely,<sup>84</sup> deriving from them the names, dates, figures, and other details given in the 'History,' and sometimes copying the phraseology of his authorities.<sup>85</sup> The descriptions of the battle of Stratton and the cavalry skirmish at Chewton Mendip supply good examples of the manner in which

<sup>82</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, vii. 340, viii. 235.

<sup>83</sup> At the time when Hyde was writing this thoroughgoing vindication of the policy pursued by the king towards Ireland during 1642 and 1643 he both lamented and condemned the later developments of that policy. 'I care not,' he told Nicholas on 12 Feb. 1647, 'how little I say in that business of Ireland, since those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite Glamorgan, which appear to me so inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence; and I fear there is much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. O Mr. Secretary, those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king, and look like the effects of God's anger towards us' (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 337). Neither in the 'History' nor in the 'Life,' nor in the completed *History of the Rebellion*, is any mention of the Glamorgan treaty ever made. Unable, it seems, to defend this intrigue, Hyde thought best to suppress it, as the only way to save the king's reputation. And yet in the answer to the declaration of the commons on the reasons for their vote for no addresses to the king Hyde made an attempt to vindicate Charles on this point (*Answer*, pp. 116-8).

<sup>84</sup> The following sections in the *History of the Rebellion* are based upon Hopton's narratives: vi. 3-7, 33, 239-56; vii. 86-98, 101-20, 123-33.

<sup>85</sup> The narratives of Hopton and Slingsby are Clarendon MS. 1738, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7. All six are printed in vol. xviii. of the publications of the Somerset Record Society, 1902, edited by C. E. Chadwyck Healey, K.C., under the general title of *Bellum Civile*.

one account is based on the other.<sup>85</sup> Hyde does not hesitate to abridge Hopton freely, and omits many unimportant incidents. He inserts with equal freedom general reflexions upon the causes or consequences of particular events,<sup>87</sup> and upon the characters of persons mentioned. The characters of Godolphin and Chudleigh are instances of this.<sup>88</sup> Moreover Hyde's accounts of the battle of Roundway Down and the capture of Bristol supply some facts not mentioned either by Hopton or Slingsby, but perhaps derived from the reminiscences of other officers who took part in the campaign. In the same way the accounts of the successes of Prince Maurice and Colonel John Digby in Dorsetshire and Devonshire are not based upon Hopton's narrative, but upon some other authority.<sup>89</sup>

It is less easy to say what assistance Hyde received in his account of the proceedings of the king's main army during the campaigns of 1642 and 1643. He had seen something of the war himself, for he accompanied Charles from Nottingham to Oxford, and was present at the battle of Edgehill. He also visited Bristol with the king immediately after its capture, and spent some days in the camp before Gloucester. For the rest of those two campaigns Hyde remained at Oxford, and one of the most valuable parts of the 'History' is the account of the factions and intrigues of the little court there. On subjects such as the treaty of Oxford, the divisions in the king's council, and the influence of the queen, his evidence is of the first importance. The case of the three peers who seceded from the parliament, their reception at Oxford, and the discussions which took place in the king's council upon their treatment, would all remain entirely obscure and unintelligible but for the 'History,' and the story of that episode is entirely based upon Hyde's own recollections. Though he had little direct personal knowledge of military transactions during that period, he was extremely well placed for hearing about them. Letters from commanders in all parts of England flowed in to the king's headquarters at Oxford, and the substance of them was published every week in the *Mercurius Aulicus*. No doubt some numbers of this newspaper were amongst the 'few diurnals' which Hyde mentions when he complains of his lack of authorities.<sup>90</sup> There are also amongst his papers an anonymous narrative of the battle of Hopton Heath, and an account by Lord Byron of the first battle of Newbury. The first he certainly used

<sup>85</sup> For Stratton see *Bellum Civile*, p. 42, and *Rebellion*, vii. 87; for Chewton, *Bellum Civile*, p. 49, and *Rebellion*, vii. 101.

<sup>87</sup> *Rebellion*, vi. 239. The comment on the humanity of the Cornish soldiers (*ibid.* vi. 298) is an addition of Hyde's.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 251, vii. 92. 'Mr. Sidney Godolphin, of whom may be said in breife, that hee was as perfect and as absolute peice of vertue as ever our nation bredd,' is Hopton's brief note on his death (*Bellum Civile*, p. 33).

<sup>89</sup> *Rebellion*, vii. 116-9, 191-8.

<sup>90</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 385.

in his 'History;' <sup>91</sup> the second probably arrived too late for his purpose.<sup>92</sup>

With the completion of the seventh book, which comprises the events of the year 1643, and ends with the relief of Newark in March 1644, the composition of the 'History' came to a standstill. Hyde finished writing that book 8 March 1648, and then the lack of authorities obliged him to make a halt, and to wait till the promised contributions reached him. They came in slowly. The prince of Wales sent him, about April 1648, a journal of Prince Rupert's marches from September 1642 to July 1646, which, if it had arrived earlier, would have been extremely useful.<sup>93</sup> In his letter of thanks Hyde told the prince that he expected a similar contribution from the king, and gave an account of the progress of the 'History.'

When first I ventured upon it I did not think that the recollection would have required so long a time as I have had allowed me. But my unskilfulness hath not been greater since in the composure, than it was in that conjecture; and in all this time (not very lazily spent) I have not been able to proceed farther than into the year 1644, the seventh book ending in the year 1643. It pleased the king, who hath graciously vouchsafed me to pardon and approve my design, very few days before he left Hampton Court, to send me word that he had some instructions for me for the year 1644, and I am sure his majesty delivered them to a very safe hand to be conveyed to me, though I have not (had) the good fortune yet to receive them; but I have some reason to believe that they are on the way hither; and then it will not be long before I shall finish that year, as much as I can do without particular animadversion of the affairs in the north, in which I am very ignorant.<sup>94</sup>

The contribution promised was evidently Sir Edward Walker's narrative, entitled 'His Majesty's Happy Progress and Success from the 30th of March to the 23rd of November 1644,' which its author finished and presented to the king in April 1645. The narrative was amongst the papers captured at Naseby, but it was restored to the king in the autumn of 1647, and Charles had a copy of it made to send to his historiographer. Exactly when this copy reached Hyde we do not know; in any case it arrived too late to be used in composing the original 'History,' though he employed it subsequently when he was

<sup>91</sup> *Rebellion*, vi. 279-84. The narrative is Clarendon MS. no. 1751.

<sup>92</sup> Byron's narrative is Clarendon MS. 1738 (5). Some parts of it are printed in Mr. Money's *History of the Battles of Newbury*, ed. 1884, pp. 15, 17, 22, 44, 51, 56. It is dated St. Germain's, 10 Dec. 1647. Now on 14 Dec. 1647 Hyde had completed his account of the battle of Newbury, and the character of Lord Falkland, which follows it. In the letter announcing these facts to Dr. John Earles he also states that he had received no news from France for the last ten days, so Byron's narrative can hardly have reached him in time to utilise it. Nor is there anything in Hyde's narrative which proves that he had Byron's before him when he wrote.

<sup>93</sup> Printed in the *English Historical Review*, xiii. (1898) 729.

<sup>94</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 400, 16 April 1648.

putting together the 'Life' and the 'History' to make the published *History of the Rebellion*.<sup>95</sup>

This was not the only contribution Hyde received from Walker. Sir Edward had also written a narrative of the campaign of 1645, which is entitled 'Brief Memorials of the Unfortunate Success of His Majesty's Army and Affairs in the Year 1645.'<sup>96</sup> Of its origin Walker gives the following account:—

His majesty being so well satisfied with what I had written the precedent year, gave me command, when he went into the field in May 1645, to keep memorials of the succeeding actions of that campaign, which I did; but those being taken shortly after at the battel of Naseby, and all the undertakings afterwards proving unprosperous, I proceeded not therein; but about the end of the year 1646, meeting at Paris with my most honoured Lord Culpeper . . . I did at his request recollect myself, and wrote the actions of the preceding year even to the rendition of Oxford.

A letter from Hyde to Culpeper, dated 8 Jan. 1647, might warrant the inference that this paper was forwarded by Culpeper to Hyde about that date.<sup>97</sup>

Whether this second narrative reached Hyde then or a few weeks later does not much matter, for he could not set to work upon the eighth book till he had Walker's narrative of the events of 1644. And besides this another necessary authority was still lacking. The eighth book was intended to begin with an account of Hopton's campaign in Hampshire and Sussex, which began in the winter of 1643-4 and closed with his defeat at Cheriton on 29 March 1644. Of the early movements of this campaign Hyde had already given an account at the end of book vii., which he finally transferred to the beginning of book viii. He could not complete this till he received Hopton's promised narrative. 'Conclude this when the lord Hopton's papers arryve,' he wrote in the margin, and sent Hopton a pressing appeal for them on 2 May 1648.

If I had interest in Mr. Tredewy you should not sleepe before you dispatched that Hampshyre business; I pray be as precise in the tyme as you can, the numbers you had of your own, and the addition from Oxforde, the oversights which were committed (for I am inquisitive into all oversights) either at Alton, Arundell, or Alsforde, and the full loss and names

<sup>95</sup> Printed in Walker's *Historical Discourses*, ed. 1705, pp. 5-121. Walker gives an account of the origin and fate of his manuscript in his 'Full Answer to Mr. William Lilley' (*ibid.* p. 228). He says that he delivered the copy of his narrative to the king, and left the original in the hands of a friend in England. This copy is, no doubt, that now in the Bodleian Library (Clarendon MS. 136). The original is apparently the manuscript in the library of Christ Church.

<sup>96</sup> *Historical Discourses*, pp. 125-43, and table of contents. The original is no. 2226 amongst the Clarendon MSS.

<sup>97</sup> Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 42. 'You cannot imagine the satisfaction and contentment your letter and the enclosed (which can bee nobody's work but Sir Edward Walker's) have brought me,' &c. The drawback is that Walker's narrative dated at the end 1 Feb. 1647, new style.

of gallant persons lost, for to their memories I am bound to sacrifice, though I flatter not the living.<sup>98</sup>

Hopton's narrative, like Walker's, tarried too long on its way, and Hyde could proceed no further than the end of book vii. Only about twenty lines of the first section of book viii. seem to have been written in the spring of 1648; the rest of the book belongs to a later period.<sup>99</sup>

This delay in obtaining his materials was not the only obstacle to the continuation of Hyde's work. Once more the exigencies of the moment obliged him to abandon history for politics. On 3 Jan. 1648 the house of commons passed a vote that no further addresses should be made to the king, followed by a declaration in support of the vote, which was published on 21 Feb. The declaration contained a complete history of the reign, raking up all the old charges against the policy of Charles from the time of his accession, and concluded with a detailed account of his attempts to introduce foreign forces into England in order to enslave it.<sup>100</sup> Hyde undertook to answer it.

The chancellor of the exchequer no sooner received a copy of it in Jersey than he prepared a very large and full answer to it, in which he made the malice and treason of that libellous declaration to appear, and his majesty's innocence in all the particulars charged upon him, with such pathetic applications and insinuations as were most like to work upon the affections of the people.

The answer was sent to Nicholas, who transmitted it to England, where it appeared in print about the end of July 1648.<sup>101</sup> Before it was published the second civil war broke out, and Hyde received a summons to join the prince of Wales in France. He announced his impending departure from Jersey in a letter dated 16 June, and made his way to Rouen as soon as he could obtain a ship.<sup>102</sup> Not for more than twenty years was he to have leisure and opportunity to return to his unfinished 'History.'

C. H. FIRTH.

<sup>98</sup> Clarendon MS. 2770. The rest of the letter is printed in *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 401. Tredewy, or rather Trethewy, was Hopton's secretary. The narrative is now Clarendon MS. 1738 (6), but there is no date or endorsement to show when it was received. It is printed in Mr. Chadwyck Healey's *Bellum Civile*, pp. 50-84.

<sup>99</sup> Ranke wrongly asserts that book viii. is dated Jersey, June 1648, and is 'without doubt' a product of Hyde's stay at Jersey (*History of England*, vi. 15, English translation). The question of the real date will be discussed in a subsequent article.

<sup>100</sup> Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, iv. 51, 60.

<sup>101</sup> *History of the Rebellion*, x. 151, note; cf. 'Life,' v. 9. Nicholas furnished Hyde with some notes for the answer, which are printed in *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 391. The pamphlet, which fills 188 pages, is entitled *A Full Answer to an Infamous and Trayterous Pamphlet entitled a 'Declaration of the Commons of England,' &c.* Thomason dates it 28 July 1648.

<sup>102</sup> 'Life,' v. 11; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 407. He left Jersey on 26 June 1648 (Hoskins, *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, ii. 202). Whether this date is new style or old style does not appear.



## *The Northern Question in 1716*

### PART II.

EVERYTHING was at last ready, the transports on the spot, the crossing safe, when Peter exploded a bomb at the Danish court by declaring that he did not think it proper to make the descent that year, on account of the lateness of the season and the little prospect there was of obtaining sustenance for the army on the other side.

This unexpected declaration was consequent upon two reconnaissances upon the Swedish coast. The first was made on 10 Sept. by Peter in person. Shots were exchanged with the batteries on shore, and the 'snow' which carried him was hit. He proposed the abandonment of the expedition to his council on the next day. Subsequently a night landing was made by Cossacks. They overmastered two of the enemy's posts, and brought back three prisoners. These reported that the invaders would be met by an army of 20,000 men, and that the whole coast was strongly fortified with redoubts and guns.<sup>1</sup> After five days' discussion the tsar's proposal was unanimously agreed to, and the result was announced to the Danish court on the 17th.<sup>2</sup>

There can be little doubt that the decision was wise, although in the event it wrecked the confederation. The lesson of the Pruth was not forgotten, nor was Peter's fear of and respect for Charles less than in former times. The invasion must probably have ended in a grave disaster. At an expenditure of 1,200,000 rix dollars the Swedish magazines had been furnished for the year, the fleet provisioned till October, and payment of the troops arranged for to the same date.<sup>3</sup> Charles had returned from the Norway frontier, setting up his head-quarters at Lund on 13 Sept. He had been in no hurry to do so before, reckoning that no invasion would be attempted before the trade was safe and his own fleet blockaded.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baumeister, *Tagebuch Peters des Grossen*, ii. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Hartman, pp. 102-4; Holm, p. 83; Baumeister, pp. 52, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Report of General von der Nath, Stockholm, 18 Aug., o.s., 1716, *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, viii. 267.

<sup>4</sup> *Egenhändiga Bref*, p. 206, 21 July, o.s.

He was now awaiting his enemies with an army of 12,000 horse and 10,000 foot,<sup>5</sup> a force not large in comparison with theirs, but eager and confident in him. The coast was strongly entrenched from Helsingborg to Malmö. Even should the invaders gain a victory, their numbers would destroy them. Already in June Charles had sent orders that all corn in the southern provinces should be bought up and carried into Malmö and Christianstad, that Landskrona should be provisioned for six months, and that large sums should be spent in the furnishing of magazines.<sup>6</sup> In August he repeated the orders about the corn, and proposed to have Lund, Landskrona, and Helsingborg completely evacuated by their inhabitants, and the two latter towns burnt to the ground if the enemy really landed.<sup>7</sup> In these circumstances an invading force would not have been able to live. The resources of Denmark were barely sufficient to keep the army supplied at Copenhagen; to furnish it across the water would be impossible.<sup>8</sup>

It seems hardly necessary to seek reasons for the Russian decision other than the obvious one. Peter had for years been anxious to finish the war by carrying it into Sweden itself. Time pressed upon him, his resources were nearing exhaustion, he required rest for the completion of his great reforms at home and the consolidation of the empire he had made. It is difficult to think but that, if he could have concluded the alliance he desired with Great Britain, or if the king of Denmark had been ready at the appointed time, he would have carried his army across the Sound. But he would have been mad to do so when, in his opinion, the prospect of success had vanished. If, however, we must have other reasons, we pitch first upon the distrust which Peter had conceived of his allies. To use Whitworth's phrase, 'he could not conceal his discontent at the slowness and haughty airs of the Danes.'<sup>9</sup> Many things made him doubt whether they intended honestly by him. His chief cause of complaint—and this was alleged by him as one reason for his action—was that the ships promised to reinforce his Finland squadron had not been sent. Then the exclusion

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, 11 Sept., o.s. But reports made it of double the strength (Hartman, v. 106, note).

<sup>6</sup> *Egenhändiga Bref*, p. 199. This and the following letters to the prince of Hesse give particulars of the preparations made to meet the double attack on Scania and on Svealand. Descents on the latter province near Stockholm actually took place in September. We may note that Charles gave strict orders that nothing was to be taken from the country people except for cash.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 209.

<sup>8</sup> To quote Whitworth (22 Sept., Record Office, Prussia 9), the tsar and his generals 'unanimously agreed that the season was too late for such an enterprise, the Swedes having had time to reinforce their army and carry all their corn and forage into their strong places, and the Danes having no magazines sufficient to maintain so many troops till they could hope to find subsistence in the enemy's country. Though, therefore, they should get ashore, there was little appearance of success at last.'

<sup>9</sup> Whitworth, 19 Sept.

of his troops from Wismar was not forgotten. Danish protests against his arbitrary proceedings in Mecklenburg had been added to those of Hanover and the rest. Important men at court and in the army, in particular the leaders of the Mecklenburg party Dewitz and Holstein, were personally obnoxious to him. Dewitz had been in command at Wismar.<sup>10</sup> Admiral Gyldenlöve had all along made difficulties. When the Russian troops arrived in Zealand special measures had been taken to prevent any excesses on their part in Copenhagen. These, though precautionary, were not the less offensive. Preposterous delay had taken place in the preparations, and though the difficulties had been at length surmounted the incompetence which not uncommonly accompanies arrogance remained in evidence.<sup>11</sup>

Of course a number of other reasons were alleged and bruited abroad as soon as the abandonment of the descent was known. In particular Peter was accused of having a secret understanding with Sweden,<sup>12</sup> and of having conveyed his army into Zealand for the purpose of seizing Copenhagen and the fortified places of the island. Such reports were absurd, but require mention, because in some quarters they were believed.

Peter asserted that he desired only to defer the descent till the following season. But the Danes could not contemplate this prospect with like equanimity, having no resources for a new campaign. They entered the strongest remonstrances. They represented that the enormous sums spent would have been spent for nothing, that the treasury would not bear the expenses entailed by a postponement to the following year, that delay would be all to the advantage of the enemy, that an English fleet would not perhaps be there another year to help; in fine, that the expedition, whose success was almost certain, must take place now or never.<sup>13</sup> Besides the prospect of the Russian troops being quartered upon them for the winter was unendurable. To prevent it they appealed to Hanover. King George gave them his support, but his anxiety extended not so much to Denmark as to northern Germany.

The stay of the Russians in Mecklenburg from April to September had indeed almost completed the ruin of a province continually since 1711 a prey to the demands and ravages of passing armies. The complaints of the landowners had drawn from the

<sup>10</sup> Whitworth goes so far as to say that 'the chicanes and slights of Monsieur Dewitz and other ministers at the Danish court were the first and real occasion of laying aside the descent' (20 Oct.)

<sup>11</sup> See on these matters Holm, pp. 83 foll.

<sup>12</sup> Holm discusses this subject fully, pp. 123 foll. It does not appear that there was any negotiation, whether by Vellingk through the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin or by Goertz with Prince Kurakin at the Hague, or otherwise, until after the expedition had been abandoned. Peace between Charles and any one of his assailants separately was all along a recognised possibility.

<sup>13</sup> Holm, p. 96.

emperor, in August, a letter to the tsar, protesting in strong terms against the violences done, and demanding the withdrawal of the troops.<sup>14</sup> The Danish envoy to the diet had been desired to exhort his court to 'disentangle themselves from the Muscovites, for the emperor and empire could in no ways suffer the injustice and violence of the proceedings in Germany.'<sup>15</sup> Polwarth and Puchler had entered strong remonstrances at Copenhagen. But the Russian reply had been that reports were greatly exaggerated, and that the tsar was perfectly justified in his attitude towards the Mecklenburg gentry for the want of respect they had shown towards himself and his niece, their new duchess, and for the pernicious correspondence which several of them had maintained with Sweden.<sup>16</sup>

Bernstorff was, no doubt, prompter-in-chief of the outcry. He is credited with a proposal, made immediately upon receipt of the news of Peter's declaration, to seize the tsar's ships and even his person, and hold them hostage until his troops should have quitted Denmark and Germany.<sup>17</sup> He was personally a heavy sufferer, though Peter now gave a special assurance that no troops should be quartered on his estates or on those of his colleague Bülow.<sup>18</sup> According to Robethon the occupation was costing him, in July 1717, 700 or 800 crowns a month.<sup>19</sup> But it is going too far to accuse him, as the writer of Peter's diary does, calling him a *boshafter und gewissenloser Mensch*, of compassing through his friends and compatriots at Copenhagen the delay in the preparations which caused the failure of the expedition.<sup>20</sup> His interest plainly lay the other way, to get the Russians away over the water. The Danes, on the other hand, had naturally desired to keep them in Mecklenburg until all was ready for the invasion. King George had done his best to bring that about, and now, as we shall see, when Peter's decision was announced, employed his utmost efforts to induce him to reverse it.<sup>21</sup>

One important effect of the crisis was to expedite the French negotiation, which has been alluded to. The suspicion that France was in league with Sweden was general, it had been voiced in the

<sup>14</sup> 16 Aug., a French abridgment of the Latin original, with Wich's of 2 Oct. (Record Office, Hamburg 33.)

<sup>15</sup> Whitworth, 25 June. But he continues, 'I do not see how they can well hinder them, now the war with the Turks goes on.'

<sup>16</sup> Hanneken, 16 Aug., Record Office, Denmark 36.

<sup>17</sup> Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, pp. 86 foll. According to these letters Bernstorff asked how far Stanhope could send orders in the case to Norris. Stanhope replied that he would instruct the admiral of the king's inclination, and to give his support to the king of Denmark.

<sup>18</sup> At an interview with Norris on 9 Oct. This Bülow was presumably Joachim Henry, the wealthy grand bailiff.

<sup>19</sup> Wiesener, *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois, et les Anglais*, ii. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Bacmeister, ii. 56.

<sup>21</sup> Cp. Holm, pp. 118 foll.; Hartman, pp. 95 foll.

Hamburg convention, in England it amounted to belief. Really, as we have seen, the regent had no intention of intervening actively. Sparre's efforts to rouse him were fruitless.<sup>22</sup> Even the subsidies promised by the treaty of April 1715 were stopped for a time. When Sparre requested their payment he was rebuffed by the reply that his master would do nothing towards peace, was invading Norway, and would not consent to treat at Brunswick without preliminary assurances from the emperor, to whom he had not even accredited a minister.<sup>23</sup> But this was not known, and in mistrust of France King George's ministers had not been eager to accept the proposals submitted by Dubois in July. Now Stanhope pushed the negotiation on. If, he wrote, Denmark and Russia came to a rupture, France might be depended upon to 'blow the coals;' she would have 'the best opportunity she can ever expect of embroiling all Europe.' He wished very heartily that she had already been secured. Both the open negotiation in London, he advised, and the private one at Hanover must be prosecuted with earnestness.<sup>24</sup> Cadogan at the Hague endeavoured to persuade the states-general to join in the prospective treaty as the best precaution they could take against Muscovite aggression.<sup>25</sup> Other references are frequent. The turn of northern affairs bore an important part in the conclusion of the Triple Alliance.<sup>26</sup>

King George had despatched a special envoy to Copenhagen to watch the operations of the descent in the person of Lieutenant-General Bothmer, brother of the minister. The dominant note of his instructions was suspicion of the Russian policy. He was specially ordered to watch the tsar's conduct in Germany, to beware of Prussian intrigues, and so on. Arriving only in time to hear of the tsar's declaration, he found confusion and excitement rampant, *allerhand Missverständniss*. Without awaiting further instructions from Hanover, which could not reach him for a fortnight, he set to work at once to urge the Danish case. The reply to his report, of date 26 Sept., showed him that he had acted rightly. He was now ordered to demand an express audience of the tsar and his ministers, with the object of persuading them to undertake the invasion in the interests of the northern league. The arguments he was to use were set out at length. In particular he was

<sup>22</sup> A translation of Sparre's address (end of May 1716) and other papers in this connexion in the Paris archives, Suède 135.

<sup>23</sup> *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, viii. 219, 6 July 1716. Secretary Stiernhoek, however, now received credentials as resident (Carlson, p. 89).

<sup>24</sup> Stanhope, *loc. cit.*, and to Methuen and Townshend, 25, 29, 30 Sept., Record Office, Regencies 8. Dubois, he says, had recently received new full powers, with the character of ambassador extraordinary.

<sup>25</sup> 24 Oct., Brit. Mus., Stowe MS. 229 f. 177.

<sup>26</sup> 'Der Grund, warum nun der König plötzlich den Abschluss eifrig begehrte. ntsprang aus den Verhältnissen des Nordens' (Michael, p. 761).

to enter emphatic objection against the return of the Russian troops to Germany.<sup>27</sup>

Norris too, immediately upon his return to Copenhagen, was called upon by the king of Denmark, as one 'well in the opinion' of the tsar, to add his arguments to those of Bothmer. At interviews with Peter himself and with Shafirov he urged, besides what has been stated, the danger that the king of Sweden, if now left alone, might 'advance in power, and would even become very formidable to Russia.' At a formal council of the Russians he was placed in a room apart, and had further lengthy discussions with the tsar and his vice-chancellor. Peter came to him with a plan of the Sound in his hand, and discussed with him the best points for a landing. He talked of the Swedish force which would oppose it, of the disgrace it would be if the undertaking miscarried, of the agreement that the transports should be ready in July, of the refusal to send ships to assist in a descent from Aland, the failure of which design had enabled the Swedes to concentrate in Scania, of the lateness of the season, and of the accidents that might thereby attend the undertaking. When Norris asked for some agreeable message which he might take to the king of Denmark he was told that he might say that the tsar was truly desirous of a good correspondence with that monarch, that he had come with his troops purely to be of use to him, that at this time of year he did not see how the descent could properly be undertaken, but that he was willing to leave him fifteen battalions for his defence during the winter.<sup>28</sup> Further, that 'he was ready to treat about making the descent next year, and all other reasonable things which should be proposed to reduce the king of Sweden to terms of peace,' but his present resolution was final. Norris upon that, having been introduced to and taken leave of the council, went off to consult with his colleagues Polwarth and Bothmer, and to deliver his message to the king of Denmark through Sehestedt.<sup>29</sup>

Frederick's answer was that the force offered was too small, he must have twenty-eight battalions, and that the tsar with the rest of his forces must leave the country. But Peter stood to his decision. The king thereupon demanded formally that the Russian troops should get on board ship as soon as possible.<sup>30</sup>

But whither were they to go? The Danes required them to leave Denmark. The preoccupying concern of King George was that they should not re-enter Germany. In a despatch received from Stanhope on 2 Oct. Norris was instructed to insinuate that his master, as king of England, would support the king of Den-

<sup>27</sup> Bothmer's despatches, Staatsarchiv, Hanover, Des. 24, Denmark 135.

<sup>28</sup> Holm, however, says (p. 98) that these troops were to be at the king of Denmark's disposal for any service he might require, and that the tsar promised that his galleys should render all possible assistance to a descent.

<sup>29</sup> Norris to Townshend, &c., 15 Sept., o.s.

<sup>30</sup> Holm, pp. 99, 100.

mark, and informed that as a prince of the empire he would make representations to the tsar through his German ministers against the troops taking up winter quarters in Denmark or in Mecklenburg or any other German province. Norris was to exert himself to dissuade the tsar from adopting the measures apprehended, but if he should insist upon molesting the king of Denmark with his troops to assist the latter in the best way he could.

But the Russians were embarking. Norris and his colleagues proposed to the tsar that he should take them home, and in the spring make a descent upon Sweden from the Aland islands simultaneously with a Danish invasion of Scania.<sup>31</sup> Then they opened the same subject to the Danes. Polwarth expressed his master's great concern at the abandonment of the expedition, and his hope that a scheme for a fresh one would be agreed upon before the tsar left Copenhagen. He intimated the readiness of himself and his colleagues to use their utmost diligence in the matter. Bothmer supported, and Norris informed the king of his particular orders to serve his interests. They were answered that, since the tsar had arbitrarily broken up the scheme concerted, proposals for a fresh one must come from him. Norris was desired to arrange with the Danish admirals measures to convoy the Russians out of the king's dominions. The three then met the Russian ministers, who asked whether they had authority from the king of Denmark to make a proposition. They answered that they hoped that such would come from the tsar. A long discussion led to no result, and Norris had to write: 'Thus ended all the efforts we were able to make, and the jealousies and chagrins which have been between them will, I fear, prevent any hearty reliance on each other for the future.'<sup>32</sup>

These interviews took place on 2 Oct., and others followed in the next three days. Peter insisted that the sole reason for his withdrawal was the lateness of the season. He stated his willingness to leave fifteen battalions and 1,000 horse in Denmark and the rest in Mecklenburg till the time for the invasion came round. The three negotiators, on the contrary, requested that all his troops should retire to his own dominions, and that the plan for next year should be a double descent upon Svealand and Scania and a blockade of Carlskrona. On the question of removing the troops Admiral Gyldenlöve desired to know when Norris would be ready to join him in escorting them. Norris asked whither, and on

<sup>31</sup> This through Robert Erskine, the tsar's confidential physician, who acted as interpreter. He was accused of inspiring Peter with Jacobite sympathies, but the sincerity of his intentions was consistently asserted by Norris. He was a brother of the active Jacobite Sir John Erskine of Alva, and a somewhat distant cousin of the rebel leader, the earl of Mar. Bothmer writes of him, 'durch welchen der Admiral Norris, wan er etwas bey dem Zaaren zu suchen, sein gantzes Negotium thut' (7 Oct.)

<sup>32</sup> To Stanhope, 22 Sept., o.s.

learning that it would be to Rostock objected, proposing instead Danzig.<sup>33</sup> In naming Rostock, however, the Danes did not intend, they said, that the Russians should stay in Mecklenburg, but expected them to pass on into Poland. They made it a condition of assent to a new plan of campaign that the tsar should oblige himself by treaty to withdraw all his forces out of the empire, and should leave only 8,000 to 10,000 men even in Poland, to return to Denmark next year. And they further asked that the Aland invasion should be the main one, theirs upon Scania only in the nature of a diversion. But Peter insisted on the opposite: the latter to be the main attack, and his troops which should take part in it to pass the winter some in Poland, some in Mecklenburg, and some in Denmark. For this he would enter into a convention, and would give the king of England satisfaction as to his soldiers' behaviour.<sup>34</sup> Bothmer on 5 Oct. sent in a memorial to the tsar, informing him that the king of England, in fulfilment of his duty to the empire, could not permit the Russian soldiers to return to Mecklenburg; and Norris attempted to prevail upon the king of Denmark to aid him in resisting any such design by force. But he was answered that force must not be used, only gentle request; also that for any project the tsar must find the money. Norris after seeing the latter expressed the belief that he would do this, and also, if his ships wintered at Copenhagen, would allow their guns and powder to be taken out of them and stored in the Danish magazines.

On 5 Oct. he imparted to Sehestedt the news that twenty-two Swedish men-of-war had sailed in the direction of Danzig, and asked that the Danish fleet might accompany him therefore to Bornholm. But his demands were put off; Gyldenlöve told him that he had no orders but to convoy the Russians to Rostock. When 2,000 dragoons had sailed, it was believed for the Trave, the question of preventing the Russians from landing in the empire was discussed afresh, but no resolution was come to, and Norris expressed the fear that the Danes would only exert themselves to prevent a landing in their own territories.

A despatch from Stanhope to Norris of 3 Oct. instructed him to continue to employ his utmost application and skill in persuading the tsar still to proceed. In the present juncture of affairs a greater service to his king and country could not be rendered. If this were found impracticable he was to endeavour to induce the tsar to withdraw all his forces to his own country or into Poland, with the exception of ten or fifteen battalions to remain for the

<sup>33</sup> Kammin also was suggested.

<sup>34</sup> For the Russian project and Danish counter-project for a joint invasion of Sweden in the following year, formally communicated on 11 and 2 Oct., see Holm, pp. 104 foll.



king of Denmark's defence. He might declare very plainly that the king of England could not suffer the tsar to take up winter quarters for his troops anywhere in Germany; and he should advise next year's invasion to be made from Finland instead of from Denmark, to make the tsar more willing to take his troops home.

Bothmer had similar instructions of even date. He was ordered, among other things, to endeavour to persuade the king of Denmark to accept the fifteen battalions and 1,000 horse offered, as they would not cost him much, and otherwise the king of Sweden might seriously embarrass him. He was to inform the king of Denmark in confidence that orders were issuing to Norris to post his ships in such a manner that the Russian transports could not proceed towards the German coast, but must shape their course direct for Poland, and indeed beyond the Vistula; and to request the aid of the Danish fleet in enforcing this.

It does not appear that Norris ever had such definite orders. But in any case the king of Denmark could not be persuaded. He was only anxious, says Norris, to get rid of the Russians somehow, as their supplies were running short and he would have to feed them. He asked on the Wednesday whether the king of England's ministers could show a declaration under his hand that in the last resort the debarkation in Germany would be hindered by force. As they could not do so, he said he could not in that case resolve to use force and throw the tsar entirely over. On the Thursday the envoys were able to show their orders of 3 Oct., but were told that it was now too late, for the tsar had been informed that he might land his troops at Rostock without hindrance from Denmark, he on his part undertaking not to land them in any Danish territory.<sup>35</sup> The orders to Gyldenlöve, Norris learnt, were to join the British and Russian squadrons in escorting the troops to Rostock or not further than Rügen, and to prevent in conjunction with him their debarkation in any port of Denmark, Holstein, Sleswick, Danish Pomerania, or the islands. He announced that he would indeed see the Russians out of Denmark, but would not go to Rostock, lest his master should be accused in the empire of consenting to and assisting in their landing there. He would take up a station, he said, in Kjøge Bay or thereabouts, to observe the movements of the Swedes and be ready to cover the return of the traders. He prayed that Gyldenlöve might have orders to join him there, if necessary. He received an answer entirely approving of his design, and informing him that the orders requested would be

<sup>35</sup> Wibe, Sehestedt, and Krabbe carried the day in the Danish councils against the Mecklenburger Holstein. Their chief argument was that only Sweden would benefit by a breach between Denmark and Russia, and it was feared that the first thing that the tsar would do, if that took place, would be to try to effect a separate peace with the common enemy (Holm, p. 116).

given. At an interview on the 9th he warned the tsar that the landing in Mecklenburg 'would inevitably oblige the empire to an open rupture.' Peter replied that nothing but necessity impelled him thereto, his transports and galleys being utterly unable at this season of the year to make a longer voyage. Asked for an assurance that his troops should not remain in Mecklenburg, but march through into Poland, he gave it, excepting only as regarded the men required for service on the galleys, which must necessarily winter in the former country. Returning on board, Norris dressed his ships and fired salutes, it being the anniversary of a Russian victory over the Swedes. The tsar was greatly pleased at this, complimented him, and asked him to accept an order.

Such amenities found no echo at Hanover. Peter's assurances were not believed, and Norris was forbidden to accept the offered decoration. George began to collect a force upon the frontier of Mecklenburg, sent for the troops of Münster and Saxe-Gotha, which he had at call, and sought for others from Hesse-Cassel.<sup>36</sup>

Another portion of Stanhope's despatch of 3 Oct. dealt with a subject which still gave grave disquiet to the British government, the plottings of the Jacobites. 'From the advices we have received,' he wrote, 'from many places,<sup>37</sup> 'tis certain that our Jacobites both in England and everywhere else do expect succours from Sweden.' Extracts which he enclosed from Townshend's despatches set forth that 'our only apprehensions are from Gottenburg;' that the discontent 'fomented' on the score of the absence of so large a squadron in the Baltic would be much increased, unless some of the ships were detailed to watch that port, and that the kingdom was in so defenceless a state that ten or twelve men-of-war thence might easily come up the Thames, destroy the docks and naval stores, and land an army in the heart of England. It was much to be desired that Norris should set, if he could, a watch upon such threatened accidents.

But Norris in reply (10 Oct.) pointed out that the alarm was a false one, there being in Gottenburg only four or five ships of any size, the same number of smaller ones, and some privateers of two to four guns apiece.<sup>38</sup> A Danish flotilla with three men-of-war lay off the coast. He must stay in Danish waters to cover the returning traders, otherwise the Swedes would fall upon them from Carlskrona. After their arrival the season would be so late that it would be proper for him also to come home; but he might leave six or seven ships behind in the Cattegat, and they might, if desired, winter in a Norway port, at Flekker Ö, for choice, as that port was

<sup>36</sup> Stanhope, 16 Oct., Record Office, Regencies 8.

<sup>37</sup> Including, it seems, from Copenhagen. Polwarth says that Sehestedt handed him such advices, and he forwarded them (15 Aug.)

<sup>38</sup> Yet some of these Swedish privateers were reported about this time off Yarmouth. Norris says that there were sixty prizes in Gottenburg.

never frozen, was fortified, and had two outlets. He would see Sehestedt about provisioning them. He also learnt that, if the king pleased, four Russian men-of-war could be added to their number.

On 4 Oct. Stanhope mooted a new project, very likely to be successful, proper for the tsar to agree to if he would prove the sincerity of his professions, and likely to divert him from the idea of taking winter quarters in Denmark or Germany. This was a combined attack upon Carlskrona. The moment that Norris received this despatch he communicated the idea to Sehestedt and the tsar. Both showed themselves agreeable to the undertaking, if it were found practicable. The very next day, 10 Oct., a formal council was assembled to discuss the project. Norris opened: Shafirov and Sehestedt expressed their general concurrence. Proceeding to details, Norris said that, in order to enable the fleets to enter the port and destroy the Swedish ships, an army of 25,000 to 30,000 men must attack the place from the land side and capture the forts. The Danish admirals replied that such a venture could only be carried out if the tsar would hazard his galleys for the transport, they having no provision therefor themselves. But the Russian commodore Scheltinga pronounced it to be absolutely impossible for the galleys to keep the sea. Then the Danish generals gave their opinion. They could provide, they said, the required number of men, but not the heavy guns required for a siege, as they had not horses to drag them. They raised difficulties as to feeding the army when landed, in view of the king of Sweden's dispositions, unless the fleet could furnish its supplies, and they held that, to make the undertaking possible, the fleet must enter the canal, bombard the five forts commanding the harbour, and so enable the infantry to carry them by escalade or otherwise. But if the attack failed, they asked, what would become of the army? Bothmer having expressed the opinion that infantry might be landed from the fleet in small boats, this proposal also was condemned as impracticable, and after further discussion Norris was obliged to allow that the undertaking could not be carried out at so late a season. In view, however, of its extreme importance he desired that a formal convention might be drawn up for its execution in the following year. He begged the ministers present to report to their masters, and to observe absolute secrecy as to what had passed. Polwarth and Bothmer concurred, and the conclusion was adopted.

On 13 Oct. the court of Hanover still hoped to keep the Russians out of Mecklenburg. Bothmer was ordered to speak *masculine* to the Danes on the subject. If the troops had not sailed he was to insist in every possible way upon the Danish fleet taking up positions to prevent their landing in Jutland, Sleswick,

or Germany, and to compel them to shape their course for Poland by way of Danzig. If, on the other hand, they had already disembarked at Rostock, he was to express the king's great regret that they had not been hindered, and to remonstrate against their staying in Mecklenburg for the winter; for that might bring the tsar to war with the empire, and he would have no resource but to ally himself with Sweden. The consequences to Denmark were easy to foresee. In any case the tsar, possessed of Rostock and Wismar, would be free to carry out his designs against Lübeck; the king of Sweden would have breathing time; and the league, and in particular Denmark, would be ruined. Hanover, Denmark, and Prussia must combine in measures to get the Russians quietly away to Poland.

The negotiations of these three weeks had been kept as secret as might be. It was known, of course, that the Russian troops had re-embarked, but their destination was uncertain. Now the king of Denmark made the whole thing public in a declaration designed to exculpate himself.<sup>39</sup> He revealed the tsar's undertaking of the previous autumn to furnish fifteen battalions of infantry and 1,000 horse to the confederate army. He referred to the Hamburg convention of June. He recapitulated in brief what had passed after the tsar had declared his intention of withdrawal, and argued that the delays of which he was accused had been unavoidable. Unable to shake the tsar's resolution, he had declined, he said, to have anything more to do with his troops, and had demanded their immediate departure, in order that the transport vessels, which were costing him 40,000 crowns a month, might be sent home, and his subjects relieved of an intolerable burden. What caused most stir, perhaps, was the assertion that the ministers of Great Britain had been expressly charged to make, and had made, every effort in their power to induce the tsar to carry out the invasion. This was, of course, as little agreeable to the British government, whose attitude towards Sweden was supposed to be one of defence and reprisal only, as it was opportune to its critics in parliament and in the country.

In consequence of this declaration Norris, Polwarth, and Bothmer were summoned by the tsar on 16 Oct. to hear a formal statement in reply.<sup>40</sup> The three were requested to urge the king

<sup>39</sup> Printed by Lamberty, ix. 624 foll. He dates 12 Oct., and claims his to be the most correct version, implying that there were others. A copy, however, which Wich sent home bears date the 10th, and so Droysen, p. 174. The declaration was entrusted for publication to the Danish resident, Hagedorn, at Hamburg.

<sup>40</sup> The following is fully reported by Polwarth. But he seems to confuse the conventions of Stralsund and Hamburg. Townshend on one occasion complained that his reports were very 'lame and imperfect' (Coxe, p. 87). An exposition of the Russian case is in the *Lettre d'un Gentilhomme de Mecklembourg*, printed by Lamberty, ix. 628.

of Denmark to enter into the tsar's views, and, in case of failure, to report the circumstances fully to their master, as whose good and faithful ally the tsar genuinely intended to prosecute the war with a view to a secure peace.

But the Danes would not yield. They declined to promise to take part in a future invasion, unless British protection were guaranteed them. This, they were informed, could not be done until the Russians had quitted the empire. Norris could only go so far as to say—

If the two crowns of Denmark and Russia would adjust the great project of a descent in Schonen, or from Finland, and the Czar not embarrass the king of Great Britain by taking quarters in the empire, it was our opinion his Majesty would give the same assistance next year he has done this, in order to procure a peace in the north.<sup>41</sup>

The Danes asked, in reply, that full powers should be given to the British envoy and admiral to conclude a formal convention in this sense. They inquired how many ships would be sent, and how many now be left to winter in Danish ports. They were answered that the king of England must first be definitely informed of the plan concerted. They replied that twenty Russian battalions had been asked for, with which and his own troops the king of Denmark would duly invade Scania.<sup>42</sup> This, it was objected, was not enough. The king of England, before incurring useless expense, must have before him the whole plan of campaign, in order that he might judge of its feasibility. It was essential that the tsar should remove his troops from the empire. Not a single man of his should, with the king of England's consent, be disembarked or take quarters anywhere therein.<sup>43</sup> If such a thing took place he would give no help, nor put himself to any expense in the matter.

On the 21st Peter told Norris that the king of Denmark raised so many difficulties that it was impossible for them to act together. If England and Holland would agree to cover with their ships a descent next year from Aland, he would make it by himself. Norris replied that, if he would at once order his troops out of the empire, and himself provide the transports, the king of England might be disposed to give such assistance and endeavour to persuade the states-general to do the same; and he asked for a proposal in writing, which was delivered. He strongly recommended its acceptance, adding that the tsar desired the matter to be kept entirely secret from the Danish court. But the same day, on

<sup>41</sup> To Townshend, 6 Oct., o.s., and similarly Polwarth, and Norris to Stanhope.

<sup>42</sup> Twenty battalions was the number asked for by the Danes in their counter-project of 12 Oct. They were to be maintained at the tsar's expense, except for lodging and fire, and might be employed, if desired, in Norway (Holm, p. 106; Polwarth, 22 Oct.)

<sup>43</sup> 'Ils ne sauroient jamais consentir qu'un seul homme débarquoit ou prit quartiers quelque part que ce soit dans l'empire' (Polwarth, 20 Oct.)

the advice of his colleagues, he asked for a more explicit assurance in regard to the withdrawal of the troops. The paper was accordingly amended, running, as Norris has preserved it, to the following effect: <sup>44</sup> If the king of England would oblige himself to send to the Baltic in May or June a squadron with positive orders to cover a descent from Finland, as Norris had had them to cover that on Scania, then the tsar would remove all his forces out of the empire, excepting those required to serve on board his galleys, and would undertake the said descent in suitable strength. He made these proposals with a view to a peace advantageous to the northern nations, and in particular to British trade, and was ready to conclude a definite treaty to carry them out.

On 22 and 24 Oct. Bothmer wrote that the tsar adhered firmly to his own plan, to make simultaneous descents on Sweden in the spring, the one in conjunction with the Danes on Scania, the other on Old Sweden, upon condition that the king of England facilitated them again by sea, as in the present year. He would leave the king of Denmark for the purpose the twenty battalions asked for, he to provide them with shelter and fire; if, however, he desired to send six or seven battalions to Norway, he must support them himself, but the tsar would repay him the cost. If his plan were refused, the tsar would withdraw his troops altogether and take his own measures alone. The king of Denmark was ill, thoroughly upset by what had passed; and his ministers expressed great sorrow at having incurred the king of England's displeasure by inability to comply with his wishes, but they said they could not help themselves, having been obliged to avoid a rupture with the tsar, who threatened to quarter his troops in Denmark.

By a despatch from Stanhope of 16 Oct. Norris learnt that the king entirely approved of his conduct. His principal, indeed his only care at present, he was told, must be to secure the safe arrival of the trade. His proposal to leave a squadron on the coast of Norway was very much approved, and he was authorised to make the necessary dispositions. He might be sure that the king was so well satisfied with his behaviour that he would 'never want the favour of any other potentate whatsoever.'

Bothmer, however, was not so well satisfied with the admiral's conduct. I may quote a passage from a private despatch of his to Bernstorff of 20 Oct.:

Il faut que je dise à V.E. encore en confidence que l'admiral Norris fait le véritable procureur du Czaar, il a trouvé avanthier l'invention de vouloir mettre un tiers des vaisseaux Russes avec celles de nôtre Roy et du Roy de Dannemarck dans les Ports de Norveguen, pour observer les vaisseaux de Suède à Gottenburg, et il n'avoit destiné en tout que 6

<sup>44</sup> British Museum, Add. MS. 28154, f. 322.

vaisseaux, 2 Anglois, 2 Danois et 2 Russes. Je lui ai dist que nôtre Roy ne vouloit aucun mélange avec la Flotte du Czaar, pour les dispositions d'hiver, qu'il prétendoit avoir une Flotte à soi, qui dépendoit de ses ordres, où la Dannemarek se pouvoit bien joindre, et que ce que les Anglois en diroient de mettre les Russes dans une mer, où ils n'avoient aucune pretension, ne donnant que trop de jalousies, par leur trop d'étendue sur la mer, qui alloit jusques à donner ombrage dans le Port du Roy de Dannemarek à Copenhagen.

And again on 24 Oct. Bothmer accused Norris of having been the cause of all, having privately pleaded to Sehestedt and the king the impossibility of conveying the Russians by sea beyond Rostock, and having stated that he was not authorised to prevent their disembarkation. As to the king of Denmark,

Vôtre Excellence trouvera en effet, que S.M.D. n'a pas eu tout à fait tort de songer à ce qu'il faisoit, ayant été mené de la sorte, et ayant craint outre cela de ne se pouvoir pas débarasser d'une armée si supérieure. Il est si peu Russe, que je suis persuadé que s'il voioit sa seureté, il feroit volontier partie contre eux.

The imputations against Norris are continued in other letters to Bernstorff.

Bothmer's despatches of this period are chiefly occupied with the question of the twenty Russian battalions. A rescript of great length of the 28th ordered him to impress upon the king of Denmark that nothing was so necessary for him as to keep them, whether for an invasion of Scania or for his own defence, especially in Norway. He must adhere to the plan of invasion, and the Russian general must be under his orders. The tsar must act by himself against Old Sweden. The embarrassments and endless difficulties arising from a joint command had been so clearly shown in the present year that it was to be hoped there could be no desire on the part of the Danes to encounter them again. The point was urged again in a rescript of 9 Nov.

Detained at Copenhagen by contrary winds, the bulk of the Russian troops did not sail thence till 23 Oct. Norris says that they numbered some 35,000. The Danes were heartily glad to be rid of them. We read of burghers hastily armed to defend the city, of cavalry patrols along the shore, of guns turned upon the laden transports. In spite of the emphatic pronouncements from Hanover the army landed at Rostock.

Norris too had been urgent to sail to meet the returning traders. Gyldenlöve on the 13th informed him of his orders to accompany him to Bornholm, if necessary, after he had seen the Russians to Rostock. Having news that thirteen Swedish men-of-war had been seen at sea, Norris asked him to do this at once, which was agreed to. He further requested that in case it

were found that the Swedes had made for Danzig the Danish fleet might be allowed to pursue them, upon the decision of a council of war, and this also was conceded. The combined squadrons eventually left Copenhagen on the 23rd. From Bornholm the Russian men-of-war went straight on to Reval. The Swedes were found to be in Carlskrona, and orders were therefore sent to Danzig for the traders to come on. Lestock arrived at Bornholm with the British division on 8 Nov.; the next day all these returned to Copenhagen; the Dutch came in on the 11th. On the 15th Norris began his voyage homewards, leaving behind him six men-of-war under Captain Cleveland, instructed in default of further orders to depart not later than 11 Dec., bringing home any merchantmen that lagged. In the Cattogat the fleet was beset by fog and calms, during which several merchantmen were carried off by the privateers to their den at Gottenburg. On the 20th the fog was succeeded by a frightful tempest. When, two days later, the weather cleared, only thirty-seven sail were to be seen. The whole Dutch fleet and convoy, with some fifteen English merchantmen and the 'Garland' frigate, had returned to Elsinore; the 'August' had been wrecked on the isle of Anholt, whence her crew and stores were rescued by Cleveland.<sup>45</sup> Others of the fleet had taken refuge in Norway ports. When Norris, on the 24th, quitted the Naze, but a single merchantman was left with the remainder of the battle-ships. However, in spite of further storms, many of the traders rejoined before the Nore was reached (29 Nov., old style), and all the men-of-war except the two mentioned.

Cleveland at Copenhagen kept an eye upon the Swedes, in particular on Gottenburg, but nothing called for action. Of the Danish fleet two were sent to Norway with three small frigates and 3,000 infantry; four of the largest cruised off Møen; the rest were laid up, as also was the Swedish fleet in Carlskrona. On 17 Dec. Cleveland sailed for home, leaving the Dutch still at Elsinore. He reached the Nore on the 22nd, old style. One of his ships stayed in Danish waters till 4 January, returning then with the remainder of the British merchantmen, a large number of which had been freighted at St. Petersburg with stores for the Russian army in the west.<sup>46</sup>

During the whole of the autumn and winter Charles remained at Lund, reviewing his army, and preparing it for work next year. He gave particular attention to the cavalry, himself inspecting the horses, and cashiering a great number, marking them by cutting off one ear, to prevent repurchase, regardless of the fact that hardly any better ones were to be had. At the end of November he at

<sup>45</sup> With the exception of thirty-six men who got to shore at Helsingborg. See Jackson's despatches. His account of the wreck, 29 Dec., *o.s.*

<sup>46</sup> Polwarth, 28 Nov., 5 Jan.



length found time, or inclination, to reply to the memorial delivered by Jackson in June.

As was to be expected from the events of the year and the better prospects which the disputes of the confederates had opened to his affairs, the king's tone was uncompromising. He considered it unnecessary, it was stated, to recapitulate the well-grounded reasons he had for stopping British commerce to the prohibited ports. He referred to his declaration of the previous year, rejected probably by the advice of the Hanoverian ministers of the king of England. He was still ready to adhere to it, he said. The privateer edict could not be revoked. As to the Pretender and the Scotch rebels, he would behave in that matter in accordance with the treaties, requiring the king of England, on the other hand, not to permit ships and munitions of war to be purchased and crews recruited for service against him in English ports. The objection to his invasion of Norway surprised him. He was always ready to maintain a good intelligence with the king of England, but the latter had of late shown very little disposition thereto, having as elector of Hanover declared war upon him without provocation, and having left men-of-war in the Baltic in the previous year to augment the Danish fleet.

This document was not received in London till 28 March, old style, 1717, before which time had occurred the extraordinary event of the arrest of Gyllenborg.

Peter left Copenhagen on 27 Oct., ostensibly in perfect friendship with the king of Denmark. He went to Schwerin, and thence to Havelberg, where he met the king of Prussia. Of what occurred at the conferences which took place on 24 Nov. and following days little seems to have transpired at the time, the void being filled by much sensational surmise.<sup>47</sup> The two monarchs agreed, says Droysen,<sup>48</sup> in case any of the northern allies retired from the league, and under any pretext or with any one attempted to compel them to restore to Sweden what they had conquered, to give to each other assistance either by supplying troops or by making diversions against the aggressor's territory, but with especial observance of the treaties of 1715, and with the Christian object of concluding a general peace with Sweden on reasonable terms. Further that, for the safety of the league, the fortifications of Wismar must be razed, and the sooner the better.

It might have been expected that the presence of the Russian

<sup>47</sup> *E.g.* Whitworth, 14 Nov.; cp. Droysen, iv. ii. 185, note. Stanhope refers on 11 Nov., o.s., to a 'project upon the anvil between the tsar and the king of Prussia for a new repartition of the Swedish provinces,' and expresses the fear that France was being pressed to join in the scheme, in which case she would be at the head of 100,000 troops in Germany (Record Office, Regencies 8).

<sup>48</sup> Pp. 184-5. He points out how important it was for Peter to obtain the support of Prussia.

troops in Mecklenburg would have been as distasteful to Prussia as to Hanover. Perhaps it was, but Frederick William dared not quarrel with the tsar. His kingdom proper lay at the mercy of one Russian army, while another threatened the eastern frontier of Brandenburg. For this and other reasons he made up his mind to view the occupation of Mecklenburg with equanimity. Besides he saw his father-in-law in close alliance with Vienna, and was assured that he employed his influence there to Prussian disadvantage. On his relations with Peter he declined to explain himself.<sup>49</sup> His obvious policy was to husband and concentrate his resources, to be wary and wait upon events. He played with justifiable selfishness his own game. As Droysen says, in the quarrel between George and Peter he could take neither side; he must seek to maintain friendly relations with both and with the emperor besides, without committing himself to engagements with any of the three.<sup>50</sup> But it was of more pressing necessity to be well with the tsar, and he welcomed his overtures accordingly.<sup>51</sup>

His views in regard to Mecklenburg are exposed to us by Whitworth, who had been sent to Berlin in August, when it was found necessary to keep Lord Polwarth at Copenhagen.<sup>52</sup> Whitworth had long and frequent interviews in September and October with the king and his chief ministers, and with the Russian ambassador Alexis Golovkin.<sup>53</sup> He devoted all possible efforts to bring Prussia into line with Hanover and England in the northern crisis. Against the stay of the Russian troops he urged the interests of the empire, and the danger of alienating the emperor, whose consent was necessary to secure to the allies the conquests they had made. The kings of England and Poland, he said, in aiding to drive the Swedes out of Germany, had always had in view the quiet of the empire as their main object, and that could in no wise be secured while a foreign army remained upon its soil with unknown designs. That it should stay there could be of no advantage to the tsar; a renewal of the attempt on Scania was not possible, in view of the discontent and jealousy of the king of Denmark and his inability to make fresh preparations. If the troops returned to their country a descent could be made next year upon 'Old Sweden.' The tsar must not be allowed to consider himself irresistible. True that if it came to hostilities the 35,000 Russians

<sup>49</sup> Stanhope, 25 Sept., Coxe, and to Methuen, same date, Record Office, Regencies 8.

<sup>50</sup> Droysen, IV. ii. 179; also p. 153: 'Die Aufgabe für Preussen war, dem Zaaren gegenüber fest zu stehen, ohne ihn zu verletzen, seine Freundschaft zu bewahren, ohne ihm zu weichen, ihn fühlen zu lassen, dass ihn seine eigene Interesse eben so an Preussen binde, wie des Preussens sei, an seiner Seite zu bleiben.'

<sup>51</sup> Hartman, p. 114, citing the despatches of Golovkin.

<sup>52</sup> The following from Whitworth's despatches, Record Office, Prussia 9.

<sup>53</sup> Son of Chancellor Gabriel Golovkin, who was in attendance on the tsar at Copenhagen.

in Courland and Poland might overrun Prussia before any succour could be sent from Brandenburg; but would the king's dominions be less in danger were the tsar permitted to take post in Mecklenburg, if he should occupy Lübeck and Wismar, and come to terms thereafter with Sweden? The king of England had as much interest in maintaining a good understanding with him as any prince could have—nay, more, in view of the importance of the British commerce—but he could not allow himself to be treated with indignity. The proper policy for Prussia was to work in close understanding with Hanover for the good of the empire and the destruction of the threatened tyranny of Russia.

Such arguments were repeated from interview to interview, and were supported by the Hanoverians Heusch and Spoerken, the latter sent specially to Berlin to treat of these matters. They were answered in effect that the tsar, in the position he held, must on no account be exasperated. He could not well be hindered from taking up winter quarters in Mecklenburg, if he so desired. He was 'passionately inclined' to support the interests of the duke his nephew, and the king of Prussia must side with the latter, as his father and grandfather had done, seeing that he himself had 'distant expectance' of the succession. It was hard, no doubt, for private gentlemen to suffer, but public considerations must take precedence of their interests. The neighbourhood of the Russian troops would be of advantage to Prussia should the Swedes attempt an invasion of Pomerania or a separate peace with Denmark. The tsar had always been found 'a hearty and fair ally, and his troops regular in their passage; he had been 'the life of the northern war.' If he were to abandon the king of Denmark, Prussia and Hanover would have to keep the latter supplied with men and money for the defence of Norway and Zealand. He was 'easy to be disposed by fair means, but extremely sensible of what he thought a hardship.' The king of Prussia would join in representations to him, provided that they were made in moderate and friendly terms. In fine, Whitworth drew the conclusion that 'this court would willingly have the Muscovites stay in Mecklenburg, and studies to find some colour for it.'<sup>54</sup> In the importance of using temperate language towards Peter he concurred, expressing the hope that 'in the firmness of his majesty' no unguarded or unreasonable expressions had been used to offend him. He was disposed to agree with Golovkin that

most of these discontents might have been prevented by moderate and gentle representations at the first, but that it was hard for a prince at the head of 40,000 men to see himself immediately threatened, without giving him time to recollect or take his measures.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> 31 Oct.

<sup>55</sup> 24 Oct.

There was, therefore, no hope of common action between Hanover and Prussia. Distrust grew between the two courts; Berlin believed that King George desired to get Mecklenburg for himself, Hanover that the abandonment of the invasion of Scania had been directly due to Prussian instigation. Bernstorff even began to work out a scheme of attack by Austria and Hanover upon the Russian and Prussian allies.<sup>56</sup> To the court of Denmark it was represented that the Prussian king desired to quarter the Russians upon the new Danish possessions in Pomerania.<sup>57</sup>

To strengthen his position Frederick William had just concluded a treaty with France. He received thereby a guarantee of Stettin and its dependencies, should by the mediation of France the king of Sweden consent to cede them. If, however, he would not, then the regent undertook to use his good offices to obtain for the king of Prussia an indemnity of four million thalers instead, stopping the Swedish subsidies. For protection against trouble elsewhere, in particular against imperial attempts to sequester Stettin, Frederick William was to receive an annual subsidy of 600,000 crowns. French interference in northern affairs was to be confined to mediation. For the rest, reciprocal guarantees were given of the treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, and Baden; France undertook not to molest the empire while the northern and Turkish wars went on; Prussia to endeavour to prevent the emperor from declaring war at any time upon France, the king reserving, however, his duty as a prince of the empire should such take place. The treaty to be kept inviolably secret, and to last for ten years.<sup>58</sup>

In December Baron Knyphausen, Ilgen's son-in-law, who had taken part in the Havelberg conferences, and had been appointed to attend the tsar in Holland, called on his way thither at Hanover. The main object of his visit, says Whitworth, was to obtain the promise of another British squadron for the Baltic. Frederick William too wrote on this matter himself.<sup>59</sup> He offered assurance that if the promise were made the tsar would agree to any reasonable propositions. Whitworth imputes to the Prussian court the desire to have peace made, or war carried on, at no cost to itself in men or money, its own work having been done in helping to drive the Swedes out of Germany.<sup>60</sup> He omits to observe that such had

<sup>56</sup> Droysen, IV. ii. 181, 187-8.

<sup>57</sup> Rescript to Bothmer, 9 Nov.

<sup>58</sup> Droysen, p. 179; Tessé, quoting D'Huxelles, *Mémoires*, ii. 328. The former dates the treaty from the Berlin records 17 Sept., the latter the 14th. Probably these were the dates of the counterparts. Droysen makes a slip in writing francs for crowns.

<sup>59</sup> 5 Dec. 1716, Michael, i. 735.

<sup>60</sup> 22 Dec. 1716: 'They seem persuaded England is rich and generous enough to do it, without much scruple, or any valuable consideration.' And in a private letter of the same date: 'This Court seems to think it reasonable that the Czar should do what

been the policy of Hanover all along. King George replied to his son-in-law that he had set his allies a good example in what he had done already, that he kept himself free to send a fleet or not, as he pleased, and that before he took his resolution in the matter he would wish to be assured how far his allies, and the king of Prussia in particular, were prepared to contribute to the operations.<sup>61</sup> Knyphausen therefore failed to move the court of Hanover. More, he embittered its relations with his own by giving out, as was reported, that the present want of harmony between the two was due to the refusal of Prussia to join the Anglo-French alliance, lately concluded, whereas the opposite was really the case—namely, that Prussia had desired admittance, but King George had refused it. The report, of course, roused grave resentment, and Heusch had orders to complain.<sup>62</sup>

Other things too excited mistrust—for instance, the visits of Cassel agents to Berlin. Ilgen denied the obvious inference, overtures on behalf of Sweden, but was not believed.<sup>63</sup> The recriminations continued after the return of the court to London. Bernstorff told Bonet that his court was playing a double game, that it was its fault that the Russians stayed in Mecklenburg, that it would have to pay for playing with King George, and that it had done nothing to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1715.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand Bonet was ordered to abstain from efforts to procure a better understanding, when such were only misused on the English side.<sup>65</sup> When George hired regiments of Anhalt, Wolfenbüttel, and Münster to strengthen his own forces, it was taken as a demonstration against Prussia.<sup>66</sup>

It was true enough what Frederick William said, that the tsar

he pleases, that they themselves should do nothing at all, and that England should either declare war or at least send a fleet into the Baltick to be at their service without offering us a good word.'

<sup>61</sup> 10 Dec., Michael, p. 736.

<sup>62</sup> 'Mr. Heusch has orders to complain of Knipphausen for telling a parcell of egregious lyes at Hanover, especially to Pentenriether [Pentterriedter, the Austrian envoy]' (Whitworth in a private letter of 23 Jan. 1717). And so in an undated memorandum by Robethon, perhaps of June 1717 (Record Office, France 161), it is stated that immediately after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance the king of Prussia ordered his minister at Vienna to declare to the emperor that he had been strongly pressed by the king of England to join it, but had refused out of regard to him, and that Knyphausen had held similar language to Pentterriedter at Hanover.

<sup>63</sup> Whitworth, December and January.

<sup>64</sup> Droysen, p. 204. 'Deductions' on the ill-conduct of Prussia sent to Whitworth at the Hague, and much other matter on the subject, will be found among Sunderland's despatches of May and June 1717 (Record Office, Foreign Entry Books 86 and 212). Robethon's memorandum above mentioned belongs to these.

<sup>65</sup> Droysen, *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Mémoires de Torcy*, ii. 120 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). He writes: 'L'ennemy le plus dangereux pour la maison de Brunswick, et celuy toutefois qu'elle auroit deü le moins compter au rang de ses ennemis, étoit le Roy de Prusse, irrité au dernier point contre son Beau-Père.'

had no objection to come to an understanding with George on his own terms. He had sent instructions to his minister Viesselovski in London to point out to the influential merchants there how the hindrances placed by Charles XII in the way of trade obliged a fleet to be sent to the Baltic year by year, and how by more active support given to himself those hindrances might be summarily got rid of.<sup>67</sup> In October, before he left Copenhagen, he had sent a particular message to George, offering to meet him at Hanover or elsewhere.<sup>68</sup> From Schwerin he sent instructions to his minister at Hanover, Baron Schleinitz, couched in the following terms :<sup>69</sup>

To enable him to make a descent upon Sweden from Finland in the coming summer his transports must be protected by a powerful fleet. His own not being strong enough, he required the king of England to engage himself by treaty to send each year till peace was happily concluded eighteen to twenty ships of the line, including some three-deckers, to join with his own in active operations against the enemy, and to remain at sea so long as those operations required. If he could not do this, at least he should send twelve ships and 2,000 sailors for the tsar's fleet. In the treaty the conditions must be laid down upon which peace could be made, and until those conditions were accepted neither party must retire from the war. The king of England, therefore, should make known the conditions he would require on his own behalf and on that of the British nation; those of the tsar had already been communicated through Prince Kurakin. If he would agree by treaty to the above stipulations, then the tsar would at once remove his army from Mecklenburg to such place as should be most proper, in consideration of climate, for the commencement of operations in the spring, and his galleys with the troops belonging to them should sail as soon as the winter was over. The king of England must give the necessary assistance to the king of Denmark to enable him to take his part in the operations, and must concert measures with him accordingly. But if the king of England would not agree to the terms proposed, then the tsar would carry out the invasion of Scania, in accordance with the convention of Altona, and employ the troops he had on the spot for that purpose. He would give every assurance and security that those troops should evacuate their present positions as soon as the time for the invasion came—that is to say, at the beginning of April—and that they should not be brought back to Mecklenburg again. He declared specifically that he had no other view in keeping them where they were than the general interest of the northern

<sup>67</sup> Hartman, p. 123.

<sup>68</sup> Norris, 9 Oct., o.s., Record Office, Home Office, Admiralty 39.

<sup>69</sup> 6 Nov., o.s., Hartman, p. 173.

alliance and the prosecution of operations against the enemy. But if the kings of England and Denmark would agree upon any places, in their own dominions or elsewhere, where they would prefer that those troops should pass the winter, then the tsar would fall in with their wishes. Schleinitz was to say to the English ministers that the tsar was ready to conclude a commercial treaty with Great Britain at the same time. If a Danish minister were sent with instructions to support his proposals, he must act in concert with him. The result of his overtures should be reported, if possible, before the meeting between the tsar and the king of Prussia took place.

But George in reply to Schleinitz insisted that the Russian troops must leave Mecklenburg before anything further could be done. Peter absolutely refused this, saying that he did not know where else to post them with a view to the coming campaign, that he could not submit them to the hardships of a winter march, and that their presence was required to protect the king of Denmark's dominions from a Swedish attack. In vain Stanhope gave hopes of a British declaration of war with Sweden, and promised a squadron of thirty of the line, if Peter would do what was asked; in vain Bernstorff said that the stay of troops was useless, as he knew for certain that the king of Denmark would not undertake the invasion of Scania on the plan proposed, and that the battalions to be left for his defence might be allowed to winter in Holstein, if the rest departed. Peter would have his treaty first. Nevertheless he sent another minister to Hanover, Count Tolstoi, who arrived on 17 Dec. In his instructions fresh stress was laid on the fact that the army stayed in Mecklenburg only for the common interest, and it was threatened that, in case a combined plan of operations against Sweden were not concerted, that army would be withdrawn altogether and the tsar would wash his hands of his allies. Conferences began at once; fresh proposals and counter-proposals were put forward; but they came to nothing. On 26 Dec. the Russian ministers received their answer to the following effect:

It was well known with what care the king of England had maintained up to the present a close correspondence and friendship with the tsar, and he desired nothing more than to continue in the same sentiments. If the latter would consider maturely the nature of the affair in question, he would come to the conclusion that it was not proper to stipulate any conditions for the evacuation of the empire. That a foreign prince should quarter troops in the territories of a power with whom he professed to live in peace and amity was wrong in natural equity, and their removal could not be conditional. What the tsar proposed must be the subject of serious deliberation, and really concerned Great Britain; the king must take thereon the advice of his council, of whom only

two members were at Hanover. Moreover, as a member of the empire and a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, he neither could nor would separate himself from the emperor in this or any other matter. To his great regret, therefore, he could make no such engagement as was proposed, so long as the tsar did not desist from all proceedings against the empire. If he would at once, and without being longer a charge to states thereof, withdraw his troops, then the king would like and would do his best to come to an understanding with him in all that he should consider agreeable or useful. But in the meantime he could not but be very sensible that his instances so far had had but little effect, that complaints from the afflicted province were redoubled, its inhabitants had been forbidden to supply provisions to Wismar, Travemünde had been seized, and the citizens of Lübeck were being compelled by strongest threats to promise transports for the next year.<sup>70</sup> Wherefore he prayed that the tsar would not delay the removal of his troops, as well as of every other obstacle which could hinder good relations.

Before breaking off the negotiation the Russian ministers saw Bernstorff privately, desiring to know whether the king was really willing to enter into the proposed concert. Bernstorff replied that no written undertaking could be given, but if the tsar would trust the king's word, and remove his troops, he should not repent it. The Russians said that a promise without a written undertaking was of no value. Bernstorff then handed them a short declaration (4 Jan.) to the effect that the king would only treat about the conditions of peace after consulting his English Council; that, as British interests in the matter were mainly commercial, a treaty of commerce must be concluded and the materials for it be sent to London; and that the king would give the desired naval assistance if the tsar would show himself to be his friend and the emperor's by withdrawing his troops from Germany.

This document was amplified by another of 16 Jan. containing conditions which, as the court was now leaving Hanover, Bernstorff proposed should be signed at the Hague. It prescribed exact and severe regulations for the quartering and maintenance of the three regiments of guards about Rostock, who were to sail with the galleys not later than 15 April, and of the infantry which the tsar was under engagement to lend to the king of Denmark. Two-thirds of the former were to be quartered upon the duke instead of upon his subjects. The remainder were to begin their march on 24 Jan. and

<sup>70</sup> As had been done in the summer. The allusion to Travemünde, the port of Lübeck, referred to a late event. General Sheremetjev had sent thither 500 men to meet some galleys which had arrived with clothing for the troops, and this was magnified into an attack on the place. Peter blamed the general severely, and to compensate made some concessions in regard to the quartering of his infantry. (Hartman, pp. 131-2.)



cross the Oder, exact stipulations again being made as to their maintenance and behaviour. Considerable concessions were offered in the direction of these requirements by Kurakin and Tolstoy at the Hague, but Bernstorff, on the contrary, rather increased his demands; and though further proposals were made from the Russian side on 25 Jan. they had as little effect.<sup>71</sup>

When George came to the Hague he saw neither Peter nor his ministers. The reason alleged for the tsar's neglect, namely, illness, may have been the true one, for ill at Amsterdam he was. But there was certainly no anxiety on George's part to see him, and reports of a personal dislike were general.<sup>72</sup> The excuse made to the ministers was that the king would gladly have received them but had to sail hurriedly on account of the tide. There seems to have been no love lost either among them. Preis, the Swedish resident, tells us of quarrels which occurred, and how Shafirov called Bernstorff *fripson*.<sup>73</sup>

The failure of these conferences determined the break-up of the confederacy. In the summer of 1717 a British squadron again visited the Baltic, but no Russian ships came to meet it. The allies began to be occupied each for himself with projects for a separate accommodation with Sweden.

J. F. CHANCE.

<sup>71</sup> The preceding account is mainly from Hartman, ch. vii. In his appendix he prints in full the instructions to Schleinitz of 6 Nov., o.s., Bernstorff's declaration of 4 Jan., the Russian ministers' proposals of the same date, those of Bernstorff of 16 Jan., and the tsar's remarks thereon. The answer to the Russian ministers of 26 Dec. I take from a paper at the Record Office (Russia) in Robethon's hand, 'Traduction de la réponse donnée aux 2 ministres Russes à Hannover le 26 xbre 1716.'

<sup>72</sup> So Saint-Simon (ed. 1829, vol. xv. chap. iii.): 'Le czar était avec le roi d'Angleterre en inimitié ouverte, qui allait entre eux jusqu'à l'indécence, et d'autant plus vive qu'elle était personnelle.' The reason which he gives for this is a curious one. Perhaps the canal referred to was the Prussian one joining Elbe and Oder, eventually completed by Frederick the Great.

<sup>73</sup> 9 Feb. 1717, *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, xviii. 411. There are many interesting particulars regarding the tsar's doings in these despatches of Preis.

## *Theodor Mommsen*

*FELIX opportunitate mortis.* Rarely can these words be applied to a very old man. But when Mommsen died on the first day of last November they were true in a special sense. He had almost reached his eighty-sixth birthday, and his career had been full of such success and honour as he sought. He had spanned the nineteenth century with gigantic intellectual work. He had lived a long life in health and comfort and had seen his children grow up around him. At the last his eyesight had threatened to fail, and his days were troubled by the illness of his wife, his companion for fifty years: then death came to him, as he desired, suddenly and painlessly. It remains to lay on his grave the customary offering of an attempt to estimate his work. It is a kindly custom, but perhaps it is not altogether a good one. Like other great men, great scholars are best judged when time has matured the sense of loss to friendship or to learning, when personal likes and dislikes have faded away and we can stand back, as from a building, distant and dispassionate.

Even the age in which Mommsen lived is too much our own to be surely judged at the present. It were foolish now to guess which of its manifold activities will win most praise from the future. But perhaps the scholar will hold it especially remarkable for that which Mommsen himself represented, the progress of historical studies. That is one of its characteristics almost from the outset. History was, indeed, only one in a crowd of new studies and interests which we owe to the great awakening with which the century commenced. But special causes favoured it. The political developments aided its growth. Napoleon broke Europe into a new order, and therewith came new national consciousness and a zeal in each people for national history. Therewith came also a freer political life, an interest in the history of administration, no longer confined to the few, and an understanding that history dealt with the ruled as well as the rulers. There developed, as the century advanced, a curious individualism of the group rather than of the single person, and this again widened historical inquiry: the smaller units, town, parish, or institution, came within its scope. Intellectual causes told in the same

direction. The scepticism of the eighteenth century matured into a critical method ; the poets, Goethe, Byron, and the rest, awoke the imagination. A little later an antiquarian revival, precursor of our present scientific archaeology, produced local interest and local societies, and in the middle of the century Darwinism added the idea of development. This was the century of Buckle, Grote, and Stubbs, of Niebuhr and Mommsen, of Ranke and Treitschke, and a noble host of colleagues, numerous and active all over Europe. New lines of work, new sources of material, new conceptions of the meaning of the past, and new possibilities for future research were in quick succession opened out. Certainly it was an age of historians.

Across all this period stands the figure of Mommsen. His first book, his doctor's dissertation, appeared in 1843, his first great works in 1850, the first volume of his *History* in 1854. He continued writing and publishing steadily till the other day. His *Strafrecht* was issued in 1899 ; an edition of the Theodosian Code was almost completed when he died. We have to sum up an activity of sixty continuous years.

In the man himself two characteristics are here noteworthy. They are almost contradictory. The first is an intense nervous energy in feeling and emotion. Physically his temperament was nervous. He was sensitive to external impressions, excitable even to vehemence, liable to be betrayed into hasty words, still more apt to display a superb vivacity, an astonishing intellectual alertness. No one could talk with him, no one could read his books or letters, without realising that his brain lived, that his imagination was vivid and awake. But along with this ardent, nervous temper he combined that very different form of genius which is the infinite capacity for taking pains. His control over detail, his aptitude for drudgery were supreme. He could plod unwearingly through laborious days of indexing and statistic-gathering, and finally reduce to order the million items. In particular his accuracy was almost infallible. The subjects of his work required him to deal with enormous masses of details—more, perhaps, than any scholar who ever wrote—and he rarely erred. Once, by visiting the spot, I accidentally found out that he had placed an obscure Serbian hamlet on the wrong bank of the Danube, and I imagine that others have detected similar little slips. But they are extraordinarily scarce. Such accuracy cannot be maintained simply by the use of friends or secretaries : it is genius.

This combination of qualities is naturally very rare. Other scholars have felt as keenly and seen as far ; others have attained as unerring a mastery of detail and as tireless a patience. But in Mommsen alone, since Gibbon, the imaginative and the critical really met, and Mommsen surpassed Gibbon in his critical faculty.

Judged by an eighteenth-century standard, indeed, Gibbon's command of detail deserves much praise, but it is not the strongest side of his work, and even the progress made in the years between him and Mommsen does not explain his inferiority. Mommsen was not only a Gibbon in his historical insight: he was a Tillemont in his industry, and he was more besides. To find a true parallel we must go back to the sixteenth century, to Joseph Scaliger, himself a student of law, inscriptions, and history, a man who combined immense mastery of detail with keen human feeling, who, like Mommsen also, won affection and provoked hatred.

With his keen feelings this man was not and could not be purely a man of learning. Throughout life he held strong political views, and he often expressed them no less strongly. In early days he drank deep of national feeling when he fought as a journalist for the German character of his native duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1848 he counted as an enthusiastic liberal, like most contemporary German scholars, and when the February storm had blown itself out he suffered with the rest. He was thought dangerous enough to be ejected from his Breslau professorship and was forced to seek shelter at Zürich. Later in life he sat in the Prussian Landtag at intervals, until his vehement opposition to Bismarck's domestic policy led to a political prosecution and, as a result, his retirement in 1882 from public life. Occasionally too he plunged into foreign politics: quite recently he lifted up his voice to plead for amity between England and Germany. This is not the place to judge him as a politician. But while we review his achievements as a scholar we may not forget that he had gone through real political experiences, had taken part in a revolution and lived in the thick of the struggle. He knew political life at first hand. Most of his critics do not.

These qualities and experiences can be traced clearly enough in the characteristics of his work. In the first place his intellectual vigour, his fierce, unflagging speed, produced an astonishing output of books. Great and small together, his publications must have numbered some thirteen or fourteen hundred items. Some, no doubt, were little things, requiring little time or labour. But others are folios as weighty as the Homeric stone, and most of them, large and small alike, are crammed with details which involve more care and labour in a few lines than are needed for pages of ordinary writing. Secondly, his peculiar combination of opposite qualities gave to his books a peculiar character. It is significant that he took his degree at Kiel in jurisprudence and quickly proceeded to publish, with two friends, a volume of poems. It is more significant that he never dropped, like the ordinary middle-aged lawyer, into prosaic conservatism. The dual nature remained throughout: his books were equally animated by ardour and

enlightened by industry, and even the most technical and laborious of his epigraphic treatises are diversified and humanised by keen criticisms and pungent sayings which well repay collection. That is what supplied their peculiar power to all his writings. Highly emotional and imaginative passages were based on a foundation of painstaking drudgery: dull and long statistics were found to end in wide and important inductions. And, thirdly, these same contrasted qualities helped him to another characteristic activity. He could organise. He had the capacity to conceive of a great scheme and to plan its details patiently, to combine many collaborators and to inspire them or relentlessly to coerce them to perform their tasks and to guide the undertaking to final unity. Few scholars, I imagine, and not many practical men of business, have possessed such imperative force and organising power. And in consequence much of his work was based on organisation: many of his most effective operations consisted in organising the work of others.

The extent of his actual work is hard to realise for its very vastness. No one now living can recollect what Roman history and archæology was before Mommsen. Sometimes in England the vestiges of this long forgotten world emerge in some publisher's reissue of obsolete books or some amateur's attempt to win himself distinction. But for all real students here and abroad Mommsen marks not, of course, a deluge obliterating the past, but unquestionably a new epoch. Outside the elegant and agreeable study of poetical texts there is no department of Latin scholarship which he has not transformed, and it is hard for any one man to-day to comprehend all the subjects which he has successfully handled. Some of his services were rendered so long ago that they have been in part obscured by later developments of knowledge which have, at least in part, arisen from them. One is apt to forget, for instance, that one small group of volumes, the *Unteritalische Dialekte*, the *Oskische Studien*, the *Nordetruskische Alphabete*, and others, founded the scientific study of the Italian languages before even Corsen compiled his *Aussprache*; or that the *Münzwesen* put the study of Roman coinage on a new level; or that a treatise on the manuscripts of Livy gave a new factor to the textual criticism of that much-edited author. Knowledge has advanced since those books were published. Brugmann has put all philology, Italian and other, on a new footing; the Livian treatise is superseded; even the *Münzwesen* needs re-editing and rewriting. But each of them in its day altered the course of research; each has still to be consulted; each would form a title to distinction for any common scholar. Some of Mommsen's services, again, lie in the outer, unfrequented regions of learning, amid the texts of Eugippius and Cassiodorius and Nennius, and far-away things that seem to

belong to the modern rather than to the ancient historian. Few can follow him there, and those few will care little about the Roman republic. It is indeed a far cry from Cicero and Caesar to the *Chronica Minora* of the eighth century or the papal bulls in Bede.

But of all his works a part has been marked out, as it were by public vote, as signally eminent and important—the *History of Rome*, the *Staatsrecht*, the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. It is absurd at this time of day to review any of these; all of us who care to have an opinion know what we think of them. But for very familiarity we risk ignoring their importance.

The *History of Rome* (1854) is the best known. We have all read it: most of us have had to read it, and it has survived even that ordeal. It is the best instance of Mommsen's combination of patient learning and brilliant imagination, and yet it may not unfairly be compared with a very different history published about the same time, the *History of Greece*, by Grote. Each history owes its success, in some part, to the same feature. Each contains a masterly application of new conceptions to the known body of facts. Grote approached Greek history with a profound appreciation of the developing English democracy and the developing English trade. Mommsen wrote—at the time they said, he rewrote—Roman history with all the ardent emotions of a German liberal who had been out in 1848. It may sound a poor recommendation for either. But the writing of history is in one way like the writing of translations. Each age must make its own, if it is worthy of one; and Mommsen and Grote were in their different ways great intellects. In any case the spirit of the February rising and its sequel is plain enough in the *History of Rome*, and not least in its closing chapters. Mommsen had learnt, bitterly enough, that in the crisis of administrative failure and imminent anarchy the supreme need is a strong man and the supreme evil is an unstable man. In keen, excited sentences he tore to pieces the gifted but unstable Cicero: in warm enthusiasm he deified the stronger Caesar who brought order out of disorder. Probably he had met his Cicero: there were many in 1848 who talked admirably and acted feebly. Certainly he had not met his Caesar, for when the German Caesar came he was Bismarck, and he almost put Mommsen in prison—though, indeed, Mommsen and Bismarck, each from his opposite pole, had real respect for the other's merits. That, of course, is not a complete account of the *Roman History*. It is not only a work of its age; it is also a work of real learning and of the application of new principles to the investigation of the Roman annals. In it we get the beginnings of that legal method which was to yield such splendid results in the *Staatsrecht*. It was, at its first appearance, the best

application of comparative philology to prehistoric history, though times have changed since 1854. It also restated the diplomatic and political history in a fashion which its contemporaries at once acknowledged as admirable. It was helped by its style, natural to the man. Mommsen was not a stylist in the manner of Macaulay or Gibbon or Napier: he was not, as Mr. Freeman mournfully observed, a vivid battle painter, like his predecessor Arnold and like Freeman himself. But he commanded brilliant portraiture and unforgettable epigram and a power of praise and blame in which his human feeling rose to genuine eloquence. The conclusion of the work has been cited as one of the finest paragraphs in modern historical literature, and it does not stand alone. The success of the work was immediate. Within ten years it had been translated into almost every European language, and it has since dominated the schools. Curtius and Beloch and Busolt and Holm have each tried to supersede Grote; no one has dared to rival Mommsen.

Thirty years later, in 1885, the *Roman History* was continued. The continuation was not what some of us had wished or expected. The republic had been described in three volumes; the fourth was to give the history of the emperors and the central government at Rome, while a fifth described the provinces under the empire. The fourth volume was never written. It was begun, the manuscript was destroyed by fire, and the author shrank from its completion. The colossal vices and endless intrigues of the Julio-Claudian court disgusted him, and as he grew older (he was sixty-eight in 1885) he wrote political history with increasing reluctance. He believed (so he once said) that he knew what manner of men Augustus and Tiberius were, but the materials were inadequate to convince the incredulous of his estimates. He preferred, instead, the problems in which certainty seemed approachable, and thought that he would best help his successors if he left to them more accurately studied and edited material and if he indicated the means of understanding it. Thus he was led to edit texts; thus also to write the fifth volume of his *History*.

It is a stupendous work. Here he sums up with supreme mastery the vast and multifarious knowledge concerning the Roman provinces which had been accumulated when he wrote. Much of it he had collected himself. Thousands of inscriptions yielded up their secrets; remote and obscure texts were utilised; archæological discoveries found recognition, and the vast and dim areas of the provinces took definite shape and colour. No one but the editor of the *Corpus* could have written it; no one but Mommsen could have given to the material the life and vigour that the book displays. Now at length it became easy to appreciate the true character of the Roman empire. Our horizon broadened beyond

the back stairs of the Palatine to the wide lands north and east and south of the Mediterranean, and we began to realise the great achievements of the empire—its long and peaceable administration of dominions extending into three continents, its gifts of civilisation, citizenship, and language to almost all its subjects, its establishment of a stable and coherent order out of which arose the western Europe of to-day. The old theory of an age of despotism and decay was overthrown, and the believer in human nature could begin to think that, whatever their defects or limitations, the men of the empire did not live in vain.

The book has not obtained much vogue in England. It is ill translated and cumbrously published, and English scholars, educated to write Ciceronian prose, do not care to look at anything later than Tacitus. But the chapter on the province of Britain may fitly be mentioned here. It is a short chapter, and it has frequently been criticised as deficient and even inaccurate. The blame is not deserved. The only serious error alleged against it, the remark in the first edition that Celtic is still spoken in Cumberland, is not so much a blunder as an ill-expressed reference to the sheep-scoring numerals, and it is not quite to the credit of the critics that they failed to notice this. No doubt the chapter has other weak places, as I, perhaps, have the best reason to assert, since it is my own work which has seemed to me and others to disprove in great part the views which Mommsen held about the Walls of Hadrian and of Pius. But compare his chapter with other sketches of Roman Britain which were existing and current when he wrote, Hübner's papers since collected in his *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, or Wright's *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, or Scarth's *Roman Britain*. The difference is unmistakable and immense, and the advantage wholly on one side. It was a great step forward; it is still indispensable: we cannot fairly call it inadequate or incorrect.

There is, indeed, one respect in which both this chapter and other portions of the *History* may some day receive considerable addition and correction. That is in the use of purely archæological evidence. Mommsen did more than any scholar living or dead to extend the range of historical inquiry to archæological regions. His services in this point can hardly be overstated. But he did not often advance into the regions of the uninscribed. From letters on stone or coin he could extract abundant meaning: he cared less for the unlettered relics of Italian *terræmari* or Gaulish villas. It was inevitable. The pioneer must seize first the most important spots, and the uninscribed must always be of less moment than the inscribed; indeed, at the time when Mommsen commenced his work, fifty years ago, it was of very little moment at all. The exploration of early Italian cemeteries and settlements had not yet



begun, and linguistic evidence was almost alone available for reconstructing the civilisation of prehistoric Latium. Very much has since accumulated for both the prehistoric and the imperial epochs, and Mommsen has made use of some at least of these discoveries. But the methods of inquiry are not yet perfected, and even in the last half-dozen years an affair like that of Narce has shown the variety of dangers to which prehistoric research is still liable. Yet it cannot be doubted that even now the brooch and urn and situla, the ground plan of hut or of villa, and much else of the sort are yielding up their secrets, and that with their aid we shall fill some vacant inches in Mommsen's great *History of Rome*.

The *History* is the best known of his works; perhaps it is not really the greatest. He himself and many others have assigned that place to the *Staatsrecht*, the constitution of Rome. This was issued in 1871, completed in 1887, and supplemented by a brief *Abriss* in 1893 and a solid *Strafrecht* in 1899. It is perhaps the most remarkable piece of constitutional writing in all historical literature. For mastery of voluminous detail, for intuition of underlying principles and strictness of logical deduction, for rhythm and balance of results, it has no rival; it is a characteristic work of Mommsen. Its special feature, which gave it special importance when first published, is that it is a legal treatise, not a history. Before Mommsen the Roman constitution had been treated by scholars or historians who were not lawyers; indeed one of them, Ludwig Lange, had stated openly that this subject could not be treated from the point of view of juristic science, because the Romans themselves had based their constitutional practice on custom and not on juristic principles. Mommsen was lawyer as well as scholar and historian, and his book, the work of a properly equipped lawyer, at once put the study of the Roman constitution within the area of juristic science. Two methods are combined in it, the one more appropriate to the lawyer, the other to the historian. Much of the work, especially that which deals with the prehistoric kingdom and the early republic, is deductive. The essential principles of the known constitution and of its various parts are extracted and applied to explain what is obscure and to supply what is lost. Much, on the other hand, is inductive, and especially that part which concerns the principate. For this inscriptions and literature and legal text-books have alike been ransacked, and the administrative machinery of the empire, so far as it lies inside the constitutional theory, is built up fact by fact. But the dominant note is deductive, and the excellence of the whole work consists, first and most, in the vivid imagination which detects the principles and the rigorous logic which applies them.

Yet great as the *Staatsrecht* is, I doubt if it is not surpassed by the third of Mommsen's works, that section which deals with

epigraphy. The *Roman History* and the *Staatsrecht* treat old subjects with the novelty of genius, but the *Corpus Inscriptionum* has given to learning not only a new field of research, but a new method of scientific inquiry. The idea of a *Corpus* was not wholly new when Mommsen began. Earlier centuries had produced collections of various sorts: quite recently August Boeckh had edited, single-handed, the first three volumes of his Greek inscriptions, and just at the time when young Mommsen first visited Italy, Borghesi was planning a Latin *Corpus* and expecting a subsidy from France. An unlucky education bill ruined the scheme, for it caused the downfall of the French scholar-minister on whom Borghesi depended. But Mommsen met Borghesi, became his friend, took up his scheme, and finally developed it into a vaster project of his own. His collections of the Neapolitan and Helvetian inscriptions (1852-4), both produced practically single-handed, were but anticipations. The *Corpus* itself began to appear in 1863: it is now almost complete—a row of folios eight feet long—and of that mass he personally edited half and closely supervised the rest. The work meant the union of many scholars, the re-examination of the whole archaeological literature of Europe, travels by many men in many lands, and finally the printing and publishing of 130,000 inscriptions, each with a bibliography and some with extensive comments. Mommsen kept his colleagues and his finances equally in hand: his unique combination of fiery zeal and untiring patience carried the vast scheme through.

The gain was twofold. With the inscriptions a new world opened. The fifth volume of the *History*, the imperial chapters of the *Staatsrecht*, became possible, and not Mommsen only but numerous writers in Germany and France had a new field before them. A stimulus was given to historical inquiry such as nothing but some great discovery can give to scientific work. That stimulus has not yet reached England. We have isolated workers, whose names are honourably known, but the total number of teachers and students in Roman epigraphy and archæology in our own universities is pretty nearly zero. Abroad it is otherwise. There the study of Roman history has acquired a real interest; it offers tasks suited to all kinds of intellects, and the progress of research, despite all failures, is very rapid.

Still more valuable is the method of the *Corpus*, the achievement of great tasks and the solution of great problems by the co-operation of many skilled labourers. Here again the new idea was not Mommsen's own discovery; it was in the air around him. Stein and Pertz founded the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica* when Mommsen was hardly out of the nursery, and the influence of the series was strong over Germany before he was an undergraduate at Kiel. But the splendid system and quick completion of the

*Corpus* was a lesson even to Germans, and a lesson that has been well learnt. The collection of complete statistics by expert workers is the mark of recent research in Germany and in Germanising America, and though it incurs ridicule through curious forms of unintelligent indexing, it wins more praise by its real achievements. It has reduced the study of art and archæology and scholarship and most other branches of research almost to the method of induction *per enumerationem simplicem*, and has thereby set free the imagination to work on a sound basis of complete and ascertained fact. It has gone far to solve the problem of universal knowledge. In England we learnt the value of this method long ago for modern history and modern philology—as the Rolls series (despite its lapses) and the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Oxford English Dictionary* most splendidly declare. But in classical scholarship, in ancient history, and in archæology we remain individualists—with obvious results.

Yet co-operation and division of labour are not, for the historian, quite the last word from Mommsen's life. However much he utilised co-operation his work bridged all divisions of labour. He both wrote history and prepared the materials for history. Some writers have urged, as the late Professor Freeman used to urge, that it is no business of the historian to prepare his own materials: that must be done in the Record Office by some archivist or other. It is not so. No historian can really understand materials at which he has not himself to some extent worked, just as no scholar can understand textual criticism unless he has himself collated at least a few manuscripts. Mommsen's life, like that of Stubbs, is one long assertion that the two functions are indivisible. He who would write history must also be ready to create the materials. Specialism and highly technical research do not narrow the outlook: they are in reality an aid to the wider view.<sup>1</sup>

F. HAVERFIELD.

<sup>1</sup> I trust I shall be pardoned for having ventured to include in this notice some sentences and phrases which I have used elsewhere, in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Athenaeum*.

## Notes and Documents

### *The Officers of Edward the Confessor.*

BOLD and even hazardous as the view may at first sight appear, it seems to me to be worth consideration whether we may not be able to trace under Edward the Confessor the existence of the same great offices as those with which we are familiar in the household of our Norman kings. So far as I can find, the subject has been treated somewhat loosely and inexactly, so that it is really difficult to discover what the views of our historians have been.

The officer whose mention led me to enter on this inquiry was the 'Alveredus strator regis' who is named by Florence of Worcester among the Normans allowed to remain on Godwine's return to power in 1052. Mr. Freeman, who rendered his style as 'Ælfred the king's stirrup-holder,' explained in a footnote that he had failed to identify this Ælfred in Domesday.<sup>1</sup> We need not, however, look further than Ellis's indexes to the survey to find that as 'Aluredus marescal' he had held the rich lordship of Stratton, in Cornwall, in conjunction with another of Edward's foreign favourites,<sup>2</sup> Osbern, afterwards bishop of Exeter (fo. 121 b). I do not know why Mr. Freeman rendered the word as 'stirrup-holder,' but *strator* of course is good Latin for 'master of the horse;' <sup>3</sup> and Dr. Stubbs in dealing with the household observes that 'the *mariscalcus* of the Salian law answers to the horsthegn or *strator*.'<sup>4</sup> We need not, therefore, hesitate to identify the two Alfreds or to assert that Edward the Confessor had, in effect, a *marshal*.<sup>5</sup>

The marshal's name suggests that of his fellow officer in feudal times, the *constable*. For the holder of this office I would suggest

<sup>1</sup> *Norman Conquest*, ii. (1870), 345.

<sup>2</sup> See *Feudal England*, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Mr. Haverfield's paper in the *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Const. Hist.* (1874), i. 343.

<sup>5</sup> One need not here discuss Mr. Eyton's interesting suggestion (*Somerset Domesday*, i. 156) that this 'Aluredus' was identical with 'Aluredus' sheriff of Dorset under Edward, with 'Ailvert, Agelferdus, Ailvert, Alward, Elward, Olward,' a 'western thegn' in Domesday, and with the 'Æilferth minister' of Edward's charter to Bath Abbey in 1061. These latter forms appear to be distinct.

Bondig, that wealthy officer whose wide estates were bestowed in several cases on Henry de Ferrers.<sup>6</sup> This devolution enables us to see him in the 'Boding constabularius' to whose two Buckinghamshire manors Henry had succeeded (fo. 151).<sup>7</sup> In Bedfordshire he is spoken of as 'Bondi stalr' (fo. 218 b), in a way which suggests that he had acted as sheriff of that county before the Conquest.

There were, we know, several 'stallers,' but I cannot find a clear agreement as to what the word meant. Dr. Stubbs held in one place that 'the *mariscalcus* (answers) to the horsthegn or *strator*,' and spoke in a footnote to the passage of 'the *strator* or staller,'<sup>8</sup> but in another he wrote that 'the constable, who exercised the office of quartermaster-general . . . succeeded to the duties of the Anglo-Saxon staller.'<sup>9</sup> Mr. Freeman, I think, did not commit himself to a definition of the office, but Mr. Hunt, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, speaks of Eadnoth the staller as 'master of the horse.' It is of this Eadnoth that I shall now speak. He was, as Mr. Freeman observed, one of the three 'stallers' who are known to have held office under Harold, and practically all that is certain about him has been set forth by that writer, save the succession of Earl Hugh of Chester to his lands in several counties. By this succession we are able to identify the 'Ednod *stalre*' of Berkshire (D. B. 58 b) with the 'Ednod *dapifer*' who had held five estates in Wilts (fo. 69), an identity which Mr. Freeman only thought 'most likely.'<sup>10</sup> This is, I believe, the only mention of a pre-Conquest *dapifer* in Domesday; and, as the term is not likely to have been used without meaning, I suggest that Eadnoth must have held the office of *steward*.

For mention of these court officers the well-known Waltham Abbey charter<sup>11</sup> is of special value. To it we owe what seems to be the only occurrence of a *butler*, Wigod, *regis pincerna*, being one of its witnesses. So far as I am competent to judge, the attestations to this charter appear to me trustworthy, and the appearance of 'Hardingus reginae pincerna' among its witnesses seems to me to be in its favour. It is not likely that such a name as this would be deliberately invented, and in Berkshire moreover we find a hide held in 1086 by a Herding of whom it is recorded that *ipse tenuit de regina Eddid* (D. B. 63). Mr. Freeman pronounced it 'most likely' that this Harding, who

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.* in Berks, Oxon, Northants, and Essex.

<sup>7</sup> By a similar solecism of transposition Henry's name appears in this place as 'Feireres' instead of 'Ferieres.'

<sup>8</sup> *Const. Hist.* (1874), i. 343-4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 354.

<sup>10</sup> I do not, of course, assert the identity of 'stalre' with 'dapifer;' but it is singular that of another of these three *stallers*, 'Esgar (or Ansgar) *stalre*,' who attests the Waltham charter as 'regiae procurator aulae,' Freeman cites Stubbs as asserting that this style was 'equivalent to *dapifer*' (*Norm. Conq.* ii. 440).

<sup>11</sup> *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 159.

witnessed the Waltham charter in 1062, was identical with Harding, son of the Eadnoth, mentioned above, who 'was living when William of Malmesbury wrote;' <sup>12</sup> but Mr. Eyton, justly, I think, observed that his 'ideas of chronology' were not consonant with that view.

As to the *chamberlain* there is no question, for King Edward's chamberlain, Hugh, is found in Domesday as a holder of land in three counties before the Conquest. The name of the chamberlain's office suggests that of the *treasurer*, as to which we read in the earlier of the two Winchester surveys that 'Henricus thesaurarius' had a house in the city 'in King Edward's time.' <sup>13</sup>

There remains only the *chancellor*. With Regenbald, 'the Norman chancellor of Edward,' as Mr. Freeman terms him, I have dealt in *Feudal England* (p. 421 *et seq.*) In one passage of Domesday (fo. 180 *b*) we read, *Reinbaldus, canceler*, <sup>14</sup> *tenuit T.R.E.*, and although it might be argued that he was so styled as holding the office at the time of the survey I do not know of any evidence that he held the office then or at any time under William. He witnesses the Waltham charter as *regis cancellarius*, and although the manuscript may be a late one the witnesses' names, as I have said, appear to me satisfactory.

A comparison of the offices I have now enumerated with those named in the 'Constitutio Domus Regis' certainly seems to suggest that in the names of his chief officers, as in sundry other respects, Edward had Normanised his court.

J. H. ROUND.

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### *Hides and Virgates in Sussex.*

THE article by Professor Tait in the October number of the Review is, I believe, the first inquiry into the question of the existence of an 8-virgate hide in Sussex yet printed. Having been lately occupied in the detailed study of the Sussex portion of Domesday, I have come to the opposite conclusion to that at which Mr. Tait arrives, and consider that there is sufficient evidence to justify the positive assertion that the Sussex hide contained eight virgates. That evidence I will now give as concisely as possible.

We will first take the evidence that the hide contained more than four virgates. Take such an entry as Croherst, 'Walo holds half a hide and 2 virgates;' <sup>1</sup> Wiltingham, 'Reinbert holds half a hide and 2 virgates;' Horintone, in the same column, 'the count

<sup>12</sup> *Norm. Conq.* iv. (2nd ed. 1876), pp. 756-8.

<sup>13</sup> *Domesday* (Additamenta), iv. 539.

<sup>14</sup> This word is interlined, but I attach no importance to that.

<sup>1</sup> D.B. 18 b.

holds one hide and a half and 2 virgates; and from West Sussex, Benestede hundred, *In eodem hundredo tenet Willelmus de comite dimidiam hidam et 2 v(irgas) et pro tanto se defendebant semper.*<sup>2</sup> West Sussex also affords us a still more important piece of evidence under Middelstone: *De terra huius manerii tenent iij francigene iij hidas et v virgas de Willelmo.*<sup>3</sup> Returning to the rape of Hastings, under Bolintun we read, *Abbatia de Ultresport tenet iij hidas ij v(irgis) minus et pro tanto se defendent.*<sup>4</sup> If there were only four virgates in the hide this would be a singularly clumsy way of expressing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides.

Turning now to the evidence for the equation 1 hide=8 virgates, we may put first Francwelle,<sup>5</sup> which is quoted by Mr. Tait; here we have  $1\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} = \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 2 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} = \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 8 \text{ v}$ . In the same column is Wilesham, in which  $15 \text{ H} = 8 \text{ H} + 1 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ H} + 1 \text{ H} + 1 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 5 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 5 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 1 \text{ v}$  (entered under the lands of Battle Abbey) =  $12\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 19 \text{ v}$ , which on an 8-virgate basis gives us  $14 \text{ H} + 7 \text{ v}$ ; and that one virgate was omitted by the scribe is at least possible, as the eleventh and last sub-tenant is entered as *Roger(us) Daniel dim(idiam) hid(am)*, and I have little doubt that this should read *Rogerus 1 virgam Daniel dimidiam hidam*. In Wiltingham<sup>6</sup> we have  $4 \text{ H} = 2 \text{ H} + 2 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 2 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 2 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v}$  (entered among the lands of Battle Abbey) =  $3 \text{ H} + 8 \text{ v}$ . In Nerewelle<sup>7</sup> a former assessment of 3 hides has been reduced to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides, which are composed as follows:  $5 \text{ v} + 3 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v} + 7 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ v}$  et *quidam villanus tenet alias* =  $19 \text{ v} +$  'alias,' or possibly 'aliam,' as only 1 v is required to make up the total of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides, though it is more likely that the total should be completed in 3 hides, in which case the villain held 5 virgates.

As in two of these cases, Wilesham and Wiltingham, I have reckoned the land of the manor which was in the rape of the Abbey of Battle in with the lands of the same manor entered under the rape of the count of Eu, it may be as well that I should adduce evidence to show that such treatment is justified. The clearest proof is to be found in the manor of Bollintun,<sup>8</sup> where of a total assessment of 5 hides the entries under the count's rape, being 3 virgates and 3 hides less 2 virgates, account for only 3 hides and 1 virgate, which is brought up exactly to the required total of 5 hides by the 2 hides less 1 virgate entered under Battle Abbey. This is the only case in which the proof can be called definite, as its total is not affected by the relative values of the hide and the virgate. Several of the other manors concerned, it may be observed, have had their assessments reduced by amounts roughly corresponding (on the 8-virgate basis) with the amounts held by Battle Abbey—e.g. Cedesfeld,<sup>9</sup> of which the Abbey held 3 virgates,

<sup>2</sup> D.B. 25 b.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 25 a.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 18 a.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 18 b.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 18 a.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 18 a, 17 b.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 17 b, 18 a.

was reduced from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hide to 1 hide and 1 virgate; Nedrefelle<sup>10</sup> from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hide to 1 hide, 6 virgates being in the Abbey's hands; and the entry which follows Nedrefelle concerning a nameless manor once held by Alnod, formerly assessed for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hide and now for 1 hide, refers undoubtedly to Wilmint, where the Abbey had 6 (or 5) virgates. Much importance, however, should not be attached to these instances, as there are other cases of reduction for which no reason is assignable.

We now come to the important case of the liberty of Battle Abbey.<sup>11</sup> Here Domesday says that we have  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hides, but the Battle Abbey Chronicle says that the total should be 6 hides and half a virgate; this total is composed as follows, the figures in brackets being those of the chronicle:  $\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 3 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v}$  (or  $\frac{1}{2} \text{ v}$ ) +  $6 \text{ v}$  (or  $5 \text{ v}$ ) +  $6 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 1 \text{ v} + 3 \text{ v} + 2 \text{ H}$  less  $1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v} = 3\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} 22 \text{ v}$  (or  $20\frac{1}{2} \text{ v}$ ), which gives us, on the 8-virgate basis,  $6\frac{1}{4} \text{ H}$  (or  $6 \text{ H} \frac{1}{2} \text{ v}$ ), whereas on the 4-virgate basis we obtain a total of 9 H. From these 9 hides Mr. Tait proposes to take the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides held by the abbot in demesne, which hides *non geldaverunt in rapo*, and ought therefore, Mr. Tait argues, not to be included or accounted for in the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hides. The key to the problem is to be found in the introductory sentence, *Ipse abbas habet in suo rapo vj hidas et dimidiam. Hec terra pro vj hidis se defend(ebat) et dimidia fuit quieta quia foris rapum*. Here it will be noticed that 6 hides is the old assessment; the present assessment is not given, because all the lands within the liberty were, by the Conqueror's charter, free from all manner of geld due to the crown; but apparently the geld which they formerly paid to the crown they now paid to the abbot—this seems to be the meaning of the expression *in suo rapo*, for the rapes appear to have been essentially geldable units at the time of the Domesday survey—and naturally the abbot's own demesnes would not be taxed for his own benefit; but, as the assessment was made before this distinction between the demesne and other lands existed, I think it is evident that the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides must not be deducted from the total.

There now remain three cases which apparently contradict the 8-virgate theory. First, in Horintone<sup>12</sup> a former assessment of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hides reduced to 3 hides and 2 virgates (why not  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hides, if 2 virgates equal half a hide?) is composed of  $1\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} 2 \text{ v} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 1 \text{ H} + \frac{1}{2} \text{ H} + 2 \text{ v} + 1 \text{ v}$  (entered among the lands of Battle Abbey) =  $3\frac{1}{2} \text{ H} 5 \text{ v}$ . Mr. Tait, overlooking the virgate belonging to Battle Abbey, argues that this refers to the earlier assessment and is a proof of the 4-virgate theory. Personally I should like to read *Willelmus i virgam* instead of *Willelmus i hidam*, only I suppose one must not take liberties with one's text; so I leave the question open. With this we may take Dentune,<sup>13</sup> where we have an assessment T.R.E.

<sup>10</sup> D.B. 18 b, 17 b.<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 17 b.<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 18 b.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 29 a.



of 5 hides reduced to 1 hide 3 virgates, while the under-tenants hold 2 H 1 v + 1 H 1 v + 1½ H = 4½ H 2 v. This must evidently refer to the earlier assessment, as Mr. Tait points out, but it does not follow that these three holdings constitute the whole of the 5 hides, in which case there would be no demesne, which indeed at first appears to be borne out by the phrase *in dominio nichil est sed tantum ij villani & iij bordarii & x acre prati*; as a matter of fact, however, this phrase has the exactly opposite force of asserting the existence of demesne land; compare Ifelt, *Tunc & modo se defendet pro una hida, In dominio nichil est, et v villani et iij bordarii cum j caruca, et vj acre prati*.<sup>14</sup> If the five hides are exhausted by the sub-tenants' holdings, how comes the mesne tenant to have anything? While in these two cases of Horintone and Dentune the reference certainly seems to be to the pre-Conquest assessment, in the previously quoted instances of Francwell and Wiltingham the assessments T.R.E. and in 1086 are the same. Mr. Tait suggests that this is because there had been a reduction prior to the last assessment of King Edward's reign, and that the sub-tenants' holdings are based on the original unreduced assessment; but this is disproved by the case of Wilesham, referred to above, where we find that it is not a case of an *assessment* of 15 hides which is in question, but 15 *actual* hides: *Ibi xv hide sunt que non geldant neque geldaverunt*.

Secondly, Mr. Tait points to the case of Waliland, where one hide is made to contain 13 virgates, and claims that this can only be explained as a case of preferential hidation; unfortunately for this argument the entry clearly states that not only has the assessment always been one hide but that the land actually is one hide, and so the only possible explanation is that the scribe blundered. This entry is next to the last in the lands of the count of Eu, and the whole of this final hundred bears evidence of carelessness, not improbably due to the anxiety of the compiler to reach the end and finish work for the day.<sup>15</sup> It is probably this hurried carelessness which is responsible for the third puzzling case: Werste, *Tunc se defendebat pro vj hidis modo pro iij hidis et ij virgis et quinque virge sunt retro quia una hida est in rapo comitis de Moritonia*.<sup>16</sup> Here, as Mr. Tait observes, we appear to have the equation 4 H 3 v + 5 v = 6 H, and were it not for the strength of the evidence in favour of the 8-virgate hide and the entire absence of any other proof of 4 virgates making 1 hide this might be accepted, though in any case the logic of 5 virgates being withdrawn (from geld) because 1 hide had been lost would be imperfect. I am inclined to hold that *quinque virge sunt retro* is a parenthesis, and that the sentence should read, 'Then it was assessed for 6 hides, now for 4 hides 3 virgates (and there are 5 virgates withdrawn), because 1 hide

<sup>14</sup> D.B. 29 a.<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 20 a.<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

is in the rape of the count of Mortain.' For a rather similar case see Salescome, two entries lower, *Pro una hida et iij v(irgis) foris rapum se defendebat & modo pro una hida*; as the amount for which land *se defendebat* was the amount on which it paid geld, and as land *foris rapum* paid no geld, it is evident that this must read, 'It was assessed for one hide (and there were 3 virgates outside the rape) and now for one hide.'

A careful consideration of the evidence given will, I think, lead to the conclusion that the hide in Sussex contained eight instead of the normal four virgates, though it would certainly seem essential for purposes of taxation that the fiscal units should bear a constant relation to one another throughout the kingdom.

L. F. SALZMANN.

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*Dispensation by John XXIII for a Son of Henry IV*  
'*propter defectum natalium*,' 15 Jan. 1412.

TEN years ago, when estimating the character of Henry IV, I inclined to accord him high praise for the purity of his private life; but this praise must now be modified in the light of a document recently discovered by Mr. J. A. Twemlow in the archives of the Vatican. The document will, I understand, appear in the forthcoming volume vi. of the *Calendar of Papal Letters*, but Mr. Twemlow has kindly favoured me with a copy of the text, which is certainly of considerable interest. From the perusal of it it is clear that Henry IV had at least one bastard son, named Edmund Leboorde, whose existence has not hitherto been suspected. Henry's first wife (Mary de Bohun) died in July 1394, and he was not married to his second wife (Joan of Navarre) till 7 Feb. 1403. The child Edmund was born in 1401. Who the mother was is not known, except that she was *soluta*, i.e. either an unmarried woman or a widow. On 15 Jan. 1412 the boy was in his eleventh year, and was living as a scholar in the diocese of London. At that time he was looking forward to taking orders as soon as he was twelve years old, provided that he could obtain a dispensation to cover his defect of birth. The dispensation was procured from Pope John XXIII, but whether the lad lived to enjoy the benefit of it is very doubtful, as his name does not appear in the lists given in Le Neve, Newcourt, or Hennessy, though it may possibly be found among the ordinations in the registers of some other diocese. The document is signed by Stefano de Prato, bishop of Volterra, who was registrar to Pope John XXIII, and accompanied him till his deposition at Constance on 29 May 1415.

J. HAMILTON WYLIE.

Iohannes &c. dilecto filio Edmundo Leboorde, carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici regis Anglie illustris nato, scolari, Londoniensis diocesis, salutem &c. Eximie devocionis effectus<sup>1</sup> quo carissimus in Christo filius noster Henricus rex Anglie illustris genitor tuus alique maiores tui per experienciam operis erga Romanam ecclesiam claruerunt, et quem dictus genitor ad nos et eandem gerit ecclesiam, nobilissime quoque stirpis ex qua genitor et maiores prefati originem deduxerunt celeberrima generositas, necnon laudabilia tue iuventutis indicia, quibus verisimiliter colligitur quod te in virum debeas producere virtuosum, merito nos inducunt ut personam tuam specialibus favoribus et graciis prosequamur. Hinc est quod nos, tuis in hac parte supplicacionibus inclinati, tecum qui ut asseris in undecimo tue etatis anno constitutus existis, et defectum natalium pateris de soluto genitus et soluta, ac asscribi desideras milicie clericali, ut postquam ad etatem ad hoc legitimam perveneris ad omnes eciam sacros ordines promoveri et, quamprimum duodecimum huiusmodi tue etatis annum attigeris et clericali caractere insignitus fueris, quecumque quotcumque et qualiacumque beneficia ecclesiastica cum cura et sine cura secularia et regularia invicem compatibilia, eciam si canonicatus et prebende ac dignitates personatus vel officia in metropolitanis cathedralibus et collegiatis, et dignitates ipse curate, et in eisdem metropolitanis vel cathedralibus maiores post pontificales aut in collegiatis ecclesiis principales seu conventuales fuerint, et ad illas vel illos seu illa consueverint qui per electionem assumi, et eciam si dignitates huiusmodi archiepiscopales, episcopales, vel abbaciales existunt, si tibi alias canonice conferuntur [*sic*] vel assumaris seu eligaris ad illa, recipere et retinere, illaque simul vel successive, simpliciter vel ex causa permutacionis, tocies quociens tibi placuerit dimittere, et loco dimissi vel dimissorum aliud vel alia simile vel dissimile aut similia vel dissimilia beneficium seu beneficia ecclesiasticum vel ecclesiastica se invicem compatiencia recipere et retinere libere et licite valeas, natalium et etatis huiusmodi defectibus, necnon Pictavensis et generalibus [*sic*] conciliorum ac quibuscumque aliis constitucionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis atque nostris, necnon statutis et consuetudinibus ecclesiarum in quibus beneficia huiusmodi forsitan fuerint contrariis, iuramento confirmacione apostolica vel quacumque firmitate alia roboratis, et aliis contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, auctoritate apostolica tenore presencium de speciali gracia dispensamus; tibi nichilominus de uberiori dono graciae concedentes quod in quibuscumque graciis per te vel pro a sede apostolica de cetero impetrandis, vel alias quovismodo tibi concedendis, nullam de natalium defectu et dispensacione huiusmodi tenearis facere mencionem; proviso quod beneficia huiusmodi debitis interim non fraudentur obsequiis, et animarum cura, quibus illa imminet, nullatenus negligatur. Nulli ergo &c. nostre dispensacionis concessionis et voluntatis infringere &c. Si quis &c. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum decimo octavo kalendas Februarii anno secundo. *Stephanus CXX de Prato.*

[In margin] *F. de Montepoliciano. G.*

Vatican Archives, Lateran Register, no 158, fol. 235.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For 'affectus.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vi. 314.

*Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester.*

THE following is an abstract of the visitation of the diocese of Gloucester by Bishop Hooper in 1551, taken from an early eighteenth-century transcript in Dr. Williams's library, Gordon Square.<sup>1</sup> It would have been more satisfactory certainly if it could have been taken from the original record, which surely must be extant somewhere; but I have made fruitless inquiries for it in all the places where it might be naturally looked for. Canon Bazeley assures me that it is not to be found at Gloucester, Mr. Hooper cannot find it at Worcester, and Mr. Fenwick informs me that it is not among the manuscripts of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. I am obliged, therefore, to print this abstract from a modern copy, which, though it may be taken as faithful in the main, is disfigured at least by numerical inaccuracies, which may or may not be in the original, besides some evident misreadings and a spelling of place-names which is perhaps neither altogether modern nor contemporary with the document, though apparently the ancient spelling was followed in the main. The authenticity of the document, however, will hardly be questioned; and its importance in connexion with the history of the Reformation is still less open to dispute. The student, indeed, has already been in possession for more than half a century of some results of an examination of its contents as given by Mr. Nevinson, the editor of Hooper's *Later Writings* for the Parker Society; and for a general description of the visitation, with its articles and injunctions, it will be sufficient to refer the reader to Mr. Nevinson's volume. What is here given in abstract is only the examination of the clergy of the diocese as to their knowledge of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer—subjects on which undoubtedly a certain number of them displayed an extraordinary amount of ignorance. The statistics, in fact, are given by Mr. Nevinson as follows:—

Here follow the examinations of 311 of the clergy, 168 of whom were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, 31 of that number being further unable to state in what part of the Scriptures they were to be found. There were 40 who could not tell where the Lord's Prayer was written, and 31 of that number ignorant who was its author.

My own summing up of the numbers differs slightly from this, but scarcely for the better. The computation is a little perplexed by general statements, occurring sometimes instead of precise ones. For instance, a man is described occasionally as *vir prae caeteris ignarus*, in which cases I have set the man down as incapable of answering any one of the questions. But my results are as follows: The number of clergy examined was 311, 62 incumbents

<sup>1</sup> Roger Morrice Collection, vol. I.

being absent, mostly pluralists who did not reside in the diocese, or had been examined elsewhere. Of the examinees 171 were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, though all but thirty-three of them could tell the chapter in which they were to be found; ten were unable to repeat the Lord's Prayer (a point which Mr. Nevinson has not noticed); twenty-seven could not tell who was its author, and thirty could not tell where it was to be found. But in some of these latter cases a man could repeat the prayer, though he could not tell who was its author or where it was written. It is impossible to conceive how such things could have come about without gross abuse of patronage on the one hand and unaccountable laxity on the part of the bishops on the other. Still, it may be observed that the absolute dunces were not a tenth of the whole clergy, and that inability to repeat the Ten Commandments by rote, at a time when they were not yet used in public worship, does not indicate great unfamiliarity with Scripture; in fact, 138 of those who failed in this gave correct answers as to the very chapter of Exodus in which they were to be found. And how far the failures may have been due to unfamiliarity with the English version, which was probably insisted on, is a matter of speculation.<sup>2</sup>

But the statistics of the visitation are interesting otherwise, for it will be observed that the number of communicants is given in every parish; and if we could only determine the proper ratio to be allowed for the juvenile and unconfirmed parishioners a tolerably accurate estimate might be formed of the population of every parish in the diocese of Gloucester. Further allowance, indeed, might have to be made for the probable neglect of confirmation in many cases, though how far this would involve total neglect of communion is another question. There is, moreover, one further drawback. Certain numbers are given in the manuscript, apparently by way of totals, which are grossly inaccurate; and if these numbers exist in the original we may perhaps suspect omissions or misreadings in the transcript. Still, we have tolerably precise and apparently trustworthy information about a large number of separate parishes.

But the names contained in this document, particularly those of incumbents, ought to be of considerable value in many investigations. A good number may be found in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' taken in 1535, showing in what parishes the incumbents had remained unchanged for sixteen years. The names of these are here printed in italics. Many other names in this list are also found in the

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough, one of the incumbents found to be 'unlearned' on examination, unless the transcriber has blundered, had the degree of 'doctor.' He is named Dr. Prynne, rector of Burton-super-Aquam. In the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' he is named simply John Pryn.

'Valor,' but as holders of other benefices, and their identification is a matter more or less doubtful. A further fact that is not a little curious is that of the eight clergymen of this diocese who were deprived during the first six years of Queen Elizabeth exactly one-half filled the same benefices at the time of this visitation that they did then. Their names were Geoffrey Downes, prebendary of Whaddon and rector of Morton Valance, Richard Branbriges (or Bramborough), rector of Cherrington, Michael Rainoldes (or Raymond), rector of Kemerton, and Simon Southerne, rector of Hinton.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Geoffrey Downes, who took orders as early as 1516, held prebends, first at York (1532) and afterwards at Southwell (1535), and was now prebendary of Whaddon, in Gloucester Cathedral, retaining still, apparently, his prebend in Southwell, which he held even in 1559. He had also been chancellor of York and tutor to John Bale, who speaks of him as his father in divinity.<sup>4</sup> He apparently found no difficulty in retaining his benefices from the middle or even the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII through all the changes under Edward VI and Mary, but felt bound to refuse the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth. The same is true of a more interesting dignitary, with whom Bale would hardly have felt much sympathy—Dr. Gilbert Bourne—who had the boldness at Mary's accession to vindicate Bishop Bonner at Paul's Cross and denounce the injustice with which he had been treated under Edward VI. It will be remembered how he had a dagger flung at him from the crowd and was obliged to retreat; but shortly afterwards he was made bishop of Bath. He too held benefices in this diocese at the time of Hooper's visitation—a fact which does not appear to have been known hitherto. He was rector of Duntsborne Regis and also of Minchinhampton; but he did not reside within the diocese.

These few notes may give a suggestion how much further information—of more even than local interest—may be derived from this remarkable document.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

*Articuli super quibus Ministri omnes examinati sunt, videlicet de Preceptis traditis a Deo Moisi 20<sup>mo</sup> Exodi, de Articulis Fidei, et de Petitionibus Christianae Orationis.*

*De Decem Preceptis.*

- |        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| partes | { | 1. Primo quot sunt Dei mandata.          |
|        |   | 2. Secundo ubinam sunt scripta.          |
|        |   | 3. Tertio an memoriter recitare valeant. |

*De Fide Christiana.*

- |        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| partes | { | 1. Primo qui sunt articuli fidei Christianae.            |
|        |   | 2. Secundo an memoriter recensere possint.               |
|        |   | 3. Tertio an Scripturarum autoritate corroborare queant. |

<sup>3</sup> Gee's *The Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Angl.*; Wood's *Fasti*, i. 190; Cooper's *Athenae*, i. 210.

*De Oratione Dominica.*

- partes {
1. Primo an memoriter petitiones Orationis Christianae recitare valeant.
  2. Secundo quo modo sciunt esse Domini Orationem.
  3. Tertio ubi scriptam esse.

*Decanatus Gloucestriae.*

## 'De Preceptis, Articulis Fidei et Oratione Dominica.'

*Par. ch. of St. Michael, Gloucester, the king patron.* Mr. Nich. Oldisworth, rector, is found *insigniter doctus*, and answers all the articles. Steph. Poole, minister there, says the Commandments are ten in number, written in Exod. xx.; *recitare tamen memoriter nequit prout in Exod. continentur.* Can repeat the Articles of the Faith; *sed scripturarum testimoniis directe probare nescit.* Can repeat the Lord's Prayer from memory, and knows it to be the Lord's Prayer because it was delivered by Christ to his apostles and written in Matt. vi. *Communicants* about 400.

*Par. ch. of St. Mary 'de Cript,' Gloucester, the king patron.* Hen. Hawks, rector, says the Commandments are ten in number, in Exod. xx., and can repeat them. Can also repeat the Articles of the Faith, *sed Scripturarum auctoritate corroborare haud queat.* Can repeat the Lord's Prayer, &c. (like the last). *Communicants* about 240.

*Par. ch. of St. John Bapt., Gloucester, dean and canons of Gl. Cath. patrons.* Mr. Hugh Whittington, rector, is found a learned man and able to answer all the articles. *Communicants* about 150.

*Par. ch. of St. Nich., Gloucester.* Mr. John Manne, *proprietaryus ibidem*, and one of the king's household, has not come to examination. John Henburie, minister, says the Commandments are ten, Exod. xx., and repeated them from memory. Can also repeat the Articles of the Faith and prove them by authority of Scriptures. Can repeat Lord's Prayer and knows it was delivered by Christ to his apostles and is written in Matt. vi. *Communicants* about 360.

*Par. ch. of St. Mary ante Portam, Gloucester, dean and chapter of cath. proprietaries.* Humphrey Wilkins, vicar, has not come to examination owing to his great infirmity. John Jones, minister.<sup>5</sup> **C s. A**: Can repeat them but not prove them directly from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 400.

*Holy Trinity, Gloucester, dean and chapter of cath. proprietaries.* Mr. John Williams, vicar, *insigniter eruditus, ss.* **C** about 300.

*Par. ch. of St. Aldate, Gloucester, the king patron.* John Kebull, rector, *recessit a beneficio suo extra diocesim, unde examinandus non venit.* Ric. Burnell, minister. **C s.** Can repeat **A** but not prove them from Scripture testimonies. **LP s. C** about 164.

*Par. ch. of All Saints, Gloucester.* Chr. Woodward, rector, *ss.* **C** about 96.

*Par. ch. of St. Owen's, the king proprietor.* Will. Newport, vicar. **C.** Says they are ten, in Exod. xx. Repeated them *mediocriter.* Can repeat **A** but cannot prove them by Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 250.

<sup>5</sup> From this point, for brevity's sake, we use the following abbreviations: **C** = Commandments; **A** = Articles of the Faith; **LP** = Lord's Prayer; **C** = communicants. *s* implies that the examinee gives full satisfaction on the point, *ss* that he gives full satisfaction on all three heads.

*Par. ch. of St. Katharine, Gloucester*, dean and chapter of Bristol proprietors. Nich. Newland, minister. **C s.** Can repeat **A** but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 296.

*Par. ch. of St. Mary de Gracelan, Gloucester*, dean and chapter of Gl. Cath. proprietors. John May, minister, *ss.* *C* about 95 [underneath is written 275].

*Par. ch. of Hempstcede*, the king propr. Rob. Nasshe, minister. **C** : Says they are ten, in Exod. xx., *sed memoriter recitare prout in Exod. continentur* [*nequit omitted?*]. Can repeat **A** but not prove them by Scriptures. **LP** : Can repeat it and knows it is the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ, but he knows not to whom, and written Matt. vi. (*et scit esse Domini orationem quia<sup>6</sup> tradita sit a Christo, tamen nescit quibus; et scripta Mathei sexto.*) *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Quaddesley*,<sup>7</sup> the king propr. Will. Broke, minister. **C s.** **A** : Can repeat but not confirm by Scriptures. **LP** : Can repeat, but knows not whether it be the Lord's Prayer or not. *C* about 69.

*Par. ch. of Standishe*, bp. of Gloucester patron. Mr. John Moore, vicar, did not come to be examined, being the king's chaplain, as he says, and not resident. Thos. May, minister. **C s.** **A s.** **LP** : Recites and knows it to be the Lord's Prayer, *propterea quod tradita sit a Christo (nescit tamen quibus) et scripta Mathei sexto.* *C* about 246.

*Chapel of Ronwick*<sup>8</sup> annexed to *par. ch. of Standish*. John Jones, minister. **C** : Knows that they are ten, but where written cannot tell, nor can repeat them. **A** : Can repeat but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP** : Can repeat it, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta nescit.* *C* about 100.

*Chapel of Hardwick* annexed to *par. ch. of Standish*. John Jenins, minister. **C** : Knows they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A** : Can repeat but not prove them by Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 169.

*Par. ch. of Elmour*, the king patron. Rob. Whitfield, minister. **C** : Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., and can repeat them *mediocriter*. **A** : Repeated, but cannot prove them from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 230.

*Par. ch. of Longney*, the king patron. John David, vicar. **C s.** **A** : Repeated, but cannot directly corroborate them by Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 130.

*Par. ch. of Arlingham*, the king patron. Mr. Richard Hall, vicar, is found a learned man, *ss.* Philip Horsman, minister. **C** : Ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A** : Can repeat but not confirm by Scriptures. **LP s.**, except that he cannot tell the chapter of Matthew. *C* about 254.

*Par. ch. of Fretherne*, Henry Clifford patron. Will. Lovingham, rector. **C s.** **A** : Can repeat but not prove from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 63.

*Chapel of Saule* annexed to *par. ch. of Standish*. John Malpas, minister. **C s.** **A** : Can repeat but not prove from Scriptures. **LP s.**, cites not only Matt. vi. but Luke xi. *C* about 67.

<sup>6</sup> MS. *qui*.<sup>7</sup> *Quedgeley*.<sup>8</sup> *Randwick*.



*Par. ch. of Wheatehurst*,<sup>9</sup> the king propr. Edw. Rotter, rector. **C s. A.** Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 100.

*Par. ch. of Mourton Valance*, dean and ch. of Hereford patrons. Mr. Geoffrey Downes, rector, has not come because non-resident. Hugh Wilde, minister. **C s. A.** Can repeat, but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 150.

*Par. ch. of Haresfelde*, Sir Anthony Kingston patron. Henry Kirk, vicar. **C**: Says they are ten, but knows not where they are written, nor can repeat them by rote (*memoriter*). **A**: Can repeat but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP**: Repeated and knows it to be the Lord's Prayer, because Christ at his Passion delivered it to his disciples, saying, 'Watch and Pray.' **C** about 244.

*Par. ch. of Harscom*,<sup>10</sup> Edw. Mill, Esq., patron. Will. Corbet, rector. **C**: Says they are ten, but knows not where they are written, nor can repeat them from memory. **A**: Can repeat them, but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP**: Repeated it, but knows not whether it be the Lord's Prayer or not. **C** about 43.

*Par. ch. of Pichcombe*,<sup>11</sup> Edw. Mill, Esq., patron. John Hartland, rector. **C**: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., and can repeat them *mediocriter* as there contained. **A**: Can repeat but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 26.

*Par. ch. of Bruethruppe*,<sup>12</sup> dean and ch. of Gloucester propr. Mr. Walter Morwent, vicar, did not come to be examined because he resides at London. Ric. Forster, minister. **C s. A.** Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 82.

*Par. ch. of Whaddon*, dean and ch. of Heref. propr. Mr. Geoff. Downes, prebendary there. See above, under Mourton Valance. Ric. Davys, minister. **C s. A.** Can repeat but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 70.

*Par. ch. of Madston*,<sup>13</sup> the king patron. Ric. Broke, rector, not examined because he is said to be decrepit. **C** about 28.

*Par. ch. of Upton*,<sup>14</sup> bishop of Gloucester propr. Thomas, minister. **ss.** **C** about 206.

*Par. ch. of Barnewood*, dean and ch. of Gloucester propr. George Couper, minister. **C**: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A**: Repeated them, but cannot prove them by Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 117.

*Par. ch. of Witcombe Magna*, Sir Thos. Chamberlain patron. Thos. Ball, rector. **C s. A.** Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP s**; cites both Matt. vi. and Luke xi. **C** about 71.

*Par. ch. of Chursdon*,<sup>15</sup> dean and ch. of Bristol propr. Philip Jones, minister. **ss.** **C** about 290.

*Par. ch. of Worton*,<sup>16</sup> dean and ch. of Bristol [propr.] Rob. Small, minister. **C s. A.** Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures.

<sup>9</sup> Wheatenhurst or Whitminster.

<sup>11</sup> Pitchcombe.

<sup>13</sup> Matson.

<sup>15</sup> Churchdown.

<sup>10</sup> Harescomb.

<sup>12</sup> Brookthrop.

<sup>14</sup> Upton St. Leonards.

<sup>16</sup> Norton.

**LP**: Repeated and knows it to be the Lord's Prayer because it was delivered by Christ, but where written he knows not. *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Southurst*,<sup>17</sup> bp. of Bristol patron. Rob. Hodges, minister. **C**: Says they are ten, and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A**: Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Aishellworth*,<sup>18</sup> bp. of Bristol patron. John Knolles, vicar. **C**: Knows they are ten and in Exod. xx., and repeated them *mediocriter*. **A**: Repeated, but cannot prove them from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 200.

*Par. ch. of Hartpur*y, bp. of Gloucester patron. Ric. Wheler, vicar. *ss.* *C* about 280.

*Par. ch. of Maisemoor*, bp. of Gloucester propr. Thos. ap Rice minister. **C**: Knows they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A**: Repeated, but cannot confirm them by Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Lassington*, heirs of Will. Horowde patrons. Will. Barker, rector. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat them, but not directly prove them from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 34.

*Par. ch. of Brockworth*, the king patron. Roger Parsons, vicar. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat and prove them fairly well (*mediocriter*) by Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 144.

4,018.

*Deanery of Winchcombe.*

*Par. ch. of Senehampton*,<sup>19</sup> 'rector rex.' John Hanley, minister. **C**: Says they are ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them from memory as there contained. **A**: Recited them, but did not prove them from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Whittinton*. Ralph Tilley, rector, has not been examined, because he resides on another benefice. Thos. Astill, minister. **C**: Says they are ten, and written in the New Testament, but knows not where, nor can repeat them well. **A**: Repeated them, but cannot prove them from Scriptures. **LP**: Can repeat it, but knows not by whom it was delivered or where written. *C* about 53.

*Par. ch. of Shipton Olifs*, Mr. Horowde patron. Ric. Davias, rector. **C**: Says they are ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. **A**: Can repeat them but not confirm them by Scriptures. **LP**: Recited it, but knows not by whom it was delivered or where written. *C* about 20.

*Par. ch. of Winchcombe*, the king propr. Geo. Roo, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove them by Scriptures. **LP**: Repeated it, but knows not by whom it was delivered or where written. *C* about 700.

*Par. ch. of Whithington*,<sup>20</sup> bp. of Worc. propr. John Lawrence, rector. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove them from Scriptures. **LP**: Can repeat it, but knows not by whom it was delivered or where written. *C* about 30.

<sup>17</sup> Sandhurst?<sup>19</sup> Sevenhampton.<sup>18</sup> Ashelworth.<sup>20</sup> Withington.

*Par. ch. of Tewkesbury*, the king propr. Rob. Erian, minister. Is found *insigniter doctus*. ss. C about 2,600.

*Par. ch. of Tredington*, the king propr. Thos. Franckelin, minister. C: Says they are ten, but knows not where written nor can repeat them from memory. A: Can repeat, but not prove them from Scripture. LP: Repeated it, but knows not by whom it was delivered or where written. C about 49.

*Par. ch. of Twynninge*, Dr. Cox patron. Ric. Ramscat, vicar. C: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot perfectly repeat them as there written. A: Repeated them but cannot prove them from Scriptures. LP: Can repeat it and says it is in Matt. vi., but by whom delivered *penitus ignorat*. C about 260.

*Forthampton chapel*, 'rector rex.' Thos. Dobbins, minister. ss. C about 200.

*Par. ch. of Corsse*, 'rector rex.' Edm. Joynes,<sup>21</sup> vicar. C: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them from memory as there contained. A: Repeated them but cannot prove by Scripture. LP: Can repeat it and says it is in Matt. vi., but by whom delivered he knows not. C about 180.

*Par. ch. of Tirley*, 'rector rex.' Hugh Dowsing, vicar. C s. A: Repeated, but did not prove them by Scripture. LP s. C about 180.

*Par. ch. of Hasfield*, Ric. Paunfote, Esq., patron. Hugh Wall, rector, did not come to be examined, as he resides on a benefice at Oxford. Roger Gwiet, minister. ss. C about 140.

*Par. ch. of Dowdeswell*, Mr. Rice patron. Mr. John Strange, rector. ss. Wm. Holder, minister. C: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as contained in Exod. A: Can recite but not prove them from Scriptures. LP s. C about 55.

*Par. ch. of Clieve*, bp. of Wore. patron. Mr. John Parkhurst, rector, is found *insigniter doctus*. ss. Simon Baker, minister. C: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., and can repeat them *mediocriter*. A: Knows and can repeat the Articles, and knows<sup>22</sup> it to be the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ to his apostles, and written in Matt. vi. C about 540.

*Par. ch. of Sudeley*, marquis of Northampton patron. *Vacat pastore*. C about 30.

*Chapel of Stoke Orchard*, annexed to *Clieve*. Thos. Dodimede, minister. ss. C about 40.

*Par. ch. of Prestbury*, 'rector rex.' Will. Atkins, vicar. C: Says they are ten and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat from memory as there written. A: Recited them, but did not prove them from Scriptures. LP s. C about 160.

*Par. ch. of Cheltenham*, 'rector rex.' Steph. Poole, minister, was examined before. C about 526.

*Par. ch. of Swymbu*,<sup>23</sup> Hen. Clifford, Esq., patron. Mr. Thomas Roberts, rector. ss. C about 60.

*Par. ch. of Elmeston*,<sup>21</sup> 'rector rex.' Ric. Hiller, vicar. C: Says

<sup>21</sup> Jonys in *Valor*.

<sup>23</sup> Swindon?

<sup>22</sup> So in manuscript, running two headings together.

<sup>21</sup> Elmstone Hardwick.

ten, and in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them. **A s.** **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Wolston*, Mr. Throgmorton patron. Hugh Whittington, rector, is examined elsewhere. Ric. Compton, minister. *ss.* *C* about 46.

*Chapel of Oxenton*, annexed to *Tewkesbury*. Ric. Hambage, minister. *ss.* *C* about 77.

*Par. ch. of Staverton*, 'rector rex.' Ric. Frankes, till then (*ad tunc*) vicar, not examined, because he resigned his benefice beforehand. Hen. Toney, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat and knows it is the Lord's Prayer, because written in Matt. vi., but by whom delivered *penitus ignorat*. *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Bodington*, 'rector rex.' John Brayford, minister. *ss.* *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Lye*,<sup>25</sup> 'rex proprietar.' Edw. ap Jenkins, vicar. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat from memory. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Charleton Kinges*, 'rector rex.' Will. Hall, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat from memory. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 315.

*Par. ch. of Lekehampton*, Ralph Norwood, Esq., patron. Rizeus Jones, rector. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat and also prove from Scripture *mediocriter*. **LP s.** *C* about 102.

*Par. ch. of Collesburne*, 'rector rex.' Ric. Hawkar, vicar. **C s.** **A**: Recited, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Badgeworth*, John Norwood, gent., patron. Thos. Balden, vicar, not examined, because he does not reside within the diocese. Thos. Baskerfield, minister. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them from memory. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 300.

*Chapel of Shurington*,<sup>26</sup> the same J. Norwood patron. Edw. Grove, minister. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot recite from memory. **A**: Can repeat but not confirm from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 33.

*Par. ch. of Derehurst*, Mr. Porter propr. Edw. Rutterford, minister. *ss.* *C* about 320.

*Par. ch. of Hatherley*, John Norwood, gent., patron. Jas. Williams, vicar, can reply *mediocriter* to all the Articles. *C* about 35.

*Chapel of Ashechurch*, 'rector rex.' Thos. Moris, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot recite them. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 260.

7,951.

#### Deanery of Campden.

*Par. ch. of Campden*, the king propr. Ralph Smith, vicar, not examined, because he did not appear. Humph. Hower, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 485.

*Par. ch. of Mikelton*, the king propr. John Penne, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 200.

<sup>25</sup> The Leigh.<sup>26</sup> Shurdington.

*Par. ch. of Marston Sicca*, the king patron. Mr. Dr. Sherewood, rector, not examined, because he does not reside within the dioc. Thos. Etkins, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 80.

*Par. ch. of Shenington*,<sup>27</sup> Wm. Sheldon, Esq., patron. Mr. Ric. Romsey, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to the articles. Wm. Whitehead, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 112.

*Par. ch. of Preston super Stour*, Thos. Hunckes, Esq., patron. Thos. Roberts, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 30.

*Par. ch. of Quinton*, dean and ch. of Worc. propr. Hugh Tipping, vicar. **C**: Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat them. **A**: Repeated but did not prove from Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 200.

*Par. ch. of Clifford*,<sup>28</sup> the king patron. Mr. Arthur Cole, rector, not examined, because not resident in the diocese. Ric. Perkinson, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 60.

*Par. ch. of Welforde*. Mr. Ric. Quene, rector, is found *insigniter doctus*. ss. John Arley, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 44.

*Par. ch. of Weston upon Avon*, Mr. Gruell, patron. Geo. Fill, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 23.

*Par. ch. of Seysencote*, Edw. Grivell, Esq., patron. Wm. London, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** 6.

*Par. ch. of Dorsington*, Mr. Lovel, Esq., patron. Mr. Andrianus (*sic*) Burie, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. **C** about 53.

*Par. ch. of Aston Subedge*, Fras. Savage, Esq., patron. Peter Baxter, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 60.

*Par. ch. of Pebworth*, the king propr. Will. Fox, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 151.

*Par. ch. of Weston Sub Edge*, John Gifford, Esq., patron. Henry Shelmerton, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scriptures. **LP s. C** about 80.

*Par. ch. of Sembure*,<sup>29</sup> Dr. Barkeley<sup>30</sup> patron. Mr. Wm. Pye, rector, not examined, because he resides outside the diocese. Wm. Waterman, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx. and Deut. vi., but cannot repeat them. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove them from Scripture. **LP s. C** about 100.

*Par. ch. of Wollersey*,<sup>31</sup> the king patron. Rob. Lyster, rector. **C**:

<sup>27</sup> Now in dio. Oxon.

<sup>28</sup> Clifford Chambers.

<sup>29</sup> Saintbury.

<sup>30</sup> [Richard Bartlet, or Bartlot, M.D., sometime president of the College of Physicians.—Ed. E. H. R.]

<sup>31</sup> Willersey.

Says ten, Exod. xx. and Deut. v., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scriptures. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Chapel of Lenington*,<sup>32</sup> annexed to *par. ch. of Tewkesbury*, 'rector rex.' Roger Smith, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not confirm by Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 56.

*Par. ch. of Stawntonet Snonsill*,<sup>33</sup> the king patron. Kenelm Deane, rector. **C**: Says ten, in Deut. and Levit., does not know what chapter and cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. John Piers, minister of Snowhill, replies in everything like the rector. *C* about 130.

*Par. ch. of Westburne Abbots*,<sup>34</sup> the king propr. Ralph Rocheford, minister. **C**: Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat them. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 42.

*Par. ch. of Kemmerton* ('*Lis est an Rex vel Ricardus Lygon miles sit patronus*'). Mr. Michael Rainoldes, rector. *ss.* *C* about 113.

*Par. ch. of Alderton*, John Hickforde patron. Mr. Jas. Aishe, rector, is found a learned man and able to preach. *ss.* *C* about 95.

*Par. ch. of Todington cum Stanley capella*.<sup>35</sup> Ric. Gabill, vicar. *ss.* *C* about 52.

*Par. ch. of Dumbilton*, Sir Thos. Pope patron. Wm. Hunt, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scriptures. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Batsford*, the king patron. Michael Wieks, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all articles. *C* about 52.

*Par. ch. of Stanwey*, the king patron. Thos. Litell, vicar. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Wormington*, Sir Ralph Sadler patron. Rob. Sherlow, rector. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx. and Deut. v., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Aston Somerfield*,<sup>36</sup> John Somerfield, Esq., patron. Henry Dawkes, rector. **C**: Says ten, in Exod. xx. and Deut. v., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Hynton*, Wm. Barnes, Esq., patron. Simon Southerne, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Cawhonibourne*,<sup>37</sup> the king propr. Thos. Weston, minister. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written, nor can repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Buckland*, Sir John Thinne, patron. Mr. Ric. Eaver, rector, not examined because non-resident. Thos. Rosse, minister. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written, nor can repeat. **A**: Can repeat

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps Lemington, near Moreton in the Marsh.

<sup>33</sup> *Sic* in MS. A misreading for Stanton and Snowhill.

<sup>34</sup> Great Washbourn.

<sup>35</sup> Stanley Pontlarge.

<sup>36</sup> Aston Somerville.

<sup>37</sup> Cow Honeybourne.

but not prove from Scripture. **LP**. Repeated, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta nescit*. *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Eberton*,<sup>38</sup> the king propr. John Kelinge, vicar. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written nor can repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Burton super Montem cum capella de Morton Henmarshe*,<sup>39</sup> Lord Wentworth patron. Geo. Nayshe, rector, *ss.* Ralph Gee, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Todnam*,<sup>40</sup> bp. of Westminster patron. John Lathebury, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Dydbroke*, 'rector rex.' Wm. Heskins, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Childyswickwam*, 'rector rex.' Wm. Lewys, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 211.

*Par. ch. of Beckford cum capella de Asheton*, Sir Ric. Lee patron. Mr. John Chamberlayne, vicar, is found *insigniter doctus*. *ss.* *C* about 190.

3,945.

## Deanery of Stowe.

*Par. ch. of Stowe*, the king patron. Mr. Wm. Dingley, rector, not examined, because non-resident. John Poole, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove by Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 350.

*Par. ch. of Brodwell cum capella de Adilstroppe*, Ric. Drewes, Esq., patron. Thos. Banbroke, rector. **C**: Says ten, Ex. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. Thos. Bate, minister, replies in everything like the rector. *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Compton Parva*, Dr. Cox patron. Wm. Sheppard, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Bladington*, dean and ch. of Christch., Oxford, propr. John Cooke, vicar. **C**: Says ten, *sed ubi scripta nescit, nisi per Regiam maiestatem*, nor can repeat them. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat and knows it is the Lord's Prayer, *propterea quod a Christo (ut credit) tradita sit, sed ubi scripta penitus ignorat*. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Sutton*,<sup>41</sup> the king patron. Walter Moris, rector, not examined because non-resident. Wm. Steward, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm from Scripture. **LP**: Repeated and knows it is the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. *C* about 8.

*Par. ch. of Cundicot*,<sup>42</sup> Sir Thos. Wentworth, patron. Nic. Wieke, rector. *ss.* *C* about 42.

*Par. ch. of Overswell*,<sup>43</sup> Wm. Stratford patron. John Wilkes, rector. **C**:

<sup>38</sup> Ebrington.<sup>39</sup> Moreton in the Marsh.<sup>40</sup> Todenham.<sup>41</sup> Sutton under Brails.<sup>42</sup> Condicote.<sup>43</sup> Upper Swell.

Says ten, in Exod. xxiv., but cannot repeat them. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 31.

*Par. ch. of Netherswell*, dean and ch. of Christch., Oxford, propr. Edw. Machin, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 58.

*Par. ch. of Wieke Risington*, Mr. Cooke, citizen of London, patron. Hen. Bassingborne, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 62.

*Par. ch. of Risington Parva*, dean and ch. of Christch., Oxf., patron. Edm. Caterall, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Westote*,<sup>44</sup> Lady Baskerville patroness. Dr. Baskerfield, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Garret Grenow, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove directly from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 56.

*Par. ch. of Odington*, precentor of York cathedral patron. Arthur Cole, rector there and of Clifford aforesaid. Rob. Hiehecoke, minister. **C**: Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat them. **A**: Repeated but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Overslaught*, John Slaughter, patron. Wm. Potter, rector. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written, nor can repeat them. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP.** Can repeat, *sed a quo tradita, aut ubi scripta penitus ignorat.* *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Coldaston*, the king patron. Hugh Evance, vicar. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written nor can repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not confirm from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 48.

*Par. ch. of Salperton*, Mr. Heydon, Esq., patron. Thos. Bold, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but cannot prove from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Nawnton*, Edw. Baskerfield, Esq., patron. Mr. Walter Colins, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Edw. Dugmore, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C*: about 80.

*Par. ch. of Notgrove*, the king patron. Mr. Ric. Numslowe, rector, ss. Ric. Ambrose, minister, ss. *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Getinge Inferior*,<sup>45</sup> the king patron. Baldwin Johnson, vicar. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove them from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 116.

*Par. ch. of Getinge Superior*,<sup>46</sup> dean and ch. of Christch., Oxford, propr. Thos. Hawkins minister. ss. *C* about 177.

*Par. ch. of Pinnocke*, the king patron. Thos. Farr, rector. **C**: Says they are ten, in Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can recite, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* 18.

*Par. ch. of Hawlinge*, earl of Warwick patron. Wm. Copley, rector. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written nor can repeat. **A**: Knows them, but can scarcely repeat them from memory, and cannot prove them from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 71.

*Par. ch. of Shipton Solas*, Henry Heydon and John Daunteseley patrons. John Lambert, rector. ss. *C* about 30.

<sup>44</sup> Westote.<sup>45</sup> Lower Guiting.<sup>46</sup> Temple Guiting.



*Par. ch. of Hasilton and Enworthe*,<sup>47</sup> the king patron. Walter Corbet, rector, *ss.* Henry Bridges, minister. Can reply *mediocriter* to all articles. *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Turkedon*, Dr. Coxe patron. John Stachouse, vicar. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 68.

*Par. ch. of Bourton super Aquam*, with the chapel of Slaughter Inferior, the king patron. Mr. Dr. Prinne, rector, not examined, because non-resident. 7 March 1552, *Examinatus est Londini et invenitur indoctus.* Nicholas Sawnders, minister of Bourton. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 111. John Huntinge, minister of Slaughter, replies in everything like Sawnders. *C* about 94.

*Par. ch. of Risington Magna*, Lord Sandes patron. Ric. Browne, rector, has been examined elsewhere. Wm. Penell, minister. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat them as there contained. *A*: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 107.

*Par. ch. of Winryche*,<sup>48</sup> the king patron. Edmund Caterall, rector, has been examined elsewhere. Thos. Rawlinge, minister. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat as there written. *A*: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Barington Magna*, the king patron. Mr. Andreus Bassam, vicar. *ss.* *C* about 130.

*Par. ch. of Barington Parva*, the king patron. Thos. Arden, vicar. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Wydforde*, Edm. Harmer, Esq., patron. John Nutte, rector, not examined, because decrepit. Chas. Gawden, minister. *C*: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A* and *LP*. Can say nothing to these, nor repeat them from memory. *C* about 16.

*Farmecote*,<sup>49</sup> the king rector. ——— (blank), minister. *C*, *A*, and *LP*: *Invenitur vir prae caeteris ignorans.* *C* about 13.

2,678.

## Deanery of Cirencester.

*Par. ch. of Cirencester*, heirs of Anth. Bouchier patrons. Wm. Phelppes, rector, *ss.* Wm. Badcoke, minister. *C*: Ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 1,460.

*Par. ch. of Bagenden*, Sir John Thyn patron. John Mynde, rector. *C*: Ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Northcerney*, the king patron. Thos. Taylor, rector. *C*: Ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. *A*: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture, *quia satis erit sibi credere propterea quod traditus (sic) auctoritate Regia.* *LP s.* Ric. Munforde, minister there, replies in all things like the rector. *C.* about 145.

*Par. ch. of Stratton*, Henry Earsye, Esq., patron. Roger Griene, rector. *C s.* *A*: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. *LP s.* *C* about 44.

<sup>47</sup> Yanworth.<sup>48</sup> Windrush.<sup>49</sup> Now attached to Lower Guiting.

*Par. ch. of Daglingworth*, the king patron. *John Watson* rector, not examined, because non-resident. *John Strange*, minister. **C** s. **A**: Can repeat but not prove directly from Scripture. **LP** s. **C** about 46.

*Par. ch. of Dunsburne Regis*,<sup>50</sup> the king patron. *Mr. Gilbert Borne*, rector, not examined, because non-resident. *John Plebean*, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat as there contained. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scriptures. **LP** s. **C** about 72.

*Par. ch. of Dounsborne Militis*,<sup>51</sup> the king patron. *Roger Morwent*,<sup>52</sup> rector. *ss.* **C** about 42.

*Par. ch. of Northlatche*, bp. of Gloucester patron. *Thos. Monox*, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat as there contained. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *Gabriel Moreton*, minister, *ss.*, and can preach. **C** about 400.

*Par. ch. of Fermerton*,<sup>53</sup> *Thos. Parker* patron. *John Lawrence*, rector, has been examined before. *Ric. Westbury*, minister, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. **C** about 60.

*Par. ch. of Hampnet*, *Edmund Horne*, Esq., patron. *Hugh Benet*, rector. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. **C** about 30.

*Par. ch. of Chedworth*, *Hugh Westwoode* patron. *Gilbert Jobborne*, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. **C** about 160.

*Par. ch. of Rendcombe*, the king patron. *Humphrey Horton*, rector, not examined, because non-resident. *Geo. Godney*, minister. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. **C** about 61.

*Par. ch. of Cootes*, *Sir Giles Poule* patron. *Thos. Best*, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. **C** about 30.

*Par. ch. of Sidington Petre*, the king propr. *John Pullam*, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *Hen. Jones*, minister, replies to all like the rector. **C** about 24.

*Par. ch. of Southeconney*, bp. of Gloucester patron. *John Dumbell*, vicar. **C**: Says ten, but cannot tell where written or repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm by Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat and knows it is the Lord's Prayer *propterea quod tradita sit a Domino Rege, ac scripta in libro regio de Communi Oracione*. **C** about 160.

*Par. ch. of Driffield*, *Sir Humphrey Browne* patron. *John Dumbell*, vicar, before examined. *Thos. Nele*, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat; *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta penitus ignorat*. **C** about 60.

*Par. ch. of Harnehill*, *Domina Margareta Coppe* patroness. *Ric. Beller*, rector, replies to all articles like *Thos. Nele*, minister of *Driffield*. **C** about 25.

*Par. ch. of Preston*, *Sir John Pope* patron. *Guido Hill*, vicar. **C**:

<sup>50</sup> Dunteshourne Abbots.

<sup>51</sup> Dunteshourne Rouse.

<sup>52</sup> Perhaps for *Robert Morwent*, who was president of *Corpus Christi College*, Oxford, and died in 1558. He bequeathed the advowson of *Dunteshourne Rouse* to his college.

<sup>53</sup> Farmington.

says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 65.

*Par. ch. of Ampney Mar*,<sup>54</sup> the king propr. Thos. Mill, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Culuedemes*,<sup>55</sup> Hugh Westwood, Esq., patron. Laurence Gase, rector. *ss.* *C* about 41.

[Name of church omitted,]<sup>56</sup> Laurence Gase rector *ibidem supra examinatus*. Chr. Any, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat and confirm *mediocriter* from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 36.

*Par. ch. of Stowell*, Walter Baskerfill patron. Ric. Conway, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 9.

*Par. ch. of Compton Abdale*, dean and ch. of Bristol propr. John Roodes, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 90.

*Par. ch. of Byburye*, earl of Pembroke patron. Wm. Shelden, vicar. **C**: Knows their place and number, but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

[*Barnsley*.<sup>57</sup>] *Wm. Tawny*, rector, replies in everything like *Wm. Shelden*, vicar of *Byburie*. *C* about 98.

3,356.

*Deanery of Fairforde.*

*Par. ch. of Fairforde*, dean and ch. of Gloucester propr. Thos. Taylor, vicar, has been examined before. Thos. Pell, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 260.

*Par. ch. of Meysy Hampton*, Mr. Wm. Sawnders patron. Mr. John Strange, rector, has been examined before. Ric. Penkethe, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Ampneye Crucis*, the king patron. Thos. Michell, vicar, has been examined before. *C* about 130.

*Par. ch. of Ampneye Petre*, the king propr. Thos. Mill, minister, has been examined before. *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Downe Ampneye*, Sir Anth. Hungerforde patron. Barth. Ferris, vicar, replies on all things like Ric. Penkethe, minister of *Meysie Hampton*. Wm. Sparhawke, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not confirm directly by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Quenington*, Sir Anth. Kingston patron. Anth. Alden, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 16.

*Par. ch. of Hathroppe*, dean and ch. of Gloucester patron. Jas. Walton, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all articles. *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Culne Ailewines*, dean and ch. of Gloucester propr. Edw.

<sup>54</sup> Ampney St. Mary.

<sup>55</sup> No doubt Coln St. Denis.

<sup>56</sup> Perhaps Coln Rogers.

<sup>57</sup> Name of benefice, omitted in manuscript, appears in *Valor*.

Barnard, vicar, not examined, because non-resident. Henry Barney, minister. **C**: Knows not the number or place, nor can repeat them. **A**: Can repeat them, but not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can scarcely repeat it, *sed a quo tradita et ubi scripta nescit*. *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Shirborne*, the king patron. Mr. Henry Willyes, vicar, has been examined before. John Fawdon, minister. *ss.* *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Kempsford*, bp. of Gloucester patron. Humphrey Galimor, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 240.

*Par. ch. of Lachelade*, the king patron. Adam Ruswell, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP** *s.* Hogo David, minister, replies like the vicar. *C* about 200.

*Par. ch. of Burthopp*,<sup>58</sup> dean and ch. of Gloucester patron. *Ric. Hill*, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 54.

*Par. ch. of Sowthorpp*, the king patron. *John Lorde*, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not confirm by Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 46.

*Par. ch. of Estlatche*,<sup>59</sup> the king propr. Thomas Water, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 50.

1,516.

*Deanery of Stonehouse.*

*Par. ch. of Paineswick*, the king patron. Mr. John Williams, vicar, has been examined before. Wm. Wilson, minister. **C**: Knew the number, but not the place, and could not repeat them. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 560.

*Par. ch. of Bisleye*, the king patron. Mr. John Fowler, vicar, *ss.* and can preach. Matt. Glane, minister, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 400.

*Par. ch. of Saperton*, Sir Giles Pole patron. Wm. Mannyng, rector. *ss.* *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Myserden*, Sir Anth. Kingston patron. Henry Adams, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 89.

*Par. ch. of Edgeworthe*, Simon Rawley, Esq., patron. *Ric. Hill*, rector. *ss.* *C* about 45.

*Par. ch. of Wynston*, Sir Arth. Hungerford patron. Hugh Summer, rector. **C** *s.* **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Cowley*, the king patron. John Bromwicke, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Peter Eyton, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Elkoston*, Geo. Huntley, Esq., patron. *Ric. Flemmyng*, rector. **C** *s.* **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** *s.* *C* about 56.

<sup>58</sup> East Leach Martin.<sup>59</sup> East Leach Turville.

*Par. ch. of Beynsfild*,<sup>60</sup> Sir John Bridges patron. Thos. Lane, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 77.

*Par. ch. of Cranham*, Sir John Bridges patron. John Sewen, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 69.

*Par. ch. of Estington*, earl of Pembroke patron. Wm. Tonge, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 234.

*Par. ch. of Cubberley*, Sir John Bridges patron. Edw. Heyden, rector, not examined, because non-resident. John Phillips, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Syde*, Sir Wm. Barekley patron. John Harolde, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Wm. Townsley, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 35.

*Par. ch. of Stonehouse*, the king propr. Mr. Richard Browne, vicar, has been examined before. John Shawe, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 280.

*Par. ch. of Stanley Regis*, earl of Arundel patron. Mr. Alan Percy, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Wm. Ambrose, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., and repeated *mediocriter*. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Stanley Leonard*, John Sanford propr. Roger Hochekyns, minister, replies *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 263.

*Par. ch. of Nymysfild*, the king patron. John Keylock, rector. **C**: Knows their number and place and can repeat *mediocriter*. **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 85.

*Par. ch. of Horsleye*, 'rector rex.' Henry Woodhouse, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., and can repeat *mediocriter*. **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 217.

*Par. ch. of Mychinkhampton*, Lord Windsor patron. Mr. Gilbert Bourne, rector, not examined, because non-resident. John Edwards, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 500.

*Par. ch. of Aveninge*, Lord Windsor patron. Giles Cox, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Wm. Rugeway, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 260.

*Par. ch. of Tetburye*, Dean and ch. of Christch., Oxford, propr. Mr. Thos. Bole, vicar, ss. Wm. Lightfoot, minister, ss. *C* about 600.

*Par. ch. of Shipton Moyne*, Lord Sturton patron, Sir Jas. Stumpe, patron. Ric. Genyns, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Wm. Wotton, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 90.

*Par. ch. of Rodmerton*, Thos. Wye, Esq., patron. Wm. Wye, rector, ss, and can preach. Wm. Fowler, minister, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Woodchester*, earl of Arundel patron. Mr. Symouns

<sup>60</sup> Brimpsfield.

Stewarde, rector, not examined, because non-resident. John Spaldyng, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta nescit*. *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Frowcetur*,<sup>61</sup> the king patron. Mr. Kenelm Deane, vicar, has been examined before. John Kendall, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Cherington*,<sup>62</sup> Sir Edw. Beynton patron. Ric. Branbriges, rector. *ss.* *C* 70.

*Chapel of Strowd*, annexed to *par. ch. of Brysley*. Matt. Glane,<sup>63</sup> minister. **C** s. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat, and knows it is the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. *C* about 580.

*Chapel of Rodborowe*, Lord Windsor patron. John Gyles, minister, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* 240.

5,550.

*Deanery of Haukisbury.*

*Par. ch. of Marsfelde*, the king patron. Mr. John Cumptun, vicar, not examined, because non-resident. Henry Spendlowke, minister. **C**: Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat. **A**: Knows them, but scarcely repeated them from memory, nor can he prove them from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat, *sed a quo tradita, aut ubi scripta ignorat*. *C* about 500.

*Par. ch. of Coldaston*, the king patron. Mr. Wm. Sherowde, rector, *insigniter eruditus*, *ss.* John Rumsaye, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Bytton*, dean and ch. of Salisbury patron. Ric. Bonde, vicar. **C**: Says ten, but knows not where written, nor can repeat. **A**: Repeated, but cannot prove from Scriptures. **LP**: Can repeat, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta nescit*. *C* about 300.

*Par. ch. of Tormerton*, Sir John Sainctlo patron. Mr. Edw. Wyxe, rector, *insigniter doctus*, *ss.* Jas. Wikeham, minister, *ss.* *C* about 100.

*Chapel of Sodbury Mercat*, dean and ch. of Worcester patron. Wm. Ramsey, vicar, *ss.* John Glover, minister, *nihil docte respondere valet ad articulos suprascriptos*. *C* about 400.

*Par. ch. of Sodbury Vetus*, dean and ch. of Worcester patron. Wm. Ramsey, above named, vicar, already examined. *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Sodbury Parva*, Sir John Welshe patron. John Clerke, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP** s. *C* about 70.

*Par. ch. of Yate*, Lord Audeley patron. Mr. Dr. Bowlam, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Patrick Durye, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat and knows it is the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. *C* about 240.

<sup>61</sup> Frocester.<sup>62</sup> Cherrington.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps Glave.

*Par. ch. of Haukisbury*, Lady Butler patroness. Elyxander (*sic*) English, minister, *ss.* *C* about 750.

*Par. ch. of Horton*, duke of Northumberland patron. Ric. Walker, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Boxwell et Leyterton*, the king patron. Thos. Hancockes, rector. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 68.

*Par. ch. of Oldbury*, Henry Clifford, Esq., patron. Mr. John Shene, rector, *insigniter doctus*, *ss.* *C* about 70.

*Par. ch. of Wickwarr*, Lord Dalawarr patron. Mr. George Colier, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Laurence Gyles, minister and under-master (*hypodidascalus*), *ss.* *C* about 400.

*Par. ch. of Alderley*, Matt. Pomke (?), gent., patron. Mr. Thos. Trappe, rector, *insigniter eruditus*, *ss.* *C* about 126.

*Par. ch. of Irenacton*, Sir Nich. Poynes patron. Mr. John Whetherburne, rector, *insigniter doctus*, *ss.* *C* about 210.

*Par. ch. of Tortworthy*,<sup>64</sup> Thos. Throgmorton, Esq., patron. Rob. Wever, rector, *ss.* *C* about 172.

*Par. ch. of Charfield*, Ric. Druewell, Esq., patron. Rob. Sparrye, rector, can reply *mediocriter* to all the articles. *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Cromhall*, Sir Ric. Lyson patron. John Hickes, rector, *ss.* *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Tedrington*,<sup>65</sup> the king patron. Wm. Yate, vicar. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove all of them by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Weston byrte*, duke of Somerset patron. Wm. Boenell, rector. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 40.

*Par. ch. of Dydmerton*, John Wroughton, gent., patron. John Barne, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Pocolchurch*, dean and ch. of coll. ch. of Wells patron. Henry Banckes, vicar. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Westerley*, dean and ch. of coll. ch. of Wells patron. John Ball, minister. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 280.

*Par. ch. of Dyreham*, Sir Walter Denys patron. Fras. Tyll, rector. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Knows them, but can scarcely repeat them, and cannot prove from Scripture. **LP**: Replies *mediocriter*. *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Syston*, Sir Walter Denys patron. Thos. Swetnam, rector. **C**: Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Abston*, the king propr. Rob. Rosingrove, minister. **C**:

<sup>64</sup> Tortworth.

<sup>65</sup> Tytherington.

Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but cannot prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Wapley*, dean and ch. of Bristol patron. Thos. Brierhurst, vicar. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 110.

*Par. ch. of Badmynton Magna*, Lady Butler patroness. Rob. Warde, vicar. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Dointon*, the king patron. Thos. Spicer, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Rob. Savage, minister. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Frampton Coterell*. Edw. Hillinge, rector, replies throughout like Rob. Savage, minister of Dointon. *C* about 120.

5,526.

*Deanery of Dursleye.*

*Par. ch. of Dursleye*, the king patron. Mr. Nicholas Wotton, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Roland Lane, minister. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 460.

*Par. ch. of Camme-cum-Stinchcombe*, bp. of Gloucester patron. Nich. Compton, vicar. **C** : Knows their number, but says they are written in Matt. xvi. ('16<sup>to</sup> Mathei') or in some of the Evangelists, and cannot repeat them. **A** : Repeated them, but did not prove one of them from Scripture. **LP** : Can scarcely reply. *C* about 460.

*Par. ch. of Colleye*,<sup>66</sup> the king patron. Ric. Whitehead, vicar. **C** : Knows their number and place where they are written, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 200.

*Par. ch. of Wottun cum Nybleye*, dean and ch. of Christeh., Oxford, patron. Maurice Burnell, vicar. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 400.

*Chapel of Nybleye*. Thos. Thackham, minister and under-master, *ss.* *C* about 400.

*Par. ch. of Newton baggepathe*.<sup>67</sup> Thos. Mason, rector. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by any authority of Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 70.

*Par. ch. of Beverstone cum capella de Kingscote*, the king patron. Mr. John Williams, rector, has been examined before. John Barne, minister. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by any Scripture testimonies. **LP s.** *C* about 240.

*Par. ch. of Rokehampton cum capella de Oldeburye*, Lady Barkley patroness. Rob. Sparry, rector, has been examined before. ——— (blank), minister. **C s.** **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture testimonies. **LP s.** *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Slynbridge*, Magd. Coll., Oxford, patron. Mr. Thomas Capenhurst, rector, found *insigniter doctus*, *ss.* Ralph Crowswell, minister, found *satis doctus*, *ss.* *C* about 400.

*Par. ch. of Uleye*, the king patron. Mr. Henry Wyllys, rector, has

<sup>66</sup> Coaley.<sup>67</sup> Newington Bagpath.



been examined before. Jas. Welford, minister. **C**: Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not one of them can he confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Osilworthe*, Sir Nich. Poinés patron. Ric. Bonde, rector, has been examined before. Wm. Blomefelde, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but cannot at all confirm by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 22.

*Par. ch. of Barkeley*, dean and ch. of Bristol propr. John Harpsfælde, vicar, found *bene* [*doctus?*], *ss.* Wm. Flemminge, *ss.* *C* about 1,012.

*Par. ch. of Thornbury cum capella de Rangeworthye*. John Soniger, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove from any Scriptures. **LP s.** *C* about 700.

*Par. ch. of Frampton*. Ric. Sheffarde, vicar, is found entirely ignorant. *C* about 200.

*Par. ch. of Lashborowe*, Lady Foskue patroness. John Shearche, vicar, is found *vir prae caeteris ignarus*. *C* about 17.

*Chapel of Stone*, annexed to *Barckley*. Wm. Underhill, minister. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP**: Repeated, and knows it is the Lord's Prayer because delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. *C* about 100.

*Chapel of Hill*, annexed to *par. ch. of Barkeley*. Thos. Test, minister, replies throughout like the minister of Stone. *C* about 100.

4,991.

#### *Deanery of the Forest.*

*Par. ch. of Dinmocke*, Sir Ric. Lee patron. Thos. Whitynge, vicar. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat them and prove same by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 440. Wm. Grestocke, minister of *Dymocke*, *ss* (*mediocriter*).

*Par. ch. of Preston*, bp. of Gloucester propr. Henry Wakeman, vicar. **C**: Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can repeat them, but not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Bramysbarow*,<sup>68</sup> John Bromwyche, gent., patron. Thos. Harwell, rector. **C**: Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Kempleye*, Dr. Baskerville patron. John Camme, vicar, **C**: Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Can scarcely repeat and cannot prove by Scripture. **LP**: Repeated, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta nescit*. Wm. Broke, minister, replies like the vicar. *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Newent*, Sir Ric. Lee patron. John Cutler, vicar. **C**: Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 712.

*Par. ch. of Tiberton*, the king patron. John Mayo, rector. **C s** (*mediocriter*). **A**: Can repeat them and prove some by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Rudforde*, dean and ch. of Gloucester patron. Ric. Brodforde, rector. **C**: Knows number and place, but cannot repeat.

<sup>68</sup> Bromesberrow.

**A** : Repeated them, but did not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 70.

*Chapel of Pauntleye*, Sir Nich. Arnolde propr. Thos. Twynning, minister. **C** : Says ten, but knows not where written and cannot repeat. **A** : Knows them, but can scarcely repeat, and cannot prove one by Scripture. **LP** : Repeated, *sed a quo tradita aut ubi scripta penitus ignorat*. *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Teynton*, dean and ch. of Gloucester patron. Thos. Kyngeswood, rector, has been examined before. Ric. Edmonds, minister. **C s.** **A** : Repeated them, but did not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 140.

*Par. ch. of Upleadon*, dean and ch. of Gloucester propr. Roger Lowe, minister, is found *vir prae caeteris ignarus, nam nihil directe respondere valet*. *C* about 80.

*Par. ch. of Dean Magna*,<sup>69</sup> Wm. Beynam patron. Wm. Augustine, rector, ss. *C* about 260.

*Par. ch. of Habenhall*,<sup>70</sup> Lady Beynam patroness. Wm. Bougge, rector. **C** : Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by any Scripture testimonies. **LP s.** John Wotton, minister. **C** : Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat them. **A** : Can repeat them, but not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 50.

*Par. ch. of Huntley*, earl of Shrewsbury patron. Ric. Taylor, rector. **C** : Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat them, but not prove one by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 120.

*Par. ch. of Longhope*, 'rector rex.' Wm. Trigge, vicar. **C** : Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but did not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 180.

*Par. ch. of Lee*, 'rector rex.' Wm. Pye, minister. **C** : Knows number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove by any authority of Scripture, *nisi quod sic dicit Ecclesia*. **LP s.** Can repeat, and knows it to be the Lord's Prayer because Christ *tempore Passionis suae mandavit discipulis suis dicens, 'Vigilate et orate,'* but where written he knows not. *C* about 60.

*Par. ch. of Bickner Anglie*, Lord Ferrys patron. Walter Mey, rector, not examined, because non-resident. Chr. Horton, minister, is found *prae caeteris ignarus*, and can answer nothing directly. *C* about 177.

*Par. ch. of Ruerden*, dean and ch. of Worcester propr. Wm. Warmecombe, vicar, not examined, because non-resident. Stephen Phylippes, minister, ss (*mediocriter*). *C* about 160.

*Par. ch. of Newland cum Breame*, bp. of Llandaff propr. John Quarr, vicar. **C** : Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** *C* about 700.

*Par. ch. of Stawnton*, Henry Braine patron. Mr. Roger Wynter, rector. **C** : Knows their number and place, but cannot repeat. **A** : Can repeat, but not prove from Scripture, *nisi quod sic dicit Ecclesia Catholica*. **LP s.** *C* about 100.

*Par. ch. of Lancawet*, earl of Worcester patron. Wm. Wellington, rector. **C** : Says ten, Exod. xx., but cannot repeat. **A** : Repeated, but

<sup>69</sup> Mitcheldean.

<sup>70</sup> Abenhall.

cannot confirm by Scripture. **LP**: Can repeat, and knows it was delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. **C** about 19.

*Par. ch. of Alvington*, the same earl patron. John Coke, minister. **C**: Says ten, but where written he knows not, nor can repeat. **A**: Repeated, but did not prove from Scripture. **LP s.** **C** about 110.

*Par. ch. of Wollaston*, earl of Worcester patron. Mr. Roger Winter, vicar, has been examined already. John Mathew, minister. **C**: Knows their number and place, and can repeat them *mediocriter*. **A**: Can repeat them, and confirm same by Scripture. **LP s.** **C** about 120.

*Par. ch. of Awre*, 'rector rex,' chapel of *Blackney* annexed. Anthony Aldewyn, vicar, has been examined before. Ph. Hawlynge, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not confirm by Scripture *nisi ex primo Geneseos, et eo quod sic mandavit dominus rex*. **LP**: Repeated, and knows it was delivered by Christ to his apostles, but where written he knows not. **C** about 420.

*Par. ch. of Lydneye*, dean and ch. of Hereford propr. Thos. Hopkins, vicar, *ss (mediocriter)*. **C** about 460.

*Chapel of Brevell*,<sup>71</sup> the same dean and ch. propr. Geo. Wadham, minister (*mediocriter*). **C** about 170.

*Chapel of Henghelyeld*,<sup>72</sup> the same dean and ch. propr. Nich. Page, minister, *ss (mediocriter)*. **C** about 80.

*Chapel of Aileberton*, the dean and ch. aforesaid propr. Rob. Heyet, minister, cannot answer any of the articles, not even by whom the **LP** was delivered, or where written. **C** about 60.

*Par. ch. of Westburye*, vicars choral of Harford propr. Ric. Shirriff, vicar, *ss (mediocriter)*. **C** about 700.

*Par. ch. of Bleisdon*, Anth. Kingston and Thos. Kerle patrons. Henry Fowle, rector, *ss (mediocriter)*. **C** about 100.

*Chapel of Newnham*, John May propr. Henry Deyse, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** **C** about ——— (*blank*).

*Chapel of Deane Parva*, the same John May propr. Geo. Pomfret, minister. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** **C** about 200.

*Par. ch. of Mynsterworthe*, bp. of Bristol propr. John Whitmay, vicar. **C s.** **A**: Can repeat, but not prove by Scripture. **LP s.** **C** about 227.

*Par. ch. of Churcham cum Bulley*, dean and ch. of Gloucester [patron]. Rob. Jolnson, vicar, *ss.* **C** about 340.

*Par. ch. of Tyddenham*, the king propr. Wm. Leyinge, vicar, *ss.* **C** about 260.

*Par. ch. of Oxenhall*, John Bridges propr. Wm. Adys, minister, is found *prae caeteris ignarus* and can answer nothing directly. **C** about 90.

<sup>71</sup> St. Briavels.<sup>72</sup> Hewelsfield.

*Some Letters of Toby and James Bonnell.*

THE labours of writers interested in the field of Irish ecclesiastical history have within recent years recalled attention, after a lapse of two centuries, to the 'exemplary life and character' of James Bonnell. A careful notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and a more popularly written account in the *Churchman* for October 1899 have sufficiently explained the importance of Bonnell's figure in the history of English churchmanship in the Ireland of the Restoration period. And these notices abundantly vindicate the title of their saintly subject to the 'testimonials of those right reverend fathers of our church' with which Bonnell's first biographer prudently fortified a scarcely discriminating panegyric. The concurring testimony of five of the most eminent of contemporary Irish prelates, including two so distinguished as Narcissus Marsh and William King, to the peculiar piety and essentially religious temperament of Bonnell has probably done at least as much as the *Life* itself to establish Bonnell's reputation as an exemplar of the art and practice of holy living and holy dying. For certainly the attempt of Archdeacon Hamilton to interpret his hero's character by a medley of devout 'meditations' fully justifies the shrewd misgivings of Bonnell's most intimate friend, Archbishop King, as to the possibility of doing justice in a biographical compilation to powers of religious contemplation which have been praised without extravagance as slightly recalling Thomas a Kempis. King had himself at first undertaken to be his friend's biographer, but had prudently withdrawn from the task, 'feeling myself unable to undertake such an excellent piece as I figure to myself the just image of Mr. Bonnell would make,' or 'to make the reader apprehend his peculiar charms and graces, that almost ravished those that conversed with him.'<sup>1</sup> Yet, in spite of the inherent difficulties of the task, there emerges from the *Life* and *Correspondence* of Bonnell a figure of singular purity. In the active duties of a lay office he continually manifested an unaffected piety; and amid all the licence of a licentious age he exhibited from earliest manhood a devotional quietism which, a generation earlier, would have better fitted him

<sup>1</sup> King's intimacy with Bonnell was cordial and his admiration sincere. Bonnell in his last years frequently visited King in Derry, and several letters from the archbishop to his friend are preserved in the King Papers. In one of them, 12 Dec. 1693, King tells a good story of Queen Mary's conscientiousness in regard to episcopal preferment. 'I hear from England Dr. Bladen bids fair for a bishopric, Lord C. his friend, and that the countess of Anglesey spoke last summer for him to the queen, who answered, "Madam, you don't care for bishops, and so are indifferent who fill the places; but I am of another mind and would have none but well-qualified persons."'

for the community of Little Gidding than for the struggles of an active career.

It is not, however, for the purpose of illustrating more fully the title of Bonnell to the admiration which his devotional spirit aroused in his contemporaries that attention is called to him here. We propose rather to show how our knowledge of affairs in Ireland during and immediately after the Revolution is illustrated and enlarged by Bonnell's papers and correspondence. For this lay saint was closely involved, in spite of himself, in merely mundane affairs. His father, Samuel Bonnell, whose grandfather was one of the many Dutch refugees from the Alva persecutions who settled in Norwich, had, after a prosperous career as a merchant in Leghorn, involved his fortunes in those of the exiled royal family of England, and had beggared himself to meet the necessities of Queen Henrietta Maria and her children. He was rewarded at the Restoration with the position of accountant-general of Ireland. Though Samuel Bonnell, dying in 1662, did not long enjoy this reward of his services, his appointment did not expire with him. 'In order to the better education and maintenance of my dear son James Bonnell I have obtained,' so runs his will, 'letters patent for him to be joined with me in the office of accountant-general of the customs and excise of Ireland, which with the fees thereof he will as survivor enjoy solely after my death during his good behaviour.'<sup>2</sup> Thus James Bonnell found himself provided with a competence, and dedicated, in spite of himself, to a lay profession which he continually deploras in his correspondence as hindering him from embracing a clerical career. It is evident that motives of purely personal advantage would not have restrained him from resigning the office and its emoluments. But his mother being left with slender resources, Bonnell elected on completing his education to retain the office and discharge its duties in person. To this circumstance we owe it that an observer peculiarly competent to record the signs of the times was a resident in Dublin during the stirring period of the Revolution and in a position which enabled him to see below the surface of things. In the *Exemplary Life and Character* depicted by Archdeacon Hamilton but little attention is bestowed on these aspects of Bonnell's career. Yet even there some few allusions to sublunary affairs have escaped excision; and Macaulay has quoted, in his paragraphs on the state of Dublin at the moment of the flight of King James and the entry of William,<sup>3</sup> the following graphic passage from a meditation written by Bonnell at this time:—

How did we see the protestants on the great day of our Revolution, Thursday, the third of July (a day ever to be remembered by us

<sup>2</sup> Original in Irish Public Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> *History of England*, ch. xvi.

with all thankfulness, O had it been begun with visiting our churches and presenting ourselves there to God our deliverer!), congratulate and embrace one another as they met like persons alive from the dead! like brothers and sisters meeting after a long absence, and going about from house to house to give each other joy of God's great mercy; inquiring of one another how they passed the late days of distress and terror! What apprehensions they had; what fears or dangers they were under; those that were prisoners how they got their liberty, how they were treated, and what from time to time they thought of things.<sup>4</sup>

Passages of this sort are, however, rare in the *Life*, and it is to a very different source that we are indebted for the letters reproduced below.

The well-known Cambridge ecclesiastical historian John Strype was a near kinsman of the Bonnells. A member, like the latter, of the community of French and Dutch refugees at Norwich, Strype's father had married Hester, the sister of Samuel and the paternal aunt of James Bonnell. The Bonnells, as appears from some letters written from Dublin by Toby Bonnell, a brother of Samuel Bonnell, kept up their English connexion even after their emigration to Ireland, and when James Bonnell was ready for the university 'he removed to Catherine Hall, Cambridge, having been entered there a year before by his friend and kinsman Mr. Strype, then of the same house.'<sup>5</sup> Strype was ten years the senior of his Irish cousin, but a community of tastes and interests quickly united the two in a close friendship which only ended with the life of the younger man. From the date of Bonnell's taking up his permanent residence in Dublin on his return from travels in France, Holland, and Italy, to that of his death, but fourteen years later, the two men were in constant communication. Strype's share in the correspondence has not survived, but the careful historiographer systematically filed all his friend's letters. A series of above thirty of these are preserved among the Strype MSS.<sup>6</sup> in the library of the University of Cambridge, together with a few from other members of the Bonnell family, two of which, from Toby Bonnell, containing respectively a lively account of the proclamation of Charles II in Dublin and a comment on the Dutch war, are printed below. Other letters from Bonnell to Strype are among the Stowe and Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, and, as already mentioned, a few others from Bonnell to Archbishop King are extant among that prelate's papers. The letters to Strype are mainly conversant with those ecclesiastical and theological topics which were the main interest of their writer's life. They illustrate by criticism and allusion, perhaps as clearly as any surviving documents, the phases of religious thought and the schools of religious

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton's *Life of Bonnell*, 3rd ed. 1707, p. 60.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> The letters quoted in this paper are in vol. iii. pt. i.

opinion in the church of Ireland at a singularly interesting period ; and as such they possess a distinct value for those who desire to understand the part played by the church of England and her sister church of Ireland in the Ireland of James II. and William III. The present paper is, however, confined to extracts from those portions of Bonnell's correspondence which throw light on the social or political history of the time, and more particularly to the letters which relate to the state of affairs in Dublin during the Revolution, though even in these the ecclesiastical leanings of Bonnell are apparent in every line.

I owe my knowledge of the letters here printed and the suggestion of this paper to Mr. F. Elrington Ball, whose keen interest in the social and topographical history of Ireland has led him to procure a complete transcript of the letters in the Strype MSS. at Cambridge. This transcript has been deposited by Mr. Ball, for the benefit of Irish students, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it is catalogued *Bonnell's Letters*, MS. I. 6, 31. For permission to inspect the letters from and references to Bonnell in the King MSS. my thanks are due to the present owner of those papers, Mrs. R. D. Lyons, who has most courteously facilitated my inquiries. The spelling of the following letters has been modernised.

C. LITTON FALKINER.

## I.

### THE PROCLAMATION OF CHARLES II AT DUBLIN.

*Mr. Toby Bonnell to Mr. John Johnson, Minister of Wapping, London.*

16 May 1660.

On Monday, the 14th instant, the king being proclaimed, this city were even besides themselves with joy, the design of all being how to express and manifest it most. I confess I never saw the like for rejoicing. The state, our farmers, and private merchants and others gave many hogsheads of wine to the multitude ; the shops were drained of their silks, gold and silver [? lace] and ribbons, cloths and stuffs. The nobility, gentry, army, and citizens were in arms in all possible gallantry ; the shops not open all day. Happy were they that could fasten most of their wine on passengers in the streets. At night we had the great guns and volleys of lesser, bonfires and fireworks more and better than ordinary, which lasted till midnight. Neither may I forget to tell you that we rump-buried thus. Before it went mourners, viz. several, in white frocks and white scarfs made of towels and napkins, with banners—*Vive le Roy* on them—attended with many links. After them followed the hearse, being three or four slit deals made fast together, beset with candlesticks and candles in them : thereon a seeming carcass of a man stuffed with hay, but without a head. This hearse was behung with the state's arms round about it. After it followed the close mourners, viz. several that had besooted themselves like negroes. Meanwhile the trumpets sound a one while dolefully in form, and the while confusedly, as they use to sound when some devil is conjured up in a play. Meanwhile the people,

with their naked swords and staves, hacked at and butted the rump all along well favouredly as it passed. At length 'twas brought before the mayor's door, who bestowed cakes and ale on the funeral guests, and, after it had been thus scorned and derided of all people, it was in part burnt in the bonfire before the door, and part trod to dirt and mortar by the rout.

## II.

## THE DUTCH WAR, 1666.

*Mr. Toby Bonnell to Mr. J. Johnson.*

23 Oct. 1666.

We perceive by our news letters that the Dutch, for all their brave [talk], are desirous of a peace. But a merchant newly come over to England from those parts talks oddly of them, saying the Dutch are generally for keeping up this war, hoping yet to make their gains by it; that Tromp is so far from making a party either in his person or the laying him aside that the children spit at him for a false-hearted traitor; that seventy of their last fleet had not a ship that carried less than 50 guns; that 30 new great ships lay there ready for a supply which had never been abroad; that 10 ships were now on the stocks, of 110 guns each, for the next summer's expedition; that so soon as the fleet comes in there are multitudes of vessels with masts, yards, sails, cordage, anchors, cables, provisions and ammunition of all sorts, and some vessels with money to pay them off the day they arrive; that seamen are so plentiful among them that the captains refuse some of those volunteers that offer themselves to go to sea, and pick and choose as they list; that their merchants, magazines, and warehouses are full of goods, and as cheap as they were wont to be before the war, by reason of the continued great trade they drive to all parts; that they lay no stress on the side of the French, thinking it sufficient that he is in amity with them, and no enemy, holding themselves sufficient for us. These and the like stories are told to the credulous rabble; but our wise men laugh at them and extol the courage of the English, that are not daunted after all these disasters, even that of the fire; nor the king nor the duke of York so cast down as to forbear their harmless divertisements by comedies. We here are not defeated neither. We have indeed our sermons on fasts in two or three churches in the morning; but then, if the weather be fair, in the afternoon we are for the bowling-green, even the very best of us. If foul, a glass of wine or a cup of good ale entertains us after dinner, and we keep our markets howsoever.

## III.

## LOUIS XIV AT VERSAILLES, 1684.

*James Bonnell to John Strype.*

Custom House, Dublin: 20 Aug. 1684.

I am indebted for your kind letter, which I received at Paris.<sup>7</sup> . . . I come now to give you my third and last stage of France. Of Paris truly

<sup>7</sup> Bonnell was abroad in 1684 as travelling tutor to the eldest son of Mr. Ralph Freeman of Apsden Hall, Hertfordshire, whose education he had undertaken on leaving Cambridge.



I have enough ; for it stands in a bottom on the river, with hills about it ; and no good water in it, but such as gripes strangers and carries off many. Besides, in hot weather the *puncezes* [?] are intolerable : all which made me exceeding glad to get away. Yet I must own it is much finer than London, taking all parts of it together, as being built of stone, without sea coal and brew-houses. As for Versailles and the court, I know not how to describe them in a letter. Will you know how I was affected and what I thought ? Is this the mint of all the affairs of Europe ? Is this the man (that I see now tying on his own cravat) that gives law to all the world ? Is this the head that all nations revere, and whose ordinances are the laws of the Medes and Persians ? What is there more than a man in this countenance which would difference him in a crowd from an officer of the guards ? *Nos te, nos facimus Ludovice, Deum !* When his cravat was on he kneeled down a small quarter of an hour by his bedside, and in a decent posture paid his devotions, while we kept silence in the room. A little picture of the V. Mary hung before him, and some gown men kneeled behind him. At mass likewise (where I need say nothing of the music, being so much renowned) his posture and behaviour was very grave and reverend, kneeling against a desk in the middle of the chapel ; and the dauphin behind him, who, being weary of kneeling so long, diverted himself with pinches of snuff. I saw him afterwards in a garden buying a horse. He has a very familiar mien and a look not too big with empire ; however they compliment him with *solī orienti*, his father's motto being *nec pluribus impar*. The house and place, exceeding description, produced in me at their view this mean thought, that I was drinking some of our last Christmas beer out of a frozen barrel, pitying the poor vapid body of the liquor that had sent all its strength and spirits to enrich an ambitious centre. 'Ah,' said I, 'it was some of those poor people's pistoles that I saw lately in the rays that helped to gild this and that pinnacle.' In effect glory inebriates like avarice, and both render our actions as unaccountable to reason. From Paris I returned to Orleans, a fair long town upon a level, but not low ; however the wine and air do not generally agree with an English constitution. One may pension there for 10 or 12 crowns a month. In all other places on the Loire it will cost 15 or 17.

## IV.

## THE DEATH OF CARTWRIGHT, BISHOP OF CHESTER.

*James Bonnell to John Strype.*<sup>8</sup>

Dublin : 17 April 1689.

With the king came over the bishop of Chester, Dr. Cartwright, of whom his clergy here was a little shy. But the bishop of Meath, the only bishop left in these parts (I reckon not our primate, being decrepit), was civil to him. The college, of which the bishop of Meath is standing vice-chancellor, and the clergy of these parts waited with the said bishop, who received them graciously and promised them protection ; that he was satisfied the principles of the church of England were loyal. The bishop of Chester would have put them on addressing, but

<sup>8</sup> The original of this letter is in the Stowe MS. 746 at the British Museum, and not at Cambridge like the rest.

they declined it. When the king went hence to Londonderry he fell into a looseness which killed him in a few days, he being in his great climacterical. In his sickness he was visited by some gentlemen of the Roman church, whom he desired not to trouble themselves—that he was so well satisfied in his religion that it was not in the power of anything they could say to change his sentiments; but that his condition was such that it made him fit to think of something else than controversy. He was buried decently from the bishop of Meath's house, and at his charge, for he had no money. I pray God send you grace and compose the present confusions.

(To be continued.)

*The 'Discours Politique' attributed to Pombal.*

IN an article in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxiii. 270,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hans Schorer has examined the question of the authenticity of those passages which John Smith in his *Life of Pombal* attributed to this statesman. By a long series of comparisons he proves that the passages in question are translations from a *Discours Politique sur les Avantages que les Portugais pourraient retirer de leur Malheur, etc.*, published in the year after the great earthquake of 1755 at the Hague and at Lisbon, and accompanied by a *Relation Historique* of the event.<sup>2</sup> Smith was followed by all the writers on the eighteenth century in Portugal, who have used the passages to illustrate Pombal's policy. Dr. Schorer's doubts as to whether Pombal was the author of the work were roused by the continual strain of hostility and even hatred towards England which runs through it, a sentiment far from according with Pombal's foreign policy; moreover the clear-cut, strong style of the *Discours* is very different from the laboured, halting style shown in Pombal's despatches. A comparison with the ideas and style of Ange Goudar's most famous work, *Les Intérêts de la France Malentendus*, evinces such a likeness that, in Dr. Schorer's words, 'any doubt as to both works having come from the same pen was destroyed.'<sup>3</sup>

Further evidence against Pombal's authorship may be added to

<sup>1</sup> See *English Historical Review*, xvii. (1902), 832.

<sup>2</sup> The *Discours Politique* is to be found translated into Portuguese among Pombal's writings collected at Lisbon in 1820. The Portuguese translation also exists in manuscript at the British Museum (Add. 15591). In the former case the editor simply says that he saw the manuscript in a private library at Lisbon in 1783; in the latter case Pombal is set down as the author on the title-page. This manuscript is clearly not an original. Smith may have taken his quotations from one of these sources.

<sup>3</sup> To Goudar in fact the *Discours* is attributed in the common works of reference; see Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes* (3rd ed., 1872), i. 1023, iv. 231; Quérard, *La France Littéraire*, iii. 418; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, xxi. 365; Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklopädie*.

that supplied by Dr. Schorer. The work is not mentioned by Da Silva, the standard Portuguese bibliographer; Bernardes Branco, a trustworthy authority, while noticing the work in his *Portugal e os Estrangeiros*, ii. 140, declares his ignorance of its authorship; the work does not exist in the Pombal collection of manuscripts at Lisbon; Achenwall in his *Geschichte der europäischen Staaten* (Göttingen, 1779), p. 100, mentions the work, but assigns no author, whereas if Pombal was then supposed to have written it Achenwall would not have been likely to omit to say so.

In going through the English State Papers of this period<sup>4</sup> I have found evidence which, I think, weighs decisively on the same side. On 23 May 1760, when the relations between France and Portugal were becoming strained, and Pombal was asking for assurances of support from Great Britain, Mello, the Portuguese minister in London, wrote to the British government a note enclosing the following memorandum: <sup>5</sup>—

Pour mieux comprendre les intentions de la France à l'égard de Portugal, il faut remonter à l'affaire du Baillif Souza, découverte l'année 1757.

Longtemps avant la susdite année on soupçonnait à Lisbonne ledit Baillif d'avoir des secrètes intelligences avec les ministres de France; l'amitié intime qu'il avait avec Mr. de Chavigni quand il était ambassadeur en Portugal, celle qu'il a eu [*sic*] avec le ministre de France dans l'absence de cet ambassadeur, et après la liaison intime qu'il avait avec Mr. de Bacchi qui a succédé à Mr. de Chavigni joint aux différents voyages qu'il a fait à Paris, se servant du prétexte de sa santé, ont été des preuves non équivoques de son penchant pour cette nation. Après la mort de Mr. de Cunha, ambassadeur de Portugal à la Cour de Versailles, ledit Baillif a fait tous les efforts possibles pour être employé à sa place; il se servait à Lisbonne des Jésuites pour le recommander au Roi, il demanda la protection de la cour d'Espagne pour le même sujet, & il a pu obtenir sans difficulté de celle de Versailles des insinuations pour faire sentir à S.M.T.F. la satisfaction qu'on aurait à Paris si Mr. de Souza remplacerait Mr. de Cunha.

Ces différents mouvements donnèrent occasion de réfléchir et d'examiner avec circonspection la conduite du Baillif de Souza, et on a trouvé que les ministres de France, particulièrement Mr. de Chavigni, se servaient de lui comme d'un espion; qu'il était convenu avec Mr. de Bacchi d'entreprendre un changement de système en Portugal; que dans la présente situation de l'Europe et l'état où Lisbonne était depuis le tremblement de terre, les Français pouvaient tirer de Portugal un parti plus avantageux, commençant par un traité de commerce, et qu'il pouvait avoir assez de crédit à la cour pour faire goûter des arrangements pareils, se servant de quelques-uns de ses amis, particulièrement des Jésuites qui lui étaient entièrement dévoués. Dans le même temps on a publié à Lisbonne un livre intitulé 'Discours Politique' qu'on croit com-

<sup>4</sup> State Papers, Foreign, Portugal, vols. lii. and liv.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling has been in some cases corrected.

posé sous les auspices de Mr. de Bacchi et de ses adhérents, et dont l'objet était de mettre dans l'esprit de la nation portugaise non seulement que la cause de la ruine était l'amitié de l'Angleterre, mais aussi de faire voir à toute l'Europe que le seul commerce de Portugal rendait la Grande Bretagne formidable aux autres nations, établissant comme une règle incontestable les mêmes principes qu'on débite actuellement à Paris; c'est à dire, 'Que pour diminuer les forces redoutables des Anglais il faut aller à la source, qui est le grand et important commerce qu'ils font avec le Portugal,' comme le ministre du Roi à Paris le marque dans sa lettre du 13 Mars de 1760. Le Roi ayant connaissance des procédés si irreguliers a nommé, sans le moindre égard aux recommandations qu'on lui avait fait [*sic*], Mr. de Saldanha da Gama son ambassadeur à la cour de Versailles, et lui a ordonné de dire au Baillif Souza qu'en 24 heures de temps il devoit sortir de Paris et s'en retourner à Lisbonne par la voie de mer; le même ordre a été donné à Mr. de Lacerda ministre du Roi en France, qu'on soupçonna d'avoir connaissance de ce complôt. Mr. de Lacerda a obéi, mais Mr. de Souza après qu'il s'est servi de différents prétextes pour différer son voyage, il [*sic*] a écrit à l'ambassadeur de Portugal lui disant qu'il ne pouvait pas sortir de Paris sans la permission du Roi de France, étant à son service; l'ambassadeur allait d'abord à Versailles demander à Mr. Rouillé la vérité de ce fait, et Mr. Rouillé lui a dit que le Baillif Souza avait un brevet de Colonel; l'ambassadeur a fait comprendre à Mr. Rouillé sa surprise et l'assura que le dit Baillif serait traité à Lisbonne comme ses procédés méritaient; il dépêcha d'abord un exprès, et le Roi étant instruit de ce qui s'était passé à Paris, et de la conduite précédente du Baillif Souza, a ordonné qu'il fût banni, ses biens confisqués et dégradé de sa noblesse par un decret conçu en ces termes.

Here follows a French translation of the decree of 16 May 1757 banishing D. Jean de Souza. The despatch proceeds—

En même temps Mr. de Lacerda a été exilé, et Mr. de Saldanha a eu ordre de prendre congé de la cour de Versailles, et d'aller à Madrid remplacer Mr. le Comte de Unhão, qui a demandé son rappel à cause de ses infirmités, et le livre—Discours Politique—a été brûlé à Lisbonne par la main du bourreau: à l'égard des Jésuites il est connu à toute l'Europe et particulièrement au ministère Britannique leurs cabales, leurs intrigues, leurs trahisons, et ce que S.M.T.F. a fait à leur égard.

On croirait que la France se désisterait de son projet après tant de preuves aussi fermes que convaincantes de la part de S.M.T.F. à l'égard de l'amitié, liaison, et alliance de S.M.B.; mais au contraire lorsque les ministres du Roi T.C. ont vu le désolément [*sic*] où était Lisbonne après l'horrible attentat contre la vie du Roi, le trouble et l'embarras où serait la cour, ils ont cru que c'était le temps d'branler la fermeté du Roi et de le faire entrer dans son projet. Le Comte de Merle a été envoyé à Lisbonne avec le caractère d'un ambassadeur sans qu'il y en eût à Paris qu'un ministre chargé d'affaires de la part de Portugal.

The document then goes on to relate the offensive conduct of Merle and the threats of the French government, and ends by asking for a definite assurance of help from the English government.

The same subject comes up again next year. On 16 June 1761 Mello handed the English government the translation of a despatch from Lisbon on the subject of the French government's designs, and requesting that Portugal should be admitted to the Augsburg congress : in this document occurs the following passage :—

S.M.T.F. étant pleinement instruite que la Cour de Versailles avoit formé un projet dont le but étoit de troubler la bonne intelligence et l'amitié entre la Cour de Portugal et la Cour Britannique par le moyen d'un traité de commerce, que la susdite Cour indisposait les esprits des sujets de Portugal contre les sujets de S.M.B. par des brochures sédicieuses imprimées sous les auspices de ses propres ministres résident à Lisbonne, et qu'elle avoit trouvé moyen de corrompre quelques-uns des sujets portugais, dans la crainte que S.M.T.F. et son ministère n'aurait jamais acquiescé à un système si contraire à la bonne foi et aux principes que S.M. . . . a non seulement adopté [*sic*] . . . mais qu'elle cherche d'affermir de plus en plus.

It may be added that Kinnoull in his despatch of 14 April 1760 says that Pombal had told him that he took the leading part in preventing a French commercial treaty being carried out in 1743.

G. C. WHEELER.

## *Reviews of Books*

*Murray's Classical Maps.* Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Hispania, Italia, Asia Minor, Palestine, the Ancient Eastern Empires. Edited by G. B. GRUNDY, M.A., D.Litt. (London: John Murray. 1900-3.)

THIS is a handsome and well-engraved series of maps, which should (in spite of certain defects) prove useful to all students of ancient history. No classical atlas of any importance has been produced in England since the appearance of the late Sir William Smith's great folio more than thirty years ago. Since then several important regions—notably Southern Algeria and the interior of Asia Minor—have practically been opened up to exploration. Hence there was much that required to be recast and revised in the matter of geography; and even in well-known regions, such as the Rhineland and the neighbourhood of our own Northumbrian wall, there have been new discoveries made. Dr. Grundy has produced his maps each in a separate folding sheet, so that, in spite of their large size, they can be conveniently handled each by itself. Like many other recent cartographers, the editor has discarded the old system of colouring by political boundaries, and has adopted instead the shading in green and brown, to show altitudes above (or, in a few cases, below) sea level. The limits of the various states and provinces are indicated by red lines, printed in above the ground shading. This method has many advantages; in regions where the natural features are well marked, and where the state boundaries are determined by them, it is clearly the best to adopt. It has, however, its limitations; in a country such as England, where watersheds are low and dominating ranges few and far between, it is necessary to vary the scale of colouring at very short differences of height, or the real lie of the land is not expressed. Looking at Dr. Grundy's 'Britannia' we see that the lowest limit of colouring is fixed at 500 feet above sea level. This results in leaving practically the whole land south and east of the Humber and Severn in one uniform green colour, from which the North and South Downs, the Chilterns, and the Cotswolds barely emerge in long lines of pale brown. Districts as different in character as the marsh-land about the Parret and Tone and the Lincolnshire Wolds appear in the same colour. Evidently two more varieties of shading should be inserted below the 500 feet level, or the distinction between fen, river valley, and upland (all-important for English geography) is lost. Four shades only are not enough to differentiate the various classes of ground. The same fact may be noted in the maps of Spain and Italy. In the former

country there is only one single colour, a pale brown tint, to indicate all ground between 600 and 3,000 feet above sea level. This leads to the necessity for making an upland plain like La Mancha of the same shade as the rugged mountain country of North-Western Galicia, Southern Navarre, or the Sierra de San Mamed. So in Italy—where the line is drawn at 500 feet above sea level, and a single shade serves from that height up to 3,000 feet—the existence of the broad plains below Perugia or around Turin would not be suspected by the reader who looked at the map without any preliminary knowledge of the country-side. In short, this whole scheme of colour, if it is to be effective, needs far more frequent differentiation of height than has been allowed. It is only in one of the later maps, 'Asia Minor,' that we find that this necessary distinction has been made. There nine or ten shades are used instead of three or four, to the consequent improvement of the general geographical verities.

We note many long-needed changes in this atlas: at last the boundaries of the provinces of Roman Britain have disappeared. For a whole century cartographers have kept inserting the imaginary limits derived from the false 'Richard of Cirencester' (Mr. Haverfield's map in the Oxford *Historical Atlas* forms an exception). Along with these boundaries a good many hypothetical Roman roads in Britain have been very properly removed. In the case of another Roman province where accurate geographical data are wanting—namely Dacia—we note that Dr. Grundy, instead of inserting an imaginary boundary, has simply drawn a red line round the district where Roman occupation is certain, and left the rest vague. We are not sure that a similar reticence might not have been applied to the satrapies of the realm of Darius in the 'Eastern Empires' map. There are grave reasons for thinking that Herodotus got hopelessly confused in indicating all the eastern provinces, and that everything beyond the Euphrates should be left hypothetical. Why, by the way, in this same map has the island of Samos been coloured as if it had belonged to the kingdom of Croesus, while the other islands off Asia Minor are rightly left independent? And why is it suggested that the Greek cities of Chalcidice were not as much under Persian influence in B.C. 500–480 as those of Thrace? The map of Sicily again seems to represent the island only as it appeared in Roman days. This can hardly be intended, as, after its conquest in the second Punic war, Sicily became of little importance compared with what it had been in earlier days. A student with Thucydides before him will, however, not find in this map several names which are absolutely necessary to him. Neither the Sicels, the Sicani, nor the Elymi are marked. Selinus and Himera are barely discoverable, being indicated in such small type and pale lettering that the eye passes over them, though the names of the two Thermae which superseded them are in large type. In Italy, in a similar manner, early tribes and localities seem to be suppressed. To supplement the existing sheets we ought to be given a map of Magna Graecia and Sicily in the fifth century B.C. This is but one of several additions which we hope to see in later issues of the series: for instance, a map of the district round Rome on a larger scale is clearly necessary for the study of the history of the early Roman republic.

A.

*Traians Dakische Kriege.* II. 'Der zweite Krieg.' Von E. PETERSEN.  
(Leipzig: Teubner. 1903.)

WITH this little volume of 150 pages Dr. Petersen, the distinguished director of the German Institute in Rome, completes his critical inquiry into the historical significance of the reliefs on Trajan's Column, with especial reference to the elaborate commentary of Cichorius. As was the case in the volume dealing with the first Dacian war, published in 1899, Dr. Petersen approaches the subject primarily from the point of view of the archæologist, and sets himself to correct the blunders into which, as he conceives, neglect of archæological and artistic considerations has led historians. At the same time he frankly recognises that his own book could scarcely have been written but for Cichorius's careful reproductions of the reliefs, which have made it possible for the first time to study at leisure both the general scheme and the details of this series of pictures graven on stone. The literary record of the Dacian wars is meagre in the extreme, and it is consequently of the first importance to determine exactly the value of the reliefs as historical evidence. Unfortunately on this point authorities differ. Mommsen regarded it as impossible to recover the history of the campaigns from the reliefs, as impossible as 'to rewrite the history of the Seven Years' War from Adolf Menzel's pictures;' and Benndorf is virtually in agreement with Mommsen. On the other hand Cichorius extracts from the monument a continuous and detailed narrative, and Dr. Petersen, though he does not go so far, treats the reliefs as giving not merely conventional scenes of warfare, but representations of actual events. And in spite of the difficulties of interpretation, and the many points which remain unexplained, most students of the reliefs will, we fancy, side with Cichorius and Petersen rather than with Mommsen and Benndorf.

The great value of Dr. Petersen's book is that which he claims for it, the attempt to control what he all but calls the vagaries of the historian by the canons of archæological and artistic criticism. He is moreover essentially sober and restrained, while Cichorius is rash, over-ingenious, and bent on finding an historical meaning and intention in every detail. He points out, with much force, that some of these details are clearly conventional and due to the established rules or traditions of art; while in others the form and arrangement have been determined by the conditions of space and material under which the artist worked. Dr. Petersen also insists that it is misleading to regard each picture, if the term may be used, in the series, as separated from those that precede and follow it by an interval of time, and argues that in some cases a group of four or five 'pictures' is concerned with one and the same event.

It is naturally impossible in this review to follow minutely Dr. Petersen's critical study. To do so intelligibly, it would be necessary that the reader should have Cichorius's photographs before him. But the more important points may be briefly stated. So far as the second Dacian war is concerned the crucial problems of interpretation are almost wholly confined to its earlier stages. I may first of all express my entire agreement with Dr. Petersen's view of the meaning of Dio's words, τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐαλωκνίας ἀποστῆναι. The words can only mean the 'territory which



Decebalus had captured' (? from the Iazyges), not 'the territory captured by the Romans from Decebalus,' as Cichorius thinks. The latter's blunder is unfortunate, as on the assumption that Decebalus had abandoned Sarmizegethusa, Cichorius finds him a new capital in Eastern Dacia, and transfers to it the reliefs which, as Petersen clearly shows, represent the old Dacian stronghold.

The first twelve scenes (nos. 79-91) obviously illustrate Trajan's journey from Italy to the seat of war. Of his route on this occasion the written records tell us nothing, and the reliefs have been very variously interpreted. The starting-point represented in no. 79 is unmistakably Ancona. We have then a sea voyage of some duration; three seaports are touched at, and then begins a journey overland. Petersen dismisses the theory that Trajan sailed round the Peloponnese to Corinth and thence to the Dobrudsha and the neighbourhood of the so-called Trajan's Wall. He lays stress on the fact that the first two stages of the voyage are performed in oared galleys, the third in sailing vessels. From this he infers that Trajan coasted up the Italian shore, perhaps as far north as Ravenna, and then struck across the open Adriatic to some unidentifiable port in Istria, travelling thence overland to the Danube. The explanation is at least more plausible than any other hitherto suggested.

Dr. Petersen is at his best in dealing with the rather perplexing series of reliefs which follow (nos. 92-100). He shows conclusively, I think, that in these the direct sequence of events is for a moment broken, in order to place before the spectator an episode which had taken place before Trajan's arrival on the scene of action, and that the main thread of the narrative is resumed with no. 101. He points out that in no. 92 Trajan is represented, and also the *classiarii* belonging to the Danube flotilla. Both then disappear until we reach no. 97, when they reappear together. The intervening reliefs represent contests between Dacians—Decebalus himself being present—and Romans. The Romans are hard pressed to hold their own entrenchments until in no. 97 relief is brought by Trajan himself. Dr. Petersen suggests that the artist is here representing a fierce attack made by Decebalus, in the hope of capturing the defences of the great bridge over the Danube before Trajan could arrive. Then Trajan appears, drives back the foe, and with nos. 100-101 the story of his march is resumed. The great bridge is crossed and the advance into Dacia commenced. Dr. Petersen argues forcibly that the advance took place in the spring of A.D. 106, and that the latter half of the year 105 was taken up with the journey to the Danube and the repulse of Decebalus's attack on the Roman position.

The reliefs (nos. 106-110) clearly indicate that the advancing force was divided into two columns, one of which was led by Trajan himself; but it is impossible to be sure by which of the possible routes into Dacia they marched. If, however, we follow Petersen, as against Cichorius, and assume that Trajan's objective was the old Dacian capital, Sarmizegethusa, and not a new capital further to the eastward, we can scarcely avoid his conclusion that the western column followed the direct route from the stone bridge by *Ad Mediam* to the Iron Gate Pass, while the eastern crossed by the Vulcan Pass. The route up the Aluta to the Rothenthurm pass lies somewhat too far to the east to suit this theory.

The two columns are represented as concentrating (no. 112 *sqq.*) in front of a large and well-fortified Dacian stronghold—clearly the capital, and, as Dr. Petersen contends, clearly Sarmizegethusa. It is impossible here to follow the elaborate argument by which he endeavours to establish this point. That his main conclusion is right will be generally granted; but he has shown, I think, almost excessive ingenuity in explaining the details of the representations of the town as refortified by Decebalus, such is his theory, during the winter of A.D. 105–106. His explanation, however, of the apparently threefold division of the place deserves careful consideration. It is fully given in the appendix (pp. 134 *sqq.*) and illustrated by woodcuts.

With the capture of the capital the difficulties of interpretation, except as regards minor details, disappear, and there is little divergence of opinion between Cichorius and his critic. Here also this notice must end, with an expression of gratitude to the author for a book full of illuminative criticism and brilliant conjecture.

H. F. PELHAM.

*The Age of the Fathers.* By the late WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D. Two vols. (London: Longmans. 1903.)

It is not easy to give an adequate description in a short notice of Dr. Bright's last legacy to his pupils in church history. It is still more difficult to criticise. The book has been prepared for publication by Mr. C. H. Turner, who was for some time deputy lecturer to Dr. Bright; and Dr. Lock in his interesting preface could not speak too highly of the care with which Mr. Turner had executed his task. Another old pupil, the Rev. R. G. Fookes, undertook the laborious task of compiling the index. The work which has called forth such devoted service is worthy of its author's reputation. It is a history of the church in the fourth and fifth centuries, written with marvellous picturesqueness of style, giving graphic descriptions of great men and great scenes, making the past live again before our eyes, not by the exercise of imagination fancy-free, but with most careful regard to facts. We envy those to whom these chapters were delivered as lectures, who saw (as Dr. Lock says) 'the fire lighting up the eyes at the mention of the courage of witnesses for the truth,' or heard his 'voice ringing through the room as it recalled the bold denunciations of passion or of cowardice even in a Christian emperor.' Indeed, the book must be judged as a series of lectures, and from that point of view justifies its publication. It is an admirable introduction to the history of the period, but the student who wishes to consult the authorities at any point will deplore the total absence of references. In Dr. Bright's earlier *History of the Church from A.D. 313 to A.D. 451*, as in his *Lives of the Great Fathers*, every statement was supported by carefully chosen authorities. Here we look for them in vain, and this is the more tantalising because we know that they are all quoted in those sixty notebooks, his *Sylva*, as he called them, which represent the gleanings of his thirty-five years of strenuous toil.

Dr. Lock acknowledges that 'Dr. Bright was not well acquainted with German, and it is possible that some modern contributions to our knowledge even of the original materials for the history of the period may have

escaped him.' An instance of this comes to light in his discussion of the so-called Constantinopolitan creed, of which he writes fully, but without regard to the interesting researches of Dr. Kunze,<sup>1</sup> who has made it probable that it was the use of this creed at the baptism and consecration of Nectarius, the third president of the council, that gave it prominence in the 'Acts' as quoted at Chalcedon. We should like in this connexion also to have had Dr. Bright's criticism of the strange theory that *ὁμοούσιος* was accepted at Constantinople in the sense of *ὁμοιούσιος*.<sup>2</sup> Other instances might be quoted, but Dr. Bright fully made up for this shortcoming, if we should not rather call it our misfortune than his fault, by his intimate acquaintance with the primary Latin and Greek contemporaneous writers. And he wrote with the freshness of a mind always ready to learn. There are many references to recent books, such as Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, which was only published some two years before his death. A vivid description of the ruins of an ancient building records a visit to the spot. And above all the growing spirit of charity, which softened his judgments of men of whom in earlier years he spoke harshly, is the spirit of an ideal historian. His description of Epiphanius in vol. i. p. 542 shows just what he was afraid of in himself. 'Epiphanius had all the hard, narrow, and arbitrary ways of thinking and acting which would be likely to belong to an old man who imagined himself a privileged person.'

It may be urged against this book that it is so comprehensive that many general readers will be lost among details. There is no question, however, of the emphasis which Dr. Bright laid on the more important events of the period, and the portraits of the great men of the period stand out clearly enough from their background for any one who has eyes to see. The book leaves on our mind a sense of the vastness of the interests of human lives lived out in many places at one time, where the small manual destroys all mystery by condensing all knowledge. And the scale on which the book is written makes possible what many students will find one of its most helpful features, the remarkable surveys of the general condition of ecclesiastical affairs at turning-points of the history, or between two controversies, which more than anything reveal Dr. Bright's mastery of his subject.

A. E. BURN.

*The Foundations of England ; or, Twelve Centuries of British History, B.C. 55—A.D. 1154.* By Sir JAMES RAMSAY, of Bamff, M.A. Two vols. (London: Sonnenschein. 1898.)

*The Angevin Empire ; or, the Three Reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John, A.D. 1154—1216.* By the same Author. (London: Sonnenschein. 1903.)

THESE volumes form the earlier portions of the author's great undertaking, which was begun by the publication of *Lancaster and York* in 1892, of writing the history of England upon a uniform plan from the earliest times until the end of the fifteenth century. In addition to the political and constitutional history the author treats of financial, military, institutional, and other subjects—in short, of *Realien* generally.

<sup>1</sup> *Das nicänisch-konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> See Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, ed. 2, ii. 266.

This is an enormous programme, which does great credit to his boldness, zeal, and assiduity. To be master of all these subjects throughout so long a period, and to possess a full knowledge of all the sources, and a just appreciation of all the difficulties besetting them and their interpretation, would seem to be beyond the strength of any one man. It would be affectation to say that Sir James Ramsay has succeeded in accomplishing an almost impossible task, but if his work in many respects falls short of perfection it is still a considerable performance, which rarely sinks into a mere compilation, although it seldom rises high enough to kindle enthusiasm.

The author has been engaged upon this work for very many years, and it is, no doubt, to this long period of incubation that the occasional lack of symmetry in treatment is to be ascribed. The third volume is much superior in this and other respects to the two earlier ones; the materials are handled with a greater sureness of touch, the story is more clearly told, and there is less licence in conjecture. This superiority is partly due to the difference in character of the historical materials, but probably quite as much to the wonderful work of Bishop Stubbs in making smooth the rough places and in generally lightening the work of the historian of this very important period. The earlier portion of the work bears the character of a compilation, apparently not always drawn up with equal interest on the part of the author, into which suggestions and corrections have been inserted at later times,<sup>1</sup> sometimes without conflicting passages being harmonised with the additions.<sup>2</sup> The difficulties are, of

<sup>1</sup> Some of the suggestions made by the author strike one as improbable, such as that advanced to account for the failure of Mercia to retain the hegemony of the English kingdoms (i. 214, 224); the ascription of Oswiu's victory over Penda to missionary influence (i. 189); the explanation of the Nennius story that Run map Urbgen baptised Edwin of Northumbria (i. 183, note 4; cf. p. 133, note 6); the suggestion that Offa's confirmation of grants to the abbey of St. Denis in 790 may have been an *eirenicon* to Charles the Great (i. 217, note 6), which relates to a spurious charter (*English Historical Review*, vi. 736); the suggestion as to the meaning of Æthelwulf's Donation (i. 238), and the attempts, not at all convincing, to identify the twelve battles of Arthur (i. 135), which are altogether too suspicious to merit a place in sober history. The 'Danish raven' is certainly not 'the historic ancestor of the spread eagle of modern heraldry' (i. 387). The curious statement that 'the Celts loved to crowd in towns and strongholds,' and that the stragglers of English village is an expression of the love of the Teuton for country life (i. 138), is in conflict with what we know of the Celtic villages. Equally surprising are the ascription to the Danes of a darker complexion than that of the Norsemen, because they are called in Irish Dubgall (which can hardly refer to their complexion), and the suggestion that this points to a Slavonic element in their forces (i. 230, 241). The Baltic Slavs are, however, light-complexioned peoples. It is impossible to discover whether the early sea-rovers were Danes, Norwegians, or Swedes, owing to the application of the name Danes or Northmen to them indiscriminately, and the statement that no Danes arrived in England until the end of the ninth century (i. 229, note 3) cannot be proved. The author has adopted the common theory that the early sea-rovers were able to hug the coasts only and not to venture out into the open sea (i. 118), which is disproved by the Norse discoveries of Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland. Accordingly a landing of the Northmen at Lindisfarne in 793 is held to 'imply prior appearance on the East-Anglian and Kentish coasts' (i. 230). Yet Tosti and Harald Hardrada are described, correctly, as landing first in the north of England.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of the Picts in Galloway (i. 69, 109, 133) and of the erroneous connexion of Gainsborough with the Gaini (i. 130, 248).

course, greater in the early periods, where the fragmentary nature of the materials at our disposal renders necessary for their right interpretation prolonged consideration and the careful study of many subsidiary subjects. In dealing with these portions the author has been frequently misled by writers of little weight or knowledge, and he has occasionally overlooked important articles concerned with these periods. The most noticeable defect here, as throughout the three volumes, is the almost complete ignoring of the brilliant work of German scholars. One of the few references to German writers ascribes to so distinguished a philologist as Professor Windisch the impossible suggestion that the Welsh Prydain is merely Brydain (*sic*) used in connexion with the article *y* (i. p. 3), thus assuming an irregular mutation<sup>3</sup> of *b* to *p* in Welsh.<sup>4</sup> On the first page of the work the author tells us that the Cassiterides 'have sometimes, on the authority of Festus Avienus, a writer of the fourth century of our era, been identified with the Scilly Islands, on the Cornish coast.' No reason is given why any weight should be attached to the work of so late a writer, and the student who turns to it will be puzzled by the absence of any mention of either the Cassiterides or the Scilly Islands, and will find the tin-producing islands there called Oestrymnidae Insulae, a name otherwise unknown in Greek and Latin geography.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zeuss-Ebel, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> What Windisch really suggests is that the *Enys Brydein* of the Gododin, modern Welsh *Enys Prydain*, the island of an eponymous prince Brydein, Prydain, which he is inclined to regard as borrowed from Latin *Britanni*, has been affected in form by erroneous confusion with *Prydyn*, which is the Welsh form of the name of the Picts. The adjective formed from this latter is represented by the Πρετανικός of Pytheas, which corresponds to the Irish *Cruitnech*, the Welsh and Irish forms both descending from an original base \**Qrtanis*. Confusion of *Pretanicos* with the name of the Britanni after the latter had settled in Britain was almost inevitable, but the two are entirely unrelated. See *Indogermanische Forschungen*, ii., 'Anzeiger,' 125.

<sup>5</sup> Much study has been devoted to the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus by Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, vol. i., who concluded that Avienus used an old periplus compiled by a Massiliote Greek from Phoenician sources, and that Oestrymnidae Insulae was a very early name for the British Islands. The lost Greek original he referred to an older date than any Greek prose that has come down to us. That Avienus used a Greek original seems clear, and F. Marx, in an admirable article in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, l. 323, holds that the unusual metre in which the work is composed is based upon that of the Greek original, just as Avienus followed the metre of Dionysius Periegetes and Aratus in his metrical versions of their works. The Greek original Marx ascribed to the time of Caesar or Augustus, by reason of its metre and its general resemblance to the 'Scymnus.' He concludes that this Greek original was made up from a periplus from the Pillars of Hercules to Gades, derived from a περίπλους Εδρώπης from the Anas (the Guadiana) to the Tanais, and of another, much younger in date, which followed the coast from Gades westwards and northwards, the order of which the Greek compiler reversed, thus producing the errors discernible in Avienus, who does not realise that the *Insula Albionum* is Britannia or the *gens Hiernorum* are the Irish. Marx claims that the British portion of the periplus has the character of an itinerary concerned only with its goal, the Tin Islands and a land north of them, probably the amber coast, for the only points noticed are nautical—lands, capes, and mountain chains. He assigns the younger periplus to the Alexandrian or post-Alexandrian time on account of its paradoxographical character, and to a date earlier than the opening of the western half of the Peninsula to Greek knowledge as the result of the Roman military expeditions, and concludes that it must be ascribed to the time between the date of Eratosthenes

emergence of the names of Ireland and Albion is referred to the third century B.C., owing to the adoption of Rose's erroneous dating of the pseudo-Aristotelian tract *De Mundo* (i. 2), which has been shown to date from the first century of our era.<sup>6</sup>

In the treatment of the Roman period many antiquated errors are repeated, and the section needs revision and correction to bring it up to the level of modern scholarship. The statement that the antiquity of the river Adur is disputed (i. 91, n. 4) considerably understates the fact that this is a bogus name that has been evolved by the mischievous ingenuity and the middle of the second century B.C. He explains the *sub vertice* of Avienus as referring to the maps of antiquity, and as having the sense of 'northwards of' (p. 335), so that the Tin Islands are conceived of as north of the promontory of Finistère, which he identifies, with Müllenhoff and others, with the Oestrymnis of Avienus, τὸ τῶν Ὀστρυμίων ἀκρωτήριον of Strabo. The Tin Islands must therefore be the mainland of Britain and the Isle of Wight (which Marx considers to be included among the *laeze iacentes insulae* of Avienus), and cannot be explained as the Scilly Islands, which have nothing beyond their insular nature to favour the identification. Müllenhoff's conclusions, to which little or no attention has been paid in recent English discussions concerning these Tin Islands, seem to solve the difficulties best. He holds that the name Cassiterides was conferred by the Greeks upon the islands from which tin was obtained at a time when they knew only in a vague manner that they lay outside the Pillars of Hercules; that they were marked at a later time by guess-work on the early Greek maps, upon which their geographical writings were based, off the north-west coast of Spain (for the origin of Strabo's error see Hugo Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1879-93, iv. 24); and that they there remained on the maps (much like the mythical island of Brazil in fifteenth-century maps), although they had been known since the time of Pytheas under the names of Britannia, Albion, Ierne, &c., without their identity being suspected. In a precisely similar manner the Electridae, which had been put into the maps by guess-work, were retained long after it was known that amber came from the shores of the Baltic and not from islands in the North Sea. We may perhaps also compare the persistency in the belief of the existence of Calypso's island near Croton long after the geography of the district had become well established (cf. Cobet, *Collectanea Critica*, p. 335). Salomon Reinach has attempted to explain *κασσίτερος* as a Celtic word, but the arguments in favour of his theory do not carry conviction, and the parallel of the Electridae supports the older view. Müllenhoff has produced ample evidence of the somewhat misleading way in which Greek and Roman geographers and travellers embodied extracts from older writings among their own, so that there is strong probability, apart from the internal evidence, in favour of Marx's analysis of the *Ora Maritima*. In this connexion Müllenhoff's conclusion that Caesar in his description of Britain drew upon the lost account of Timaeus, which Diodorus had before him when writing his account, which in many points agrees in wording with Caesar's (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, i. 469), may be recommended to the consideration of English students of the early history of Britain. This scholar's great work seems to have suffered in England from his strangely confused style, the great length and minuteness with which he treats of the history of Greek geography and of everything else that comes within his purview, and perhaps also from the excessive boldness of some of his conclusions.

<sup>6</sup> Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, ed. 3, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 631, 642, assigned it upon internal evidence to the middle of the first century of our era, which Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii. 278, supported by identifying the 'Alexander hegemon' to whom it is inscribed with the procurator of Judaea, A.D. 46-48, and praepositus of Egypt after A.D. 67. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, i. 318, considers that the portion relating to the British Isles is taken from Eratosthenes, and that it is founded upon Pytheas. From the agreement of Ἰερνή, Ἀλβιον of the author of the *De Mundo* with the *gens Hiernorum, insula Albionum*, of Avienus, it would seem that both drew from a common source, which may have been the periplus suggested by Marx.

of antiquaries from Camden's tentative location of the Portus Adurnus on this river, which was formerly and properly called the Tarrent. It is time that the statements that the name of the Iceni, Icii, is preserved in the name of the Icknield Way (i. 54),<sup>7</sup> that of the Bibroci in Berkshire (i. 47, n. 1),<sup>8</sup> and that of the Cassi in the hundred of Cashio, co. Herts (*ibid.*),<sup>9</sup> should be consigned to the 'limbo' that has received so many others of the ingenious and impossible guesses of the antiquaries; for, apart from the philological difficulties involved, the survival of British tribal names until the days of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in Romanised districts is, to say the least, unusual. The statement as to the settlement of Britons in Aremorica in 387, which is given on the authority of Gildas (i. 98), is really due to a sophistication of this writer's evidence, such as it is, by the much later and even less trustworthy author of the *Historia Britonum*. The West-Saxon conquest of Devon is ascribed by the author to *circ.* 814 (i. 222), but Freeman's suggestion<sup>10</sup> that it had taken place before the end of the seventh century is certainly correct. The eighth-century Willibrord's Life of St. Boniface records that the latter was educated in the monastery *Adescan-castre* (a form about which Freeman made unnecessary difficulty), under Abbot Wulfhard, in the latter part of the seventh century. Thus we have evidence of the existence of an English monastery under an English abbot at Exeter long before 814.

The first volume would benefit considerably by a revision by a competent Old English scholar, for there are, in addition to impossible forms, such as Ceonwulf (pp. 219, 222 *bis*), Cenwahl (p. 195), Wolthere (p. 195), numerous erroneous etymologies and identifications of early sites. Many of the latter, it is true, have been commonly adopted by writers on Old English history. It is an anachronism to speak of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes of the fifth century, or indeed of any Germans of that period, as speaking a Low German dialect (i. 119), and it is regrettable that such nonsense as the statement that 'Anglo-Saxon is said to be an amalgamation of broken-up dialects,' and that 'there is no proof that it was ever spoken anywhere out of Britain' (i. 119, n. 2), should be repeated at the present day. It would be difficult to crowd more philological misapprehensions

<sup>7</sup> An English descendant of the tribal name would have commenced with *Ich*, not *Ick*, and the local names usually cited are, with the exception of Icknield, really formed from well-established Old English personal names.

<sup>8</sup> This derivation is due to William Baxter, *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, p. 41, the wildest of all the British Celtomaniacs who have meddled with local etymology. He was probably led to this guess by Camden's derivation of Bray in that county from Bibracte because the French Bray is descended from that form. Camden, who is generally concerned in most of these impossible etymologies that are still current, has here tacitly assumed that the English developments in form exactly agreed with the French! A descendant of Bibroci or Bibracte in West-Saxon must have appeared as *Biofor-*, *Beofor-*, modern English *Bever-*, whereas the Old English form of Berk(shire) was *Bearruc*, and this, according to Asser, was the name of a wood.

<sup>9</sup> This etymology comes from Camden, who connected Caishow, now Cashio, with this tribe. The Old English name of this place was *Cæges-hoh* (*Cart. Sax.* i. 373, 9, a spurious St. Albans charter). The genitive singular in this compound (to say nothing of the phonology) is fatal to any such derivation. The name is really derived from a masculine personal name *Cæg*, which is, I suppose, an adaptation (possibly through the Welsh *Kei*) of the Latin *Caius*.

<sup>10</sup> *Exeter*, p. 16 (*Historic Towns*). See also *Crawford Charters*, p. 44.

into a few lines than occur in this passage, which is quoted from G. P. Marsh's *Lectures on the English Language*. The statement that 'the original kinship had been reckoned on the female side may be gathered from the fact that the Anglo-Saxon word for kindred, *mægth*, meant primarily a girl or daughter' (i. 140) is an unfortunate error, based upon two different words, *mæght* and *mægth*, which are from the same Indo-germanic root as the Zend *magis*, 'young man,' Irish *maig*, 'slave,' and hence can hardly be cited to prove the existence of a matriarchal system among the Indogermanic peoples, of which no satisfactory trace has yet been discovered. The passage in the chronicle under 1041 that Edward 'peh was to cinge gesworen' cannot mean that 'he was recognised as future king,' and 'was associated with Harthacnut on the throne' (i. 434), but is an obviously later note meaning that he was, although an exile in 1041, nevertheless subsequently sworn as king.<sup>11</sup> The assertion that 'the chronicle in several places obscures the sense [of its purely hypothetical Latin original] by mistranslations, the text in Asser being free from ambiguity' (i. 257, n. 5), exactly reverses the relationship of the chronicle and the life of Alfred. This latter work does not give the name of Healfdene's brother as Ivar (i. 240, n. 6), nor does it contain anything to support the questionable statement that the Danish leaders were 'Skioldungr' (*sic*), of the royal race of Seeland' (i. 240, n. 4). The author has been ill advised in assigning the birth of Alfred to c. 842, on the basis of a suggestion of Stubbs. His birth in 849 does not rest solely upon the authority of Asser (i. 248, n. 1; cf. p. 234), for it is confirmed by the statement in the West-Saxon regnal table, two manuscripts of which are as old as Alfred's reign, that he was in his twenty-third year at his accession (in 871). This evidence, when taken with Asser's date for Alfred's birth, is a very strong argument against Sir James Ramsay's view that a year elapsed between Æthelred's death and Alfred's accession, a paradoxical view into which he has been driven by the attempt to reconcile his ascription of Alfred's death to 900 with the irrefragable evidence that his reign consisted of twenty-eight and a half years. It is a serious error to state that 'one moderate volume will comprise all the prose and another all the verse' remaining to us of Old English literature. Grein's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* (which we suspect is the basis of this error) now consists of five volumes, and includes only a very small portion of the prose remains, while the new edition of the remains in verse extends to three volumes. The account of the Germanic gods of the English invader suffers from unscientific identification of them and their attributes with the Norse gods.<sup>12</sup> Our evidence concerning the gods of the Northmen is many centuries later in date than the conversion of the English to Christianity, and there is reason to believe, without going to the length of Bugge, that this evidence has been affected by Christian and other foreign influences. We think of the last words dictated by Karl Müllenhoff, *und namentlich sind nordische*

<sup>11</sup> The author has derived this erroneous translation from Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. 220.

<sup>12</sup> Hel seems to be exclusively Norse, and Fro (i. 167) is not an Old English form.



*und deutsche [gottheiten] nur nach bestimmten anzeichen und nicht ohne weiteres zu identifizieren.*<sup>13</sup>

A protest must be made against the affectation of translating the Old English of the chronicle by a bastard compound of modern English and assumed descendants of the Old English words, a practice for which Freeman is largely responsible. This frequently leads, as in Freeman's case, to mistranslations, and nothing is gained by it. The air of quaintness that these Old English words and sentences possess in the eyes of the modern amateur is purely adventitious, and arises solely from changes and developments in the language. The only satisfactory way of rendering an Old English sentence into modern English is to find the nearest equivalents in meaning, which will in very few cases be the lineal descendants of the words in the original. No one would think of rendering the German *bekommen* by its English cognate 'become,' and one ought equally to refrain from translating Old English 'begitan,' to acquire, by 'beget' (i. 291). Such phrases as 'most deal' (i. 275), 'cared for thegns' (p. 274), 'bestole them away by night' (p. 273), 'eldest men' for chiefs (p. 273), 'durst nane man misdo against other on his time' (pp. ii, 220), are not English. The worst example is in i. 116, 'Here (*i.e.* in this year) the Romans gathered all gold hoards that on Britain were; and some in [the] earth they hidden so that them nane man sythen finden ne might; and some with them unto Gallia they led den.' In numerous other cases the West Saxon *on* is rendered by the modern English *on* instead of *in*, the Anglian preposition that has displaced the West Saxon *on*.

Green's form 'wicking,' which the author has adopted for 'viking,' is an unlikely development of Old English 'wicing,' a term that occurs in the Epinal glossary, and was hence used by the English long before the appearance of the Northmen, a fact that has led Bugge to suggest that the Old Norse *vikigr* was really borrowed from English. The old derivation from *vik*, bay, has been long abandoned, and Sir James Ramsay's suggestion that the word is connected with the great 'wick,' or bay, of Christiania cannot be accepted. The Old English toasting cries alleged to have been used on the eve of the battle of Hastings, of which explanations are given in the addenda to vol. ii., were explained long since in Andresen's edition of Wace's *Roman de Rou*.

Sir James Ramsay has fallen a victim to the baseless combinations of Dr. Guest, and most of his conclusions are adopted. He has extended Guest's system to other parts of the realm, and forts are constantly cited as historical evidence.<sup>14</sup> Several pages and maps in the first volume are

<sup>13</sup> See his *Vorrede* to W. Mannhardt's *Mythologische Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1884, p. xi.

<sup>14</sup> How worthless this evidence is may be gleaned from the fact that the mound fort, which the author frequently cites as undoubtedly of Old English or Danish origin (i. 243, 272, 275, note 8, 339, 368, note 6, 427; iii. 148), is now held to be Norman. As many of these mounds have disappeared the absence of one would, even if their Old English origin were clear, not be a fatal objection to the identification of the site of an Old English *burh* or battle-field. The identification of a conical mound as the Danish camp at Reading (i. 243, note 2), which is described by Asser as a *vallum*, and, apparently, of the fortified camp at Gainsborough as Swein's camp' (i. 368), and of Cnut's canal to the south of London Bridge (i. 383, note 3), may satisfy the antiquary,

devoted to identifying the site of Agricola's battle at Mons Graupius, which he 'hopes and believes will be generally accepted' (i. viii). He adopts the baseless notion that the Antona of Tacitus was the river Nene, and rejects Dr. Bradley's brilliant emendation of this passage, because the identification with the Trent (*Trisantona*) would place the boundary too far north, and because of the absence of such a line of forts as he detects between the Avon and the Severn (pp. 54, 62), although he is unable to affirm that these forts are the work of Ostorius, and although the forts disappear with the acceptance of Dr. Bradley's reading. One cannot help suspecting that the mention of the Avon is due to the earlier and futile endeavours to identify that river with the Antona. The so-called Picts' Wall or Catrail is made an early racial boundary (i. 134, 180, n. 7), although so careful an observer as Dr. J. A. H. Murray convinced himself that name and thing are both a production of the perfervid imagination of the antiquaries, which have become impressed upon the minds of the rustics by frequent inquiry and instruction at the hands of educated men.<sup>15</sup> By similar processes numerous bogus names of rivers and camps and identifications of early battle-fields have obtained places on our maps, and they are in most cases supported by local 'tradition,' which in the vast majority of cases is the product of the antiquaries.<sup>16</sup> Sir James Ramsay has a childlike faith in local tradition, which he deems trustworthy evidence for establishing the sites of battles in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>17</sup> The historic consciousness of the rustic mind is extremely limited, and Napoleon and Oliver Cromwell are the only names that rise before it out of the dim past, when free from the promptings of the antiquaries. All the traditions about a battle at Uffington Castle by the White Horse of Berkshire seem to have arisen since but must be regarded with grave suspicion by the critical historian. It is a mere guess that a limit was put to the West-Saxon advance under Cuthwulf by the Cambridgeshire Dykes (i. 127, 130). Sir James Ramsay locates Brunnanburh at Bourne, in Lincolnshire, and gives a plan of the battle-field (i. 286). The identification is supported by the fact that there is a fort there, and because 'the Egills Saga, if worth quoting, represents the Northernmen as established in a "borg" to the north of a stream, and Æthelstan as established in one to the south of it.' But there is no proof that these adjoined the field of battle, and the latest editor of this saga is of opinion that the account of the battle of Vinheiðr does not relate to Brunnanburh, but to an earlier battle (see Finn Jonsson's edition in the *Saga-Bibliothek*, Halle, 1894, p. xxii). *Brunnan-burh*, *Brunnan-weorc*, *Bruneswerc*, *Bruninga-feld* cannot possibly be derived from 'bourn,' and the latter word moreover appears in Old English as 'burna,' 'burne.' As it is the origin of the Lincolnshire name, Sir James Ramsay's location of Brunnanburh must be rejected. Many of these attempts to identify Brunnanburh call to mind Dimock's remark that an antiquary 'had proved that his place is some battle-field, and, if Brunnanburh had been the only battle ever fought in Britain, he would have proved it to be Brunnanburh' (*Freeman's Life and Letters*, i. 416).

<sup>15</sup> *Proceedings of the Hawick Archaeological Society*, Sept. 1864.

<sup>16</sup> So Freeman rightly remarks that tradition 'mostly means the guesses of some one within the last two or three centuries' ('King Ine,' pt. ii. *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings*, xx. 7).

<sup>17</sup> It is certainly straining one's powers of belief to be asked to pay any attention to the evidence of local tradition in regard to the site of the Halleluiah victory in the fifth century (i. 116). Other instances, not quite so extreme as this, may be found at i. 283, 386, note 5, 386, 390, 398, 406, note 8, and ii. 398, where 'local tradition, generally to be trusted in these matters,' is cited as evidence of the site of the battle of Lincoln in 1141.

Francis Wise suggested in 1738 that it was the site of the battle of Ash-down.

If it is a difficult task to write the history of so many centuries, it is by no means an easy undertaking to review the work when written. I have already reached or even transgressed the space at my disposal without having touched upon many topics of interest<sup>18</sup> suggested by the perusal of these volumes, which I leave with an increased feeling of the defects of reviewing—that the few points chosen for stricture must necessarily occupy so much more space than the words of praise, and thus inevitably suggest to all but those who have experience of such thankless tasks an erroneous proportion between the commendation to which a work is entitled and the features in it that call for adverse criticism.

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*The Medieval Stage.* By E. K. CHAMBERS. 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903.)

IN his second volume Mr. Chambers describes the origin and progress of liturgical drama in the middle ages, issuing in forms more and more secular, down to the interludes of the sixteenth century. The first volume at much greater length deals with what might appear a less essential part of the subject: the entertainment provided by minstrels and jugglers, and the sports of popular festivals. A reviewer is obliged to notice the unusual division and proportion of the matter as arranged and exhibited here. Is there any ground for complaint that so much room is given to the remoter origins and so little, comparatively, to the thing itself? That will depend very much on the reader's interest; if he have a grievance at all it will probably be rather on account of the compression in the later part than the profusion in the earlier. Few would wish to restrict the discussion of minstrelsy and the other preliminary things; but there is much to be said about the medieval stage besides what is given here in the second volume. It is somewhat disappointing to find that Mr. Chambers, after his wide excursions in different lands and tongues, tends more and more to restrict his medieval stage to England when he is dealing with the proper subject of his book. Spain particularly deserved more attention, on account of its many analogies with England in the course of its dramatic evolution. A history of the medieval stage might have made more of the survival of medieval stage fashions in both France and Spain in the seventeenth century. The vestiges of medieval tradition in the theatre of Calderon or Corneille are not less interesting than the minstrels, and quite as relevant. It is true, as Mr. Chambers says, that the medieval religious drama 'requires separate treatment in each of the European countries.' 'It had been cosmopolitan; it was to be national.' But at the same

<sup>18</sup> Considerations of space preclude more than a passing reference to the extraordinary number of misprints to be found in all three volumes. We may, however, remark that the name *Hodierna* borne by the nurse of Richard I does not in itself prove that she was an Englishwoman (iii. 262, note 3). This name is not the Latin adjective, but represents the Old French *Odiërne*, *Hodiërne*, Provençal *Audiërna*, from a Frankish *Audigerna* (O. Schultz in *Abhandlungen Herrn Prof. Tobler* . . . *dargebracht*, Halle, 1895, p. 199).

time there is in different nations a similar kind of progress, very difficult to understand and explain, ending in like results independently. A history of the medieval stage which begins with so wide a view might towards the end have considered more fully the resemblances between the different nations, especially England, France, and Spain, in the growth of their secular drama. The reader, in fact, wants more than the author has given him, being spoilt by the generous allowance with which the book sets out.

There are some corrections to be made, partly by reason of printer's errors, like 'Diaz' twice for 'Diez' (i. 63, n.) The Clarendon Press and Mr. Chambers have taken an unusual and inexpedient way of indicating approximate dates, by means of a funereal obelisk—'Peele's *Edward I* (†1590), 'the *Pinner of Wakefield* (†1593), ' *Aucassin et Nicolette* (†1150–1200).' This spreads unnecessary gloom. Queen Eleanor was granddaughter, not daughter, of Count William the poet (i. 64). Mariana wrote his *History* in Latin first, afterwards in Spanish (i. 21). Mr. Chambers writes: 'With the eighth century, except for the songs of war quoted or paraphrased in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the extant Early English poetry reaches a somewhat inexplicable end' (i. p. 31). But it is not so: Early English poetry is all alive in the extant poem of *Maldon*, two hundred years after this premature dismissal, not to speak of the epic of *Judith*, which is probably of the tenth century. In explaining the curious medieval theory of ancient tragedy and comedy there was no reason for hesitation as to Boccaccio's views (ii. 212). He explains, in his commentary on Dante, the manner of ancient dramatic representation—the poet reciting his play while actors in dumb show accompanied it—in terms that fully agree with the entertaining passage quoted from Lydgate (p. 208). With regard to the minstrels and jugglers, there are some points omitted, notably the varying estimate, at different times, of jugglers' feats and of the dignity of sleight of hand. Tricks with swords are not always ignoble; Cuchulinn and Olaf Tryggvason prove this. Mr. Chambers's theory of minstrelsy as 'a merging of Latin and the Teutonic elements' has perhaps neglected the evidence of Celtic and oriental manners; is not the jester, with his methods, too common everywhere to owe as much to the Roman *mimus* as Mr. Chambers would maintain? <sup>1</sup> None of these carpings, it will be observed, have anything to do with the main subject of the treatise, and none are of much importance.

Of the substantial value of the book there can be no doubt. The first volume is a liberal contribution to the history of fashions and customs in the middle ages; the second describes the growth of medieval drama, in England particularly, with a fulness and care much wanted in this difficult ground. It is to be hoped that the author will go on speedily to the other book of which his preface speaks, which, being unwritten, was one of the causes of the present work; a book 'about Shakespeare and the conditions, literary and dramatic, under which Shakespeare wrote.'

W. P. KER.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Chambers's account of the minstrels, it may be noted, appeared almost at the same time as the *Tratados de los Romances Viejos* of Sr. Menendez Pelayo, where the same topics are discussed, with interesting agreements and differences.

*Facsimiles of Royal and other Charters in the British Museum.* Vol. I.  
 Edited by G. F. WARNER and H. J. ELLIS. (London: Printed  
 by Order of the Trustees. 1903.)

THIS volume is assured of a welcome from the student of our medieval institutions, from the paleographer, the legal antiquary, the topographer, and the genealogist. It covers the period from the Conquest to the close of Richard I's reign, and the seventy-seven charters of which it contains facsimiles, together with extensions of the text, are a selection from those of that period which are preserved at the British Museum. They are arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order, and the reasons for adopting the dates assigned are set out, as they should be, in every instance in the notes. These notes deal further with the names of the witnesses to the documents and with points of special interest in their contents. Dr. Warner observes that the bulk of the considerable labour they have involved has fallen to the share of his colleague, and they bear witness not only to the industry but to the special knowledge of Mr. Ellis, whose sphere of work in the department of manuscripts has enabled him to make considerable collections on the feudal houses of the period.

The fifty plates of facsimiles are a peculiarly attractive feature, serving, as they do, to illustrate an instructive variety of 'hands' and constituting, as might be expected, admirable reproductions. One is only sorry that Dr. Warner has not added to their value by the paleographical notes which would have proved helpful to the student. He would, for instance, have been able to tell us whether the remarkable calligraphy of no. 28, a charter of Archbishop Theobald ('1151-1152'), is that of a foreign scribe, and whether the first charter in the book is not that of an English one. It is often difficult to pronounce an opinion on the charters of the Conqueror and of William II, and the specimen charter of the former here selected presents chronological difficulties. It is difficult to date a document addressed 'Petro episcopo Cestrensi et Willelmo comiti filio Osberni et Hugoni comiti Cestrensi,' though it is here contended that this conjunction is compatible with the date 1070. One feels uneasy at such forms among the witnesses' names as 'Gosfrido episcopo de Constantiis, Roberto comite de Moretan[ia],'<sup>1</sup> which are unusual in themselves and where the editors have had to extend Moretan' into the Latin equivalent of Mortagne. The appearance, however, of the document and the seal is, as they observe, satisfactory; and, as the form 'Æadwardus' occurs in the text, while the Old English letter is used instead of 'f' in four places, the peculiarities may be due to the writing being that, as I suggested above, of a native scribe.

There is much variety of interest in the subjects that these charters illustrate, as is shown by the valuable 'Index Rerum.' Among them Dr. Warner enumerates

early notices of the sending of judges into the provinces (9), and of knight's service and scutage (17), particular services, such as keeping a forest (8), carrying the grantor's lances (12), or providing labour (73), forms of giving seisin, as by laying a book on the altar (16), by cutting hair from the head (25), by handing over a

<sup>1</sup> In no. 3 the name of Robert's 'comté' of Mortain is extended as 'Moriton[ii]' and in no. 74 as 'Moret[onie].'

knife (32), and *per textum* (62), and a case of land being obtained by the undertaking of a judicial duel (75).

Some of the more remarkable documents are the great settlement of a dispute between St. Augustine's Abbey and its tenants in Thanet, in 1176, as to their attendance at the abbey court, which is witnessed by ninety-three men of Kent (present in the county court) and thirty men of Thanet; a Norman agreement in the earl of Gloucester's court at Torigny-sur-Vire; and the five London charters (47, 53, 54, 73, 76). One of the finest documents in the volume is the great agreement between Richard, bishop of Winchester, and the Hospitallers as to St. Cross, in 1185. It is followed by a pair of charters which prove, as the editors point out, 'that the witnesses to a charter were not always present at its execution, nor even cognisant of it till later.' They adduce other instances in point; but the interesting discovery that this was the case with the barons' letter to the pope from the parliament of Lincoln<sup>2</sup> is too recent for inclusion. No. 33 is of importance for the Breton earls of Richmond; no. 11 shows William 'de Albin Brito' of English genealogists attesting as William 'de Aubeni le bretun;' and no. 52, a charter of the earl of Chester ('1162-1167'), is of special interest for the two impressions of his clerk's small gem seal at the back of his own. A grant from the empress Maud *pro amore et legali servicio Brien[ni]*<sup>3</sup> *filiu comitis* supplies a notable phrase.

One must turn, however, to the few slips in this fine volume. Robert de Ver of no. 8 was not 'a brother of Aubrey,' but was the constable.<sup>4</sup> The identification of 'Adeliza,' lady of Wolston (no. 13), with Avelina de Hesdin, wife of Alan Fitz Flaald, is an error derived from Mr. Eyton.<sup>5</sup> 'Pontearch[a]' in no. 19 should be extended, I think, as 'Pontearch[arum],' and one does not understand why the editors extend the style of Henry II in no. 25 as *regis Angl[ie] ducis Norm[annie]*, &c., contrary to their practice in other cases in which they follow the legend of his seal. No evidence is given for the fact that William Fitz Otwel (no. 43) was son of Otuwel Fitz Count. The 'Rupes Auree Vallis' is usually a trap for us in England; it was literally 'Roche d'Orival' (not Orval), on the Seine, but in practice it meant 'Château Fouet,' as 'Rupes Andeliaci' meant 'Château Gaillard.' No. 70 reminds us of the pitfalls presented by the work of our predecessors; the editors observe that, 'in spite of' this charter (of 26 Nov. 1189), 'in the pipe roll for Mich. 1190 (p. 151) the bishop is fined 100l. ;' but this pipe roll, which the Record Commission printed by an unaccountable error as that of 1190, is really that of Mich. 1189, and is thus anterior to the charter. The case is thus completely altered. The next document (no. 71) leads the editors to discuss the hitherto perplexing problem presented by Cott. Chart. vii, 5, of which they accept the date it bears—namely, 1199. It has been recently shown that this is a scribal error, and that it really belongs to 1190.<sup>6</sup> But this discovery, which removes all difficulties surrounding the career of Alan, bishop of Bangor, may not yet have been accepted in the Department of Manuscripts.

J. HORACE ROUND.

See the *Ancestor*, vi. 189.

See *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 326.

See my paper on 'Garnier de Nablous,' in *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

<sup>2</sup> Should not this be 'Brien[nii]'?

<sup>3</sup> See my *Peerage Studies*, p. 128.

*Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige.* Von K. A. KEHR.  
(Innsbruck : Wagner. 1902.)

THIS is an exceedingly careful and helpful piece of work. Dr. Kehr is an expert in the theory of diplomatic ; and he has also a thorough acquaintance in practice with the facts of his particular subject, for he has visited and inspected, or has had inspected for him, almost every document of the twelfth century which Sicily or the south of Italy could show. His work is a necessary handbook to the documents published of late, or awaiting publication, by Italian scholars ; and it provides a basis for the history, which has still to be written, of the Normans in Sicily. More especially will the constitutional historian welcome this book, for it suggests lines which need working out, and hints at conclusions which will indeed have to be, but which seem likely to be, proved. At the same time Dr. Kehr does not profess that his book is final : his intention is to direct the reader of Norman documents, and acquaint him with their *habitat*, rather than to 'settle the doctrine' of the Norman chancery. He begins with an account of the printed collections of documents, which are shown to be unsatisfactory, and describes the various archives of the south of Italy and Sicily, and their contents. Palermo is the peculiar home of Norman documents, which are to be found in the cathedral, the state archives, the Cappella Palatina, and the municipal library, while Monreale, in its suburbs, is also especially rich. Patti, too, is well furnished with records, more especially from the first few years after the coronation of Roger II as king. Compared with Sicily southern Italy offers comparatively few documents ; but the state archives of Naples contain a number of *privilegia* granted by the Norman counts and kings of Sicily to the bishopric of Squillace, and to different monasteries in southern Italy. Rome has the originals of the compact of William I with the papacy and of Constance's oath of homage ; Venice preserves two commercial treaties of the reign of William II. No trace is to be found of the registers of the Norman kings ; and upon the whole the proportion of originals to copies is much less than is the case in the imperial chancery, thanks partly to the climate and partly to the historic vicissitudes of the country. Of 400 documents only 112 are certainly originals ; but happily these originals are equally distributed over the reigns of the successive rulers of the twelfth century.

Dr. Kehr next passes to the chancery, gives an account, first, of each official of the Norman chancery, reign by reign, so far as their names occur in the dating of documents (which is only the case in Latin documents), and then of the working of the chancery. The author does not believe, with Amari and Cusa, that there were two or three chanceries, for Latin, Greek, and Arabic documents respectively. The Arabic documents are, he shows, records of the villeins and descriptions of the boundaries of an estate. Such records were based, as we are expressly told in the records themselves, upon the land registers which were kept in the treasury. These registers were an inheritance from the Arabs, as was the treasury itself ; they were, at any rate in part, written in Arabic, and the officials of the treasury, or *doana*, were (like the word *doana* itself) Arabic also. It is easy to conclude that these Arabic documents were

drawn up by the treasury ; and indeed one of them is recorded as *facta . . . a doana nostra de secretis*. Greek documents are almost in a majority under the Sicilian counts ; they are less and less used after the coronation of Roger II as king, and become rare after 1150. Dr. Kehr conjectures that they were often drawn up by the recipients, but that in cases where they are recorded as having been made by officials of the chancery this only means officials of the ordinary Latin chancery, some of whom may have been set aside as a small committee to deal with Greek documents. As regards the *personnel* of the chancery, Dr. Kehr has important observations to offer. He deals with each individual chancellor in turn. Of these Majo has already been properly appreciated by Italian writers ; but Dr. Kehr shows that it was Stephen of Perche who made the office of chancellor the first office of the kingdom, while before it had ranked after that of the great admiral, and that Matthew the notary, chancellor under Tancred, was, even before he became chancellor, the most influential of all the officials of the chancery in fixing its rules. It is characteristic of Sicily that its two greater chancellors, Majo and Matthew, were laymen, and of bourgeois origin. It both shows the peculiar lay character of the one medieval country where the monarch was supreme head of his church by papal recognition, and indicates the policy pursued by the Norman kings in opposing a professional administration to their recalcitrant baronage, the secret of the struggles which mark the reign of William II. The smooth working of this system is attested as much in the sphere of diplomacy as it is in that of justice. Romuald of Salerno tells how, upon some imperial envoys having been robbed of a charter, and returning to Palermo to complain of the theft, William II at once sent word to the justiciars of the region in which the theft had taken place, and the robbers were immediately apprehended and hanged.<sup>1</sup> The process of the chancery was as speedy. If in Germany the proceedings which prepare a document are separated from its issue by a period of time, it was not so in Sicily. The Norman kings had a fixed capital at Palermo ; their notaries stayed long in their service ; the chancery was well organised and closely connected with the administration, as, *e.g.*, the action of the *doana* in preparing Arabic documents to specify territories which were granted in a Latin *privilegia* issued from the chancery suffices to show. Despatch was thus the mark of the Sicilian chancery. At the same time, well organised as it was, it appears that it kept no register of documents, except, at the most, of writs ; and even that is a matter of conjecture.

In due course Dr. Kehr treats of the external and internal features of Norman documents. These were matters determined by the notaries, for the chancellor, though head of the chancery, did little to influence its action, except when Stephen of Perche settled the important matter of its fees. He was generally employed in the work of administration, and thus from the point of view of diplomatic the notaries are the most important persons. We generally find some four or five of them active together ; they remained long in office, and son often succeeded to father, so that a tradition was naturally formed. By origin they were, for the most part, laymen from the mainland of Italy, educated in some notaries' school,

<sup>1</sup> Muratori, *Scriptt. Rerum Ital.* vii. 242b.



and so possessed of literary and juristic attainments. Their work was not only to engross documents, but to determine the form which they should take. As regards the material they used, we may notice that they sometimes used papyrus as well as parchment, and that sometimes their parchments are dyed purple and inscribed with gold ink. They wrote in a round Roman minuscule which was unlike the writing in southern Italy and was probably borrowed from the papal chancery. The influence of the papal chancery is visible throughout, and it is especially witnessed by the Norman use of the *rota* as a substitute for the royal autograph. Byzantine influence appears in the Norman use of the seal, according to which wax was employed for writs and lead for charters. Still more is the use of gold, which occurs even before the coronation of Roger II, reminiscent of Byzantine practice. The impression of the seal represents the king in Byzantine dress, and the inscriptions are often in Greek under King Roger—*Ρογερῖος κραταῖος εὐσεβὴς ρις*. In dealing with internal features Dr. Kehr has, in a classification of documents, some valuable remarks on the *platea*, a long roll, sometimes over seven yards in length by less than a foot in width, and so named from the Greek *πλατῖα* or *πλατεῖα*, 'a field,' containing a specification of boundaries and list of villeins in Arabic, or sometimes Greek. It was mentioned above that these specifications were based on the land registers (Arabic *defetir*, Greek *δίφθεραι*, Latin *defetarii*; they are also called *quaterniones*), from which they were compiled in the *doana*, in order to be attached to some *privilegium*, to which they stood in the relation of detailed description to general grant. As details for economic history—for statistics of population, and for an estimate of the condition of the soil and its inhabitants—these *plateae* offer a splendid field to the historian which has still to be worked. As for *privilegia* and *mandata*, Dr. Kehr points out that the latter, while fewer than the former, are yet more numerous in proportion than is the case in Germany, which illustrates yet again the character of Norman administration.

The language of these documents is largely Greek under Roger I, and for a long time under Roger II, while even after the coronation of the latter Greek and Latin were equally used. It would seem that, as in Sicily each man lived by his own law, so each man—at any rate until the reigns of the two Williams—received charters in his own tongue. The polyglot character of the chancery shows the curious fusion of nationalities in Sicily, and the remarkable toleration which the ruling nationality showed. But the Greek charters are in badly spelt Greek, and often imitate the forms and even the order of the words of Latin charters; the latter, on the other hand, are couched in pure and sonorous Latin, and have, it would seem, borrowed the *cursus*, as they had borrowed the *rota*, from the papal chancery. In his analysis of the various parts of the ordinary charter Dr. Kehr has some remarks worth noting under the head of *intitulatio* and of dating. *Rex Siciliae, ducatus Apuliae et principatus Capuae* in Latin, the king is, in Greek, *ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβῆς κραταῖος ῥήξ*, and in Arabic 'great sultan,' and also 'king of Italy, Lombardy, Calabria, and Sicily, defender of the pontiff of Rome, and aider of the Christian faith.' In regard to the dating we find originally a separation, the year going into the protocol, the month and

regnal year into the eschatocol. But by the middle of the twelfth century the whole date is put into the eschatocol. The indiction used is the Greek indiction, beginning on 1 Sept.; the year of the Christian era, according to Dr. Kehr, who disagrees with other authorities, began on 25 Dec. for the Norman chancery. The author concludes by an examination of fifteen forgeries, and in an appendix gives the texts of fifty-five documents, ranging from 1080 to 1246.

ERNEST BARKER.

*Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward II.* Vol. III. A.D. 1317-1321.  
(London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1903.)

THE fact which stands out most clearly in the Patent Rolls of these years is the increasing indebtedness of the king, and a good many additions could be made from them to Mr. W. E. Rhodes's essay on *The Italian Bankers in England and their Loans to Edward I and Edward II.* The king's debts during the eleventh year of his reign (1317-8) seem to have exceeded 20,000*l.* to the Bardi alone. The Italian merchants did not charge interest, but they eluded the usury laws in other ways. Thus on 27 March 1318 certain merchants of the Society of the Bardi were granted 3,000 marks of the king's gift 'in consideration of their losses occasioned by the delay in the payment of divers sums in which the king is bound to them before 16 March last, and also for their good services' (p. 127). The Bardi obtained further the right to export their own wool free of the 'new increment' (p. 16). The debts were usually secured on the customs on wool, hides, and woolfells in London and other ports; and we find the same customs being assigned to two different sets of creditors (p. 126). The revenues being thus swallowed up in advance, the royal purveyors were specially active, and the unpopularity of the system was, no doubt, enhanced by the appearance of false purveyors—'persons who take provisions from the king's subjects, falsely asserting that such are for his use, and who lodge in their houses and inns by like misrepresentations' (pp. 56, 77). The entries in these Rolls hardly bear out the charge of prodigal generosity on the king's part to his favourites. The younger Despenser received a forfeited manor in Lincolnshire, another in Northamptonshire, another in Southampton, 'the castle and town of Droslan and Cantredemaure in Wales' (Dryslwyn and Cantref Mawr), including the castle of Dynevor and the town of Newton, for life; further the custody of the castle town and barton of Bristol at the king's pleasure and on condition of making certain payments. On the other hand he surrendered to the king his castles of Caerphilly, Neath, and Henley (co. Worc.)

The contents of the Rolls are as heterogeneous as usual. Some friars preachers obtain pardon for rescuing a criminal on the way to execution (p. 69). The arrangements entered into by the chapter of Exeter with a bell-founder and his family and heirs for the making of the bells of the church and repair of the *organa* and *orilogium* are enrolled (p. 72). The cappers of Fleet Street are charged with interfering with the manufacture and import of caps and maintaining illegal confederacies for that purpose, 'whereby the king has lost the customs payable to him' (p. 369). Illustrations of the disturbed condition of the country abound.

Commissions are appointed in all the counties to 'inquire touching persons who raise bodies of men-at-arms, both horse and foot, to whom they promise gifts of land, &c.' (pp. 95-7). The abbot of Furness is accused of invading a manor with his monks and lay brothers of the house (while the owner was on the king's service in Scotland), carrying off the oxen and sheep, trampling down the corn, harassing the tenants 'by many intolerable distrains' (p. 88).

Both text and index have been prepared by Mr. G. F. Handcock. The index fills more than 300 pages, and evidently no pains have been spared to make it complete and to identify place-names. To a large extent it is also a subject-index: thus under the heading 'Merchants, foreign,' references are given to no less than 165 names of foreign merchants, exclusive of Gascons. I have found only one slip in it: a reference is given to the younger Despenser on p. 551; in the text the elder Despenser is mentioned, but not the younger. There are a few unimportant misprints (see pp. 10, 98, 514, 596). A. G. LITTLE.

*Deutsche Handwerker und Handwerkerbruderschaften im mittelalterlichen Italien.* Von Dr. ALFRED DOREN. (Berlin: Prager. 1903.)

THIS book is a sort of by-product of Dr. Doren's labours among the Florentine archives, undertaken for the purposes of his work upon the woollen and cloth industries of Florence, the first volume of which appeared in 1901.<sup>1</sup> These studies do not pretend to be in any sense exhaustive, Dr. Doren's object having been, as he modestly puts it, to lay a foundation upon which others may build who have more leisure for the necessary researches among the archives of the great medieval industrial cities of Italy. Dr. Doren's attention was first drawn to the subject by the constant occurrence of the names of German artisans in the records of the Florentine cloth-workers, which led to the discovery of a highly developed system of guilds among the German craftsmen settled in Italy. As Dr. Doren suggests, it is an interesting matter for speculation and inquiry to what extent medieval Italy was indebted to these foreigners from the north of the Alps for her remarkable industrial and artistic development. What the art of printing in Italy owed to Germany when in its infancy everybody knows who has the most elementary acquaintance with Italian bibliography. A glance at the second section of Proctor's index of early printed books reveals by the score the names of German printers by whom the earliest presses were set up in Italy. Thus, to mention only a few of the most important, we find Sweynheim and Pannartz at Subiaco, and afterwards at Rome; Neumeister (the printer of the *editio princeps* of the *Divina Commedia*) at Foligno; Valdarfer (the printer of the *editio princeps* of the *Decameron*) at Venice; Nicolaus Laurentii (the printer of the famous Florentine edition of the *Commedia*) at Florence; Riessinger at Naples; and so on. But Dr. Doren shows that, from the second half of the fourteenth century, Germans were to be found all over Italy, plying almost every conceivable trade and craft. At an early date they seem to have practically

<sup>1</sup> See *English Historical Review*, xvii. (1902) 776 ff.

monopolised the innkeeping industry. They found occupation also as weavers, dyers, tailors, furriers, shoemakers, bakers, millers, grocers, soapmakers, provision merchants, butchers (rarely), barbers, apothecaries, shoeing smiths, turners, carpenters, coopers, potters, curriers, saddlers, stonemasons, wood-carvers, glass-painters, goldsmiths and silversmiths, scribes, illuminators, booksellers, notaries, musicians, and physicians; there is even one instance of a German schoolmaster. As cooks they are frequently met with, especially in monasteries. To the instances of these given by Dr. Doren may be added the *Kocus theotonicus* mentioned in the colophon of one of the manuscripts of the *Divina Commedia* examined by Witte as having made the copy for his master at Arezzo. So far as Dr. Doren's investigations have gone at present he finds that printing was the occupation mostly affected by Germans in Italy, and that next in popularity to printing came shoemaking. The latter half of Dr. Doren's volume is devoted to an interesting account of the numerous fraternities and guilds which were organised by the German settlers in Italy. Those belonging to Florence are treated in considerable detail as being more especially in Dr. Doren's province. A valuable feature of the book is the reproduction *in extenso* in two appendices of a number of documents relating to these organisations from the Florentine archives. We regret that the volume is not provided with an index, in the ordinary acceptation of the term. The index here so called is placed at the beginning of the book, and is, in fact, merely a somewhat meagre table of contents.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

*Year Books of the Reign of Edward III.* Year XVII.-XVIII. 2 vols.  
 Edited and translated by LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1901, 1903.)

MR. PIKE proceeds with his arduous but most useful task. The extraordinary carelessness with which the old editions were issued is shown in the preface to the first of the two volumes before us. Rastell's imperfect copy was followed by the four reprints with successive mistakes. There is an interesting set of cases in every term, and the historical and philological as well as legal importance of these early records can hardly be overlooked by any one who will take so much trouble as to read one of Mr. Pike's interesting prefaces. There are plenty of 'ghost words' or 'paddy words' in law. *Message* is a misreading of *mesnage*, as is well known, but here we have proof of the incorrectness of the much-cited phrase 'voucher to warranty,' a pure misreading of the 'voucher to warrant,' *vouche ad garant*, of the original. It is to be hoped that text-book writers will take note of this mistake, into which even that most accurate of legal editors Nichols was led.

The case of the *coupe la Reyne*: *videlicet unam cupam de perle argentatam et deauratam et xxvii petris vocatis gerneiz et xxvii petris nominatis saphires ewages munitam et ornatam pretii eiusdem cupae xx librarum*, which was stolen from and brought back to the treasury, but which I am afraid has long since been broken up (though it would be worth now at least a hundred times its then recorded value), is one in which Scot, C. J., declared that the justices of the King's Bench are sovran coroners of the

realm, wherefore, since sheriffs and coroners can admit appeals without writ, *a fortiori* the justices can do so.<sup>1</sup>

The appeal of a man's death sued by the heir of the death of his father by gage of battle brings in the formulæ of defence and appeal. John, the appellee, took Adam's hand in his left hand, and held his own right hand outside the book [of the gospels], and said, 'This hear ye man that hast thyself named Adam by name of baptism, that I man that have myself named John by name of baptism, that I on such a day, year, and place feloniously did not kill your father, W. by name, as ye lay it upon me, nor am guilty of this felony, so help me God and his saints,' and kissed the book, 'and this I will defend against you by my body as this court shall award.' Then Adam with his left hand took John by the hand and held his own right hand outside the book, and spake in this form: 'This hear ye man who by name of baptism hast thyself named John, that ye feloniously such day, year, and place did slay my father, W. by name: so help me God and his saints,' and kissed the book; 'and this I will desrain against you by my body according as the court shall award.' And so four mainpernors were bound to produce the appelland body for body on the third day afterward, which day was chosen by himself to perform the desrain. And the marshal was commanded to guard the defendant, and that he should be easy and have to eat and drink, and that he should have him the third day girt for battle at his own costs.

William Turnbull or Turnebole of Cotyngtone (Coddington) by Tame, Bucks, a criminous clerk, became an approver and acknowledged breaking out of the gaol of the liberty of the abbot of Westminster by night and feloniously with three others, and of committing divers robberies and slaying feloniously one John Blunvile, with the same three companions against whom he informs. Equity is mentioned by a judge: 'I tell you well that *audita querela* is given rather of equity than of common law, for but a little while ago there was not such a suit.'<sup>2</sup> The question of guardianship of spiritualities of English bishops' sees during vacancies, which was claimed both by the archbishops and by the chapters, is raised here.<sup>3</sup> Noteworthy is the punishment of a fraudulent attorney, Richard Elys of Yeivley,<sup>4</sup> who was made to pay damages, committed to the Fleet, and, after a year's confinement, released and forbidden to act hereafter as attorney. The relations between the county court and the sheriff's turn come up in Mich., 17 Edw. III, no. 37. There is a notice of a round table begun at Windsor on the Monday before the Conversion of St. Paul (1343-4). There are also several cases relating to ancient demesne Religious houses, such as Cirencester, Cleeve, Colchester, Croyland, Grimsby, Langmet, Bermondsey, Pershore, Rufford, Walton, and others, appear as litigants. 'Robert Mape, in the time of King Henry, great-grandfather of the king that now is,' is mentioned as having enjoyed a corrody in Pershore, on the mandate of the said King Henry. The families of Byngham, Botiler, Bodbran, Calston, Delamare, Daubeneye, Gerveys, Greneville, Grofherst, Marmyoun, Milton, Ryhill, Segrave, Swynflet, and Wylughby are illustrated; the curious names occur of Brounchild, Bukmongore, Bynethegate of Wentworth, Casse, Mafghan [Maughan],

<sup>1</sup> Hilary, 17 Edw. III, no. 48.

<sup>2</sup> 17 Edw. III, no. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Easter, 17 Edw. III, no. 9,

<sup>4</sup> Mich. 17 Edw. III, no. 27.

Metherynham, Veel; and Gunnora and Gunnilda still survive in the fourteenth century.

Mr. Pike notices that his calendar of all cases pleaded to issue on the rolls of the *Placita de Banco* is suspended, requiring as it does a special treasury grant. As it runs *pari passu* with the editing of the year books, and is of exceeding help for purposes of research, it should surely be at once resumed. The culpable and ignorant disregard of the wonderful treasures that England possesses in her national and local archives is nothing short of a national disgrace. The deputy keeper of the records would be justified in demanding larger grants than he receives, for even as it is there is delay in issuing work due, owing to the ill-considered parsimony of the Stationery Office and the grudging support of the Treasury. Amateurs do their best, but they cannot really deal exhaustively with our local archives, and the national archives can only be calendared and made accessible to legal and historical inquirers by a great deal more work than has yet been spent upon them. Yet how much of our history lies sleeping in these precious but neglected volumes!

F. YORK POWELL.

*Niccolò Spinelli da Giovinazzo, Diplomatico del Sec. XIV.* Per GIACINTO ROMANO. (Naples: Pierro e Veraldi. 1902.)

NICCOLÒ SPINELLI was a political *condottiere*, a diplomatist of adventure. Beginning his public career with Oleggio, the temporary tyrant of Bologna, he passed into papal service under Cardinal Albornoz, thence into that of Joanna of Naples and Louis of Anjou, and ended his life as one of Gian Galeazzo Visconti's most valued servants. Just, therefore, as a biography of Hawkwood gives a clue to the military maze of this most intricate period, so that of Spinelli, provides a thread for the diplomatic labyrinth of the last half of the fourteenth century, for his activity begins with 1351 and ends in or about 1396. Nor was he a diplomatist and nothing more. He was professor of law at Padua and Bologna, and, nominally at least, in his later years at Pavia. Joanna made him chancellor of her Kingdom, and then seneschal of Provence, under which title he was governor of the County. He actually led, not without some success, the army which marched from Provence to restore that curious patchwork state which Charles I had stitched together out of fragments of Piedmont, Saluzzo, the Montferrat, and Lombardy, but which under Joanna was in rags and tatters.

One of the freshest and most detailed portions of the volume is the correspondence of Spinelli and Albornoz, which throws light upon the difficulties and disappointments of the great cardinal. Albornoz was at once master, model, and close friend, and exercised a remarkable influence upon Spinelli's career. Through him he was brought into connexion with the Angevin court, in the service of which his first mission was to Innocent VI. Under Urban V and Gregory XI he was employed as much by the curia as by Naples—a strange position, only rendered possible by the intimate relations of the two courts. For some months after Urban VI's election Spinelli was among the pope's most confidential ministers. The precise reasons for his becoming a Clementist cannot be

traced, but his Neapolitan connexion must have rendered this inevitable sooner or later, and a diplomatist of Spinelli's orderly temperament could hardly have brooked the extravagance of Urban VI. From this moment, however, fortune ceased to smile. He was involved in Joanna's fall, was imprisoned and deprived of office and fiefs by Charles III. How he contrived to escape is not known, but he is found among the ministers of the Angevin government, and was a member of the council of regency appointed by Louis I on his death-bed. Returning to Provence he applied in vain that his titular office as chancellor should be made effective. This was refused, and his disgust doubtless accounted for the last and greatest change in his career, his entrance into Visconti's service. He had entered public life under Albornoz, the bitterest foe of the Visconti, and most of his life had been spent in combating their ambition. But after all he was a political *condottiere* who must make his living. The original enemy had been Bernabò Visconti, and his new employer, Gian Galeazzo, had caused Bernabò's downfall. The tyrant knew neither rancour nor gratitude, and was singularly conciliatory towards recent foes. No doubt, thinks Professor Romano, the orderly government of the Visconti was a temptation to the lawyer diplomatist, who had had all his life to struggle with the anarchy of Naples and the papal states. The fiercest enmity, moreover, of Spinelli, while in Gregory's service, was for the Florentines, who did not spare personal remarks on his *lingua lubrica*, and it was becoming clear that the conflict immediately overhanging Italy was that between Gian Galeazzo and Florence.

The first important Milanese mission on which Spinelli was employed was the disreputable partition treaty with Venice, by virtue of which Visconti was to fall on the territories of his late ally Carrara. Of greater interest were the concluding negotiations of his life, for he was the moving spirit in the three-cornered negotiations between Gian Galeazzo, the king of France, and the pope for the secularisation of the greater part of the papal states, with which Visconti's son-in-law, the duke of Orleans, should be invested under the title of king of Adria. To Professor Romano is due the discovery that the two memorials showing how ruinous both to church and people was the temporal power are by Spinelli's hand. To the details of the scheme much, perhaps too much, attention has been recently given, but the author is right in attributing to Spinelli's attitude high theoretical importance. He gave definite expression to a feeling against the existence of the papal temporal power, which was becoming not uncommon. He better than any one knew the evils produced by the intermittent hordes of Avignon mercenaries, for he had negotiated the invasion of the White Company and accompanied that of the Bretons. He, as Macchiavelli, realised that the papacy kept Italy divided, that the system produced a swarm of petty tyrants, only worse than whom were the republics when, as did Bologna, they temporarily recovered their liberty. Spinelli could not, with some of his contemporary idealists, look for one single ruler over the whole of northern and central Italy, who could have been none other than the Visconti; but his career had admirably adapted him to divide the honours, to reconcile the interests of France and Milan through the medium of Visconti's French son-in-law. He would ensure for the pope regular

financial support in the shape of tribute, and cause the cessation of the drain which had ruined the papacy and made it odious, while the retention of Rome and the surrounding country, with the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, would give it a sufficiently dignified and independent position. Thus Spinelli's state papers are none the less interesting, though his scheme was thwarted by a variety of causes—by the death of Clement, by the new attitude adopted by the university of Paris towards the schism, by the growth of the anti-Orleanist and anti-Visconti influence at court, for the duke of Burgundy had now passed over to the party of Isabel of Bavaria, who had steadfastly championed the cause of her relations, the dispossessed sons of Bernabò. In his last paragraph Professor Romano confesses that this intermediate scheme for the secularisation of the papal states was the motive of his book. What others were saying and thinking vaguely Spinelli put into a form clear, precise, determinate; and he therefore deserves the rank of an original thinker in the history of political science. This it is that gives the book a modern tone. Modern also, it may be observed, is the manner in which the clever South Italian uses his wits to obtain a leading position with the predominant power in Italy, for the Visconti, with a little more fortune, might have anticipated the house of Savoy by many centuries.

Readers may think that Professor Romano's volume is at times unnecessarily lengthy. This only makes it the more appropriate tribute to his subject, who was, as the Florentines complained, of long and elaborate discourses *nimum copiosissimus*. The length is really due to the passion for documents which is the characteristic of the modern Italian school of historians. The author confesses to gaps here and there, but it is a proof of his laborious research in many scattered quarters that he should have presented so complete a biography of a diplomatist who was always recognised as important, but whose career was peculiarly obscure. The chapters which compose the book were originally printed in the *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane*. It is to be wished that Professor Romano would print in a collected form his most valuable studies on Lombard history, for which his admirers have to ransack the ever growing heaps of historical periodicals.

E. ARMSTRONG.

*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* 'Papal Letters.' Vol. IV. 1362-1404. Prepared by W. H. BLISS and J. A. TWEMLOW. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1902.)

EACH new volume of the series of *Calendars of Papal Registers* begun by Mr. Bliss improves upon the last. The long list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* added to this volume by the exertions of Mr. Twemlow increases the feeling of confidence that in the search for English, Scotch, and Irish items nothing has been missed. The table setting forth the chronological arrangement of the *Littere Secrete* and the *Littere de Curia* supplies an omission which was felt in previous volumes, and the system of indexing has been improved and a very elaborate subject index is added. The present volume covers not only the papal registers from Urban V to the end of Boniface IX, but includes some registers of the anti-pope Clement. Of the entries derived from this source Clementist Scotland accounts for nearly all, but a few of the Clementist entries relate to alien



priorities in England dependent on French abbeys, and the division in Ireland, with Urbanist predominance in the sphere of English influence, comes out clearly upon the lines indicated by M. Valois in his history of the schism. Among the entries which lend a special character to the volume may be named those relating to the English companies of *condottieri* in Italy and France. There is an amusing variety in the tone of the letters which treat of these violent people: their cruelties are expatiated on at large when they oppose the papal arms, but when they are engaged in the papal service a blind eye is turned to their misdoings. Hawkwood in 1373 is congratulated on his championship of the church, though the pope complains that after all their enemy Bernabò Visconti has lost no territory. In 1379 the disreputable John Holland, Richard II's half-brother, was made gonfalonier of the holy Roman church, and all penitents joining the Italian 'crusade' in his train were accorded an indulgence as for the Holy Land, with remission of sins. The marriage of Lionel, duke of Clarence, with a daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, that son of perdition, as the registers style him, was the subject of several bulls: a tournament in which he and many others had sworn to carry on a deadly combat was forbidden. On the whole there is less of direct value for political history than in the preceding volumes, but this one is specially serviceable for the relations of England and Aquitaine.

Papal 'provisions' of course abound; Richard earl of Arundel's son Thomas, about to become bishop of Ely, is reminded that no one so young (he was twenty-two) had been appointed to a see. A younger brother, William, aged eleven, a student in arts, received dispensation to hold any benefices without cure, a canonry and prebend, and on attaining his fourteenth year he was to be promoted to all holy orders and hold a benefice with cure. The number of dispensations for marriage within the prohibited degrees increases, but a general licence to the children of Edward III, born and unborn, to marry persons related to them in the third and fourth degree was refused, lest scandals might arise; the pope declares himself ready to do what is asked in any particular case, as occasion arises, provided no scandal can be excited. A mass of the entries relate to 'relaxations' of enjoined penance for periods of six, seven, and ten years (but they may not be distributed by the *questuarii*) or to grants of portable altars; there are many licences to enter with large retinues the monasteries and nunneries of enclosed orders. There are valuable bulls dealing with monastic visitations, and cases of scandal or neglect of charity in nunneries and hospitals. A college statute (at Clare Hall) is relaxed; university statutes are suspended at Oxford and Cambridge; and the *studium* in London with lectures on the sentences is mentioned in 1374. A curious use was made of the papal authority to compel by excommunication the restoration of certain muniments concerning an inheritance, stolen from a chest in a London house.

These calendars have become a well-recognised and useful source for every kind of genealogical, topographical, and chronological detail, and the frequency with which they are cited should be a satisfaction to Mr. Bliss in the long task which must sometimes severely tax his patience.

MARY BATESON.

*The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803.* Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their People, their History, and Records of the Catholic Missions as related in Contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, &c. Translated from the Originals. Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. Vols. I.-III. (Cleveland, Ohio: the Arthur H. Clark Co. 1903.)

THE three handsome volumes of this work already in our hands show the importance of its scope. Its design is to print from the original Latin and Spanish sources the most important documents bearing directly on the history of the Philippine Islands and on their condition under Spanish rule. The editors have been assisted by many American and Spanish *savants* of note, and their work is offered to the public in the hope of 'casting light on the great problems which confront the American people in the Philippines, and of furnishing authentic and trustworthy material for a thorough and scholarly history of the islands.' In the second of these purposes they have certainly succeeded. Now at least there should be no difficulty for the American student to gain a clear view of the difficulties which both the Spaniards and their successors have had to contend with in these islands, when they have this work before them, and have not, as formerly, to obtain information from obscure Spanish sources printed 'in a language hitherto comparatively little studied in the United States.' Another excellent intention is 'to give such a survey, even though fragmentary, of Philippine life and culture under the old *régime* as will bring into relief their peculiar features,' for in America it has been too much forgotten that not only had the Malayan peoples a peculiar civilisation of their own, but that upon this in the Philippines was grafted a civilisation of Spanish growth as well as the success of centuries of catholic missions.

The foundation of all Spanish sovereignty in America was the papal bull (*Inter caetera*) by which Pope Alexander VI granted to Spain all the lands in the west discovered or to be discovered. From this the work proceeds to the succeeding bulls, dividing the new realms in accordance with the conflicting rights of the Portuguese, and traces the long line of negotiations and treaties in regard to this demarcation, leading in 1529 to the acquisition of the Moluccas by Portugal and the retention by the Spaniards of the Philippines down to our own time. Apparently the discovery of the Philippines, like many other discoveries, arose through a misapprehension. A Portuguese, Captain Serrão, having lived several years in the Moluccas, wrote of their riches to Magellan, but in doing so he exaggerated the distance between them and Malacca, and 'so planted the seed which bore such fruit in Magellan's mind' that it led to his being rewarded with a Pisgah view of the Philippines during his celebrated voyage, and to the full acquisition of the islands by Spain, owing to the expedition of Legaspi in 1564-8.

Mr. Edward Gaylord Bourne has prefixed to the work a valuable historical introduction, which traces step by step the development of the Spanish colonial system in the islands, and it is interesting to find that he thinks that hitherto the clearest account of the local administration in English was that of Sir John Bowring. He upholds the influence of the

friars and the general trend of Spanish policy, and in regard to the latter perhaps goes too far. He holds that 'the Spanish policy aimed to preserve and civilise the native races, not to establish a new home for Spaniards,' and contrasts their success with the Anglo-Saxon failure in dealing with the native peoples in North America, the Pacific, and Australia. He adds, 'The ravages of the first *conquistadores*, it should be remembered, took place before the crown had time to develop a colonial policy ;' but the protests of Las Casas and the extermination of the Caribs should not be left out of account. Once the Spaniards were established in the islands, however, there can be no doubt that the peaceful character of their rule was owing mainly to the success of the catholic missions. The conversions made *en bloc* were at least productive of good, and induced submission to Spanish rule. Even when the Inquisition appeared in the islands from New Spain (the mother colony) in 1569 its power was mildly exercised, and the 'Indians' and Chinese were both exempted from its jurisdiction ; so that, in spite of the British conquest in 1763, the islands yielded themselves in a wonderful way to Spanish authority, each friar being, as was said, 'a captain-general.'

The first volume we have received of this work deals with the history of the islands from 1493 to 1529. The second carries us on to 1569, and includes the fascinating history of the expedition of Legaspi, of whom a fine portrait is fittingly given. The third volume continues the history to 1575, when some awkward factors of the oriental problem had already been disclosed, and the conquerors were dealing not only with the native populations but also with the Chinese immigrants. The editor points out the interest of a comparison between the Spanish settlements in the Philippines and those in New Spain. A note in this volume announces a change of scope in the work, and that the history will be continued down to 1898. This will be welcome to all students of the far east, and we are assured that 'it is proposed not to exceed the number of volumes already announced, fifty-five.'

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

*The History of Mary I, Queen of England, as found in the Public Records, Despatches of Ambassadors, in Original Private Letters and other Contemporary Documents.* By I. M. STONE. (London: Sands & Co. 1901.)

MISS STONE, who has long been favourably known as a careful explorer of our national history, describes her present volume as 'a restatement of the case for our first queen regnant.' It is, however, a complete biography, and the first half of the work is occupied with Mary's life as princess, in connexion with which we have an amount of interesting detail, chiefly taken from the Calendars of State Papers by Turnbull, Gayangos, and Gairdner, which will be interesting and new to the majority of readers. As regards the reign of Mary, Miss Stone's 'statement of the case' does not differ much from that of Lingard, while she admits that the queen, 'moulding her conduct on the ideals which she had venerated from her youth upwards, regarded the new needs and tendencies with suspicion and dislike,' and while holding that 'she had the interests of the nation as sincerely at heart as any English

monarch either before or after her,' also admits that 'those interests, as she understood them, were hopelessly at variance with the seething crowd of ideas that were transforming the life of the people' (p. 233). In brief, Mary was neither in touch with the progressive element in the nation nor could she discern wherein the true interests of her people consisted. The candour of these admissions, however, gives promise of an impartiality in dealing with the actual evidence which is too often wanting; or rather we may say that, as in Lingard, facts are disregarded or passed very lightly over which are of considerable relevance to an accurate estimate of Mary's reign. Miss Stone's conception of her subject is that of one in whom human passions and personal interests were entirely subordinated to policy—a policy which, so far as Mary was able to discern it, aimed only at 'the *honour and tranquillity* of the realm.' Froude's estimate of Mary's father is scarcely less at variance with the evidence. 'Nothing,' Miss Stone considers, 'is further from the truth' than to represent the queen as 'eagerly desiring' her marriage with Philip, an opinion which seems hardly borne out either by the lavish splendour which greeted Philip's first landing in England or the intensity of the queen's grief at his departure. 'As may be imagined,' wrote Michiel, the Venetian envoy, and a shrewd observer, in his letter to the council of Venice, 'with regard to a person *extraordinarily in love*, the queen remains disconsolate, though she conceals it as much as she can, and, from what I hear, mourns the more when alone, and supposing herself invisible to any of her attendants' (p. 398). When, again, we find it asserted that 'no spirit of settled bitterness brooded over her closing days,' we cannot but be aware that this is contrary to the weight of evidence and in itself highly improbable. Mary's failing health, disappointed hopes of maternity, dismay at the conspiracies and plots which thickened around her, her 'hatred' of Elizabeth, who was destined to succeed her, might alone have sufficed to embitter her approaching end. Even Miss Stone herself concedes that 'Philip's indifference may have hastened her death,' while she grounds her chief disproof of the existence of any 'bitterness' mainly on the fact that the pleasantries of the famous wit, John Heywood, served to amuse Mary 'even on her death-bed' (p. 479, *n.*) Such an argument might be equally well employed to show that those protestant martyrs who, as we are told, went to the stake with laughter and jests were really indifferent to their impending fate. It would perhaps have been more to the purpose if the authoress had explained how Heywood's vaunt (uttered in 1556 in his *Spider and the Flie*) that Mary's rule had already 'From long thrall thralldom . . . set us clere abord' and 'all plaste in right place,' missed finally of its full accomplishment.

The more important episodes in Mary's reign are generally described with adequate completeness, but the story of Northumberland's brief and disastrous campaign is an exception. Nothing is said about his first arrival at Cambridge, and the noteworthy incidents of his short visit as the guest of the university are not even referred to. His pitiable and abject self-abasement is held up to scorn, while Arundel's deliberate treachery is glossed over. It is also surely a misstatement to say that Northumberland 'went to the Tower guarded by 4,000 soldiers;' 'es-

corted by 400 of the guard,' which is the statement of Froude, is probably correct.

The volume is embellished with a series of portraits, and among them no less than five of Mary herself. Of these the first, which forms the frontispiece, taken when she was princess, the original of which is in the university galleries at Oxford, is undoubtedly the most prepossessing. There is also one of Philip, but hardly the Philip whom Mary welcomed in England in 1554, but taken at a time when the heavy Habsburg under-lip and chin were already fully developed. A better companion portrait to the above of Mary would have been the Titian which adorns the walls of the Palazzo Rosso in Genoa, a pleasing study in which the slim figure and refined expression give no intimation of the merciless bigot and tyrant of Elizabeth's reign.

J. BASS MULLINGER.

*The Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. VII. 'The United States.  
(Cambridge: University Press. 1903.)

To some at least the appearance of a separate volume of the *Cambridge History*, treating the United States as a separate unit, will seem a confession of failure so far as the main idea of the undertaking is concerned. It is true that we are informed in the preface that

the departure from the general plan is more apparent than real. The principle of arrangement laid down by Lord Acton was that the history of each people should be taken up at the point at which it was drawn into the main stream of human progress as represented by the European nations. In the case of the North American colonies this change may be said to have taken place in the latter half of the eighteenth century, especially during the Seven Years' War and the War of Independence.

But this theory of a separate North America, having no connexion 'with the main stream of human progress,' is, in fact, most disputable. Assuredly a late Cambridge professor, Sir John Seeley, would have opposed it tooth and nail. It would hardly be possible to name two subjects of more profound significance in the history of modern thought than the attitude of the individual conscience before established systems of belief and the economic system of seventeenth-century statesmen, but to deal with either of these subjects adequately European and American history cannot be divorced. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the account of the mercantile system in Mr. Doyle's otherwise masterly *résumé* of the early history seems somewhat incomplete. It is hardly correct to say that 'all the chief products of the colonies' were included in the 'enumerated' commodities. Adam Smith, in a well-known passage, asserted that 'among the non-enumerated commodities are some of the most important productions of America and the West Indies—grain of all sorts, timber,' &c. The convenience of dealing with the United States in a single volume probably outweighs the disadvantages, but we need not therefore subscribe to the reasons here given. It is, moreover, a curious commentary on the assertion that 'in the century beginning with the outbreak of the French Revolution the United States remained an *alter orbis*, little affected by the course of European affairs,' to find Mr. J. B. McMaster writing of a portion of this period—

From 1793 to 1815 the questions which occupied the public mind were neutral rights, orders in council, French decrees, the rule of 1756, impressment, search, embargoes, non-intercourse, non-importation, the conduct of Great Britain, the insolence of the French directory, the X Y Z affair, the war with Great Britain, the triumphs, the ambition, the treachery of Napoleon.

Be this as it may, no reader of the present history will care to quarrel with the decision arrived at. We have here in a single volume the conclusions of writers who are most of them experts on their particular subject and period. Among Americans Professor Bigelow, Mr. J. B. McMaster, President Woodrow Wilson, the late Mr. J. G. Nicolay, Professor Schwab, Mr. T. C. Smith, and Professors Moore, Emery, and Barrett Wendell have joined forces with their English colleagues Mr. J. A. Doyle, Miss Bateson, Mr. A. G. Bradley, and Mr. H. W. Wilson. A book so produced has, of course, the defects of its qualities. A sense of proportion cannot always be preserved when distinguished contributors are given more or less a free hand. Thus the great space occupied by the American Civil War is in curious contrast with the twenty-five pages in which Mr. Doyle compresses the story of the War of Independence. It must be confessed, indeed, that the chapters by the late Mr. J. G. Nicolay, valuable as they are in themselves, seem hardly to fit in with the general scheme of the history, which is to bring out general tendencies rather than to give detailed accounts of individual events. Moreover with all his qualities Mr. Nicolay had hardly the gift of making military operations intelligible to outside readers. Unlike his colleagues he wrote under the influence of strong personal prejudice. To describe Stonewall Jackson's Shenandoah march as 'an audacious and reckless expedition' is, I believe, to run counter to the highest military authority; and, interesting as is everything connected with Abraham Lincoln, a history of this kind need hardly have informed us of his exact weight when he became president of the United States.

As is inevitable, the views of the contributors do not always harmonise; for instance, Mr. Melville Bigelow closes the very valuable chapter on the constitution with an eloquent tribute to Alexander Hamilton. 'Every great undertaking has its master spirit; the master spirit of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States was Alexander Hamilton. There were other strong leaders, but Hamilton, present or absent, was chief among them.' Mr. Woodrow Wilson, writing on 'State Rights' and the part played by the south in the making of the union, says, 'Madison's had been the planning mind in its construction; Washington's mastery had established it; Jefferson had made it democratic in practice and in theory;' with no mention of Hamilton.

The chapters by Mr. McMaster on 'The Struggle for Commercial Independence (1783-1812),' 'The Growth of the Nation (1815-1828),' and 'Commerce, Expansion, and Slavery (1828-1850),' are of especial interest and value. It is, perhaps, a little unfair to say that 'slavery, as an institution, was forced on the colonies by the mother country.' Was not slavery developed in the colonies through their economic needs? It was the slave trade, not slavery directly, in which the mother country was interested. The attempts by the colonies to interfere with that trade were, I think, made for the most part after America had a native slave

population. In the chapter on 'The Constitution' there is an apparent misprint. 'Such a government,' we are told, 'could not stand when peace, with its *centripetal* tendencies, returned; the war alone pressed the states together.' 'Centripetal' should, I presume, be 'centrifugal.' I notice that Mr. McCrady's *South Carolina in the Revolution* is not mentioned in the bibliography to chapters v. and vii. An examination of it might possibly have modified Mr. Doyle's eulogies of General Greene. In the list of leading dates 'war with Holland, occupation of New Netherlands,' is given under 1665. In the text it is stated that New Amsterdam yielded to the English in August 1664.

It is to be hoped that the patriotism of the French Canadians will not resent their past history being dealt with under the general heading of the 'United States.' Miss Bateson takes a singularly favourable view of the French colonial system. The readiness with which the great mass of the Canadian *habitants* accepted the English conquest hardly bears out the assertion that 'the colonists took pride in the sense of central unity which their form of government brought home to them.' In drawing a 'contrast between the comparative absence of commercial restraint in the French colonies and the subjection to it by the English' Miss Bateson is in opposition to the authority of Adam Smith, who points out that both with regard to their preferential treatment of their products and the exportation to them of goods from Europe 'England has dealt more liberally with her colonies than any other nation.' Again,

though the policy of Great Britain with regard to the trade of her colonies has been dictated by the same mercantile spirit as that of other nations, it has, however, upon the whole, been less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of them.

It is true that the case of the sugar refineries in the West India islands was an exception to this rule, and it is also true that the character of the English colonists rendered restrictions far more galling; but these facts may be admitted without accepting Miss Bateson's general assertion. Again, the cases of friction between the governor-general and the *intendant* were, perhaps, more numerous and calamitous than Miss Bateson appears to recognise. A system of government which set one officer almost avowedly as a spy upon another could hardly turn out well in practice. The same optimistic spirit seems somewhat to colour Miss Bateson's account of the relations between the French and the Indians. It is surely an exaggeration to say that the Iroquois were converted by Frontenac 'from most dangerous enemies into cordial allies.' It is implied that the successful raid into New York of 1690 was the outcome of this friendship. In fact, expeditions against the Five Nations continued throughout the lifetime of Frontenac. No doubt the Indians were much impressed by Frontenac's imposing personality; they also grew more and more disgusted with their English allies, so that three years after Frontenac's death the peace of 1701 marked their sulky acquiescence in accomplished facts; but all this does not mean that they became 'cordial allies.'

The chapter on the conquest of Canada is written with Mr. A. G. Bradley's deftness of touch. The very fair and clear description of Braddock's defeat might have given the name Monongahela, under

which the battle is generally known. It is to be hoped that the publicity of this history may rescue from oblivion the name of Forbes, the conqueror of Fort Duquesne, 'whose momentous services received scant notice from his countrymen, and whose very name has no longer any place in their memory.' It only remains to add that the volume closes with a chapter by Mr. Barrett Wendell of singular subtlety and brilliance on 'The American Intellect,' and that a very full bibliography to each chapter is given at the end.

HUGH E. EGERTON.

*De Verwikkelingen tusschen de Republiek en Engeland van 1660-1665.* Door N. JAPIKSE. (Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh. 1900.)

THIS treatise was written to qualify its author for the degree of *doctor in de Nederlandsche letteren* in the university of Leyden, and it is deserving of higher praise than can usually be bestowed upon such essays. It deals with the relations between the Dutch republic and England during the first five years of the reign of Charles II, and is the result of researches made not only in the Dutch archives at the Hague, but even more fruitfully through the assistance of a fund associated with the name of the late Professor Fruin, here in England, in the Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the library of Lambeth Palace. The work was originally intended to cover the whole of the period from the Restoration to 1672, but it breaks off just before the outbreak of war with England in 1665. The truth is that Dr. Japikse started his task on too ambitious a scale for an essay, and found that he had written 476 closely packed pages before reaching the description of the tremendous struggle between the two great maritime powers, to which he had been leading up. Consequently his work is rather an elaborate introduction than a complete treatise, rather a mine of materials for the student or historian than a readable narrative of events. The style of Dr. Japikse is dull and featureless, and it is difficult to follow with attention his careful and accurate, but it must be owned wearisomely detailed account of the involved negotiations of the five years with which he has dealt. Nevertheless as a study of the remarkable part played by that most able if unscrupulous and time-serving diplomatist Sir George Downing, as the representative of England in the Netherlands at the time when the influence and authority of the grand pensionary, John de Witt, were still at their height, the labours of Dr. Japikse deserve unstinted recognition. He has made himself thoroughly master of the Downing correspondence and papers, and alike in the text and in the full and admirable footnotes has thrown much light upon the foreign policy of England generally, and especially in its relations with the United Provinces, during the early years of the Restoration. Above all other causes of difference and behind all the rest these pages bring out clearly that at this critical period in their respective histories the English and the Dutch stood face to face all the world over as irreconcilable rivals for commercial supremacy. A bitter struggle between two kindred and equally determined races had to be fought out. It only remains to notice that at the beginning of this volume is a full and exhaustive table of contents, and at the end a number of the documents referred to in the text are printed *in extenso*.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.



*The Unreformed House of Commons.* By EDWARD PORRITT, assisted by ANNIE G. PORRITT. 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press. 1903.)

THE character and scope of Mr. Porritt's two stout volumes are not indicated with sufficient justice to himself in his title, and his own description of the task he has undertaken must be quoted. 'I have attempted,' he writes, 'such a history of parliamentary representation as would enable a student of constitutional development to realise what the representative system actually was when, in 1831, Grey . . . undertook the great work of parliamentary reform. Further, it has been my purpose to trace the changing relations which from the thirteenth century to the nineteenth existed between electors and elected.' In addition Mr. Porritt has essayed to mark the origin, and trace the development and position, of the representative systems in Scotland and Ireland, their fusion with the English into a British house of commons, the history of their growing organisation for legislation and administration, the evolution and import of the relations of the house of commons towards the crown and the 'outside world.' On the other hand he has not sought to describe and estimate the changes made by the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884-5, nor to write the history of the reform movement, even though no small part of it belongs chronologically to the period covered by his book. How far this exclusion affects his performance need not be considered at present, for primarily it is only necessary to indicate that this book is no mere statistical analysis of an electoral register, but a contribution on an important scale to British constitutional history, executed 'during a nine years' residence in the United States.'

The first six chapters of vol. i. start with a detailed examination and exposition of the English and Welsh parliamentary representation as it had come to be in 1831. Chapters vii.-xvi. deal with the relations between members and constituents (restrictions on choice, legislation as to qualifications, place bills, the political and social relations, the patronage and nomination systems, &c.); chapters xvii.-xix. analyse and describe the relations of the crown to the franchise; chapters xx.-xxx. broadly cover 'the house and its usages and its relations to "the outside world"' (the speaker, the officials, the seating, the *personnel*, procedure, the relations of the commons to the lords, the press, &c.) Vol. ii. traces on similar lines the development and organisation of the parliamentary systems of Scotland and Ireland before and after the respective Acts of Union, but in his treatment of Scotland Mr. Porritt includes the first estate, whereas in the case of England and Ireland he 'concerns himself only with the elected members,' on the very adequate ground that in the parliament of Scotland both estates sat in one chamber, and that to exclude the peers would be to defeat his cardinal object, viz. to explain how and why it was that reform was necessary in 1831, and to prepare the student by a careful investigation of history for understanding the full import of the reform movement in its entirety. Mr. Porritt, it will be seen, covers ground familiar to all students of the classical authorities, Hallam, May, Gneist, Palgrave, Todd, Anson, and others, and aims at much more than collecting, sifting, correcting, and reclassifying by the light of modern research the material at the disposal of all in such works as Oldfield's *Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland* and

the exhaustive parliamentary returns and papers. He has placed at the disposal of all historical students, in two compact, lucidly written, and admirably arranged volumes, results which, so far as I know, are not to be found in any other single treatise worked out with such detail or so clearly put. The bibliography, taken with a lengthy study of the text, satisfactorily proves that he has surveyed a vast literature, and that no pains have been spared to glean judiciously from the new sources, above all the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* and the work done in the last thirty years in county history, and to combine this with a restatement of the old material. How skilfully this has been done will perhaps be best appreciated by those who hitherto have voyaged with no compass but one of their own making on a sea very inadequately charted and full of reefs unknown to and unsuspected by the older mariners. In his preface the author holds out a promise that at some future time he may complete his work by writing 'the history of the movement for parliamentary reform from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the Acts of 1884-5.' We look forward to the accomplishment of a task which so far has not been adequately attempted by any English or American writer; for the volumes before us are really little more than learned and imposing prolegomena to this subject, and the deliberate exclusion of reform robs them of what would have been their crowning merit, completeness both of conception and subject matter. For example, the treatment of the reform schemes of the Commonwealth is withheld; historically, chronologically, and intrinsically, those schemes and their influence did not end in 1660, and a comprehension of the unreformed house of commons from 1660 to 1714 is made very difficult by their absence. So, again, is it not really impossible to write any satisfactory account of the parliamentary system in the eighteenth century if the whole of that great movement, political, economic, social, and industrial, which starts with tory ideals and criticism of the whig *régime*, finds expression in Dashwood's famous motion in 1745, and only ends, if it does end, in 1884-5? Mr. Porritt, it is true, has gallantly tried to do it, but the increasing difficulties of the effort become more and more apparent as the story developes, and the performance suggests serious misgivings in consequence. If, therefore, a critic who is genuinely grateful for what Mr. Porritt has done is obliged to indicate what seem to be omissions, it is because the author has himself placed his standard of conception and execution so high.

The least satisfactory part of this treatise lies in the section covered by chapters xx.-xxx. Not that here, as elsewhere, there are not supplied in the history of the speakership, &c., most useful and learned analyses of subjects too often neglected or skimmed over by constitutional historians. The organisation and structure of the procedure and machinery of the house of commons have an intrinsic value apart from their place in the domestic history of British institutions, for they have become the models of the organisation and procedure of the representative systems in the self-governing British colonies, of congress and the forty-five state legislatures in America, and, to a less degree, of the parliaments of France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. Mr. Porritt is fully aware that both in its widest and in its narrowest sense this gradual evolution represents the contribution of 'the unreformed house of commons' to the

stupendous problem as to how a representative system which Burke as well as Wellington thought wellnigh perfect—'government by public meeting'—can be made to solve the apparently insoluble difficulty of combining liberty and strength in a constitution, and this fact must be held to be an unanswerable reason for including in his survey 'the relations of the house of commons to the outside world,' with which, at first sight, the mere student of an unreformed parliament is not concerned. We must, in short, know what the unreformed commons claimed to be, what it actually was, and why it failed to be completely successful. Accordingly we are introduced to the struggle with the lords over taxation as defined and ended in the resolutions of 1661, 1678, and even 1860. But the judicial claims and authority of the commons are strangely omitted; the word 'impeachment' does not occur in the index, nor are the right and practice treated of in the text; the relations of the lower chamber to the courts of law are neither traced, nor examined, nor explained; *Skinner v. The East India Co.*, *Shirley v. Fagg*—the commencement of that long list of cases which culminates in *Bradlaugh v. Gossett*, to which the organisation of the commons and the definition of privilege owe so much before 1832—find no place in these chapters. Similarly the relations of the press to the commons dwindle down to a meagre sketch with the pith gone when the law courts and the legislature are ruled out; the growth of the commons as a 'government-making organ,' the development and character of public opinion, the evolution of the organisation of 'his majesty's opposition' are barely indicated, much less worked out. Save as regards the place bills and the like the relations of the commons to the executive, the effect of the rise and growth of the cabinet and the secretarial system on the law and custom of parliament are left to other sources and authorities; and cases like *Ashby v. White*, not to speak of the Middlesex election, are neither discussed nor estimated. Clearly Mr. Porritt has convinced himself that these cannot be explained without trenching on the excluded subject of parliamentary reform. But if privilege as against prerogative or the statutory and common-law rights of the represented and unrepresented do not belong to this section of the book as defined by Mr. Porritt himself, to his task as analysed in his preface, to what do they belong? Can it be seriously argued that these and kindred topics are less important elements than those deliberately selected? Less emphasis perhaps need be laid on the absence of a chapter dealing with the development and influence of political and philosophical theories and ideals on the law, custom, and conventions of the unreformed representative system. But the reason for its absence is practically precisely the same. The classical authorities, with the exception of Gneist, who is unfortunately anything but a safe guide or a correct interpreter, usually neglect the basis in thought of English constitutional development, and unscientifically pass by the momentum and informing forces of the brains and idols of the study and the cave in the building up of the English system of parliamentary government. Yet the unreformed system cannot be made intelligible or historically accurate without some such attempt to evaluate with precision the contribution of philosophical and political theory, of sentiment and ideals to the structure and permanence of that system.

A long list of points could easily be drawn up worth discussing and on which Mr. Porritt has thrown fresh and valuable light. It must suffice to note briefly the clearness with which the tangled electoral laws are analysed and made intelligible, the excellence of the chapters on the 'Crown and the Franchise,' the careful investigation of the patronage system, with its deliberate conclusion that on the known facts it can be proved historically and politically 'wholly indefensible,' and the sympathetic and impartial review of the Scottish and Irish parliaments. Mr. Porritt says (i. 157) that Hastings in 1640 'is the first instance I have traced of positive bribery of a constituency as a whole.' This is interesting; but in 1571 there was Thomas Long, 'being a very simple man and of small capacity to serve in that place,' whose action caused the borough of Westbury to be fined 20*l.* because the mayor and one Watts, 'for their said lewd and slanderous attempt,' had accepted 4*l.*, and had thus corruptly made Long a burgess. Hallam (i. 263) pronounces this to be the earliest known instance of bribery, which is not true of the bribery of individuals. Mr. Porritt unfortunately does not deal with the 'simple' Long, and, though the house undeniably fined the corporation and the inhabitants as a whole, the Journals (i. 88) fail to make it clear whether 'the lewd and slanderous attempt' lay in the mayor and Watts for pocketing a bribe intended by Long for all the voters, or whether the house thought the most effective way to punish individuals was to punish the whole borough, though it was really innocent. On the answer turns the truth of the statement as to whether Hastings is or is not the first instance of bribery of a whole constituency. Again, when in discussing the attempt by James II to remodel the corporations and to pack a parliament for rescinding the penal laws and the Test Act, Mr. Porritt does not cite a very useful authority, *The Penal Laws and Test Act: Questions and Answers (to the Deputy Lord Lieutenants and Magistrates of 31 Counties)*, compiled from returns in the Bodleian by Sir George Duckett (privately printed in 1883). The book may not have found its way to America, and Mr. Porritt may be glad to have the reference, for it emphasises a point rather slurred over in his pages that this was really more an attempt by the crown to assert prerogative than merely to pack a parliament. *Skinner v. the East India Co.* is part of the same process, but from the relation of the commons to the law courts Mr. Porritt has declined to draw any help. C. GRANT ROBERTSON.

*Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1742-1745, preserved in the Public Record Office.* Prepared by WILLIAM A. SHAW, Litt. D. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1903.)

IN this volume Dr. Shaw has presented material which may prove of no small assistance to future historical students. He remarks, indeed, in his introduction that hitherto 'writers on the later periods of English constitutional history have been strangely shy of inquiring into the growth of the system of departmental administration.' They have been deterred partly by the 'inaccessibility' of the material and partly by a natural misgiving that their investigations would be directed to nothing more than 'technical mechanism.' And hence they have turned their attention to legal and parliamentary proceedings. To render this de-

spised or overlooked material accessible, and to view it in its true historical perspective, is the object of the series of publications of which the volume before us is one instalment. In others belonging to this class the 'main executive function' of the treasury, which consisted in the issue of money from the exchequer, has been examined. The steady, if gradual, supersession of illicit and illegal action on the part of the king himself, or of some powerful minister, availing themselves of the convenient channels of secret service, pensions, and the like, by the ordinary constitutional safeguards of the forms surrounding the issue of privy seals and money warrants, can, Dr. Shaw argues, be traced from the date of the appointment of the Secret Committee of Inquiry at the close of Walpole's administration onwards in the index of the present volume. He now proceeds to address his main attention to the other or 'administrative' side of treasury routine. He endeavours to discover and exhibit the character of the control exercised over the preparation of the national estimates. Here his conclusions are based on material contained in the treasury records alone, while the advance noted above in constitutional government with reference to the executive function has been confirmed by the Journals of the house of commons. Dr. Shaw observes that his conclusions may possibly be a 'shock to the historical student.' They point to a condition of affairs very different from that which we know to-day.

With regard to the army there is only scanty evidence of revision by the treasury of estimates on their way from the department concerned to the house of commons; and, save in a single instance, there is nothing to show definitely that the alterations made may not have been due to some external action taken by the king or by the secretary at war, although it may be probable that the treasury enjoyed and exerted some sort of determining influence upon the yearly estimates. Yet the king might directly initiate or annul military establishments. He could use, it would seem, his prerogative through the secretary at war independently of control by the treasury, and of his own motion provide for certain classes of payment. With regard to the navy the power of the treasury was even less considerable. Dr. Shaw states, indeed, that 'there is not the slightest trace in the treasury records that the treasury board exercised any power or authority whatever over the naval estimates or establishments' during the period covered by the present Calendar (*i.e.* 1742-1745). These estimates consisted of the 'ordinary' and the 'sea service.' The former were very small compared with the latter, for they only referred to the navy while in harbour. And yet, while there was a formal official routine for their preparation, there was practically none for that of the sea service. Even in their case the admiralty acted in anticipation and independence of the letter from the treasury asking for the preparation of the estimates. They revised the estimates prepared by the navy board without consulting the treasury or permitting that department to express an opinion. They sent a copy of the estimates, when approved by them, to the treasury, but presented them directly to the house of commons by the mouthpiece of one of their own number. With regard to the estimates for the 'sea service,' as distinct from the 'ordinary,' neither the house of commons nor the

treasury was consulted or considered. 'The treasury records,' Dr. Shaw remarks, 'are absolutely silent' on these estimates. In fact the treasury acted simply as bookkeeper for the navy. It could not refuse an application for money, though it might regulate the time of payment with a view to the amount of the floating balance of cash. Lastly, with regard to the civil service estimates, we must remember that none existed at this period. The whole of the civil service was provided for out of the civil list, which was fixed at the beginning of each reign by a distinct bargain with the sovereign. The civil service was in fact, as it was in theory, the king's civil service. In practice the administration of the revenues was conducted through the treasury and followed the established forms of checks and guarantees. But until the king exceeded the limits of the civil list settled by the bargain made at the beginning of his reign he was freed from interference or control, and the treasury was nothing more than his bookkeeper.

Such are the main conclusions drawn by Dr. Shaw from his examination of the materials presented in this volume. That they are of considerable interest and great importance to the constitutional historian will, we think, be plain from the brief account that we have given. That they are supported by the evidence here adduced will be acknowledged by any one who studies these pages. So far as we have been able to judge Dr. Shaw appears to have performed his task with skill and pains; and we may congratulate him, not merely on having rendered this material accessible, but on having shown, as he desires to do, that the official mechanism, which he has here laid bare, is closely related to the history of English constitutional government.

L. L. PRICE.

*History of the British Army.* By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Vol. III. (London: Macmillan. 1902.)

WE cordially welcome Mr. Fortescue's new volume, which deals with the years 1763-1792. We find the same incisive style which marked the first two, and a refreshing enthusiasm which is even more pronounced. He knows his own mind and carries the reader with him, even when treating dry details. We previously noticed that Mr. Fortescue began his work by tracing the history of the army and the development of military science, but with the days of Marlborough turned his attention to England's wars. The present volume is on these latter lines. We would not wish to have anything omitted, but we should have been glad if the author, as a specialist, had given us the benefit of his researches upon certain points on which we want more light. A few pages, for instance, on the earliest use of the rifle in connexion with the Royal Americans and the American insurgents themselves, or on the evolution of light infantry, so as to point the contrast between Bunker Hill and the clever repulse of the French at St. Lucia, would have been acceptable. Yet the book is of unusual merit, even if these points of special interest are somewhat neglected. In the second volume we found the struggle for Canada and the Ohio treated, as Mr. Parkman was unable to treat it, as part of one great war which embraced Europe and India, so that every sailor under Hawke and his colleagues, every English and German soldier

under Frederick and Ferdinand, was contributing to the overthrow of France as much as Amherst's and Wolfe's armies. So here we get all the fighting in America and the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and India, between the same covers, with a wealth of detail not to be found elsewhere. It is a book for the enthusiast on military matters, and also for the general reader; the latter is usually disinclined to study wars, except a few picturesque victories, but here he cannot fail to receive enlightenment as to why and how Great Britain was fighting, and more particularly how, in contrast to the Seven Years' War, she had many enemies and no ally, and really did much better than is commonly supposed.

Mr. Fortescue writes hotly on the causes of the War of Independence, the brutal treatment of the British soldiers by the colonists, the love of rioting at Boston, and the terrible results of faction at home. Burke has not cast a literary spell over him. He has seen that the war was caused by 'temper and character,' but not as Burke saw it. As regards the war itself, he is as strong as Captain Mahan on the need of concentration. He writes soberly on Saratoga and Yorktown, and traces how Germaine's contradictory orders and love of dictating paralysed the generals. He is urgent on the importance of the French alliance, and gives in detail the operations in the West Indies; it is not only that French aid came to Washington, but that the area of the war was extended. The fighting at St. Lucia is of fascinating interest, partly because its possession gave to Rodney the only naval base which can be compared with the splendid French harbour at Fort Royal, in Martinique, and partly because the British regulars there showed that they were not 'dull and rigid' machines, as they are often depicted. Colonial irregulars are popularly supposed to be superior to disciplined regulars, but Mr. Fortescue shows how the latter are the backbone of military operations. Two points, we think, he might have emphasised, viz. the feebleness of Admiral Graves, who ought to have made a bigger effort to relieve Cornwallis at Yorktown, in which connexion Hood's letters (published by the Navy Records Society) are invaluable, and the numbers and services of the French, especially their artillery and engineers, on the same occasion. Perhaps more might have been said about the Redskins and the disappointed efforts of the Americans to utilise them.

No historian of India can compete with Mr. Fortescue on the Mysore war. Joseph Smith is a familiar figure, and he is here duly honoured. We have read elsewhere of the possibility of an Indian Yorktown, Coote being caught between a great army and a French squadron, and of his subsequent victory at Porto Novo, but here the campaign and the battle are described with exceptional clearness, both in the text and by the map, and we can appreciate Coote's 'masterly use of the *échelon*.' The other battles are treated equally well, and illustrated by equally good maps. Reference must be made to Colonel Fullarton, who improved on Coote's order of march and developed the *quincunx*. The volume ends with an instance of poetic justice; the power of Mysore was broken by Cornwallis at Yorktown; the victorious advance upon Bangalore, Nundydroog, Savandroog, and finally Seringapatam, finds its place in the same volume as the irretrievable disaster. Nothing can illustrate better the need of studying together all Britain's wars in a given period.

Mr. Fortescue is not a hero-worshipper, nor does he unduly depreciate. His bitter sentences are for the statesmen who muddled and interfered, or for the orators who misrepresented. He can criticise Baillie and Munro, but can find the reasons of the failure of Burgoyne, while many a soldier, unknown or barely known—Vaughan, Grant, Rawdon, who got his great opportunity years later and under another title, Moorhouse of Bangalore, and many another—receives recognition.

The maps are very numerous and clear; but the index is inadequate. It actually confuses the Lally who was a soldier of fortune in the Mysorean army and gave his name to a redoubt outside Seringapatam with the famous Lally.

J. E. MORRIS.

*Letters and Papers of Sir H. Byam Martin, G.C.B.* Edited by Sir RICHARD VESEY HAMILTON, G.C.B., Admiral. Vols. I. and III. (Navy Records Society. 1903, 1901.)

THE editor in his introduction to vol. ii. of this work, published in 1898, explained the reasons for publishing vols. ii. and iii. before vol. i. The belated first volume deals chiefly with the youth of Byam Martin and his services in time of peace between 1783 and 1793. Apart from a few particulars with respect to his services off Newfoundland and on the West Indies station, there is little of interest in the first 163 pages. The reflexions contained in his journal are mostly somewhat trite, that on pp. 141–2 referring to the advantages resulting from England's naval supremacy during the long French war being perhaps the most noteworthy. Martin could see nothing but wanton wickedness in the French Revolution, and hailed with joy the prospect of beating the impious regicides. The arrangement of the middle part of the volume is somewhat awkward, the naval diary being interspersed at times with catalogues of his services in 1809–15 and during the peace which would have come better in vol. iii. The best parts of vol. i. are those which deal with the blockade of Brest, where Martin's journal will in some respects amplify the Cornwallis records already published by this society. There is also a good account by Captain Stopford (pp. 315–9) in a letter to Martin of the cruise of the former in the Mediterranean early in 1805. But it cannot be said that vol. i. adds much to our knowledge of the period in question.

The second volume of the Martin papers closed with the period of his service in the Baltic in 1812; and the editor points out the value of that service in preventing the French sending their cannon and heavy stores for the siege of Riga by sea. The comparison drawn between Martin's action in this respect and that of Sir Sidney Smith (misspelt Sydney) at Acre is, however, somewhat overdrawn. The value of Smith's exploit was that he actually captured the greater part of the French siege train and turned it against the besiegers. Yet Martin undoubtedly deserved the golden snuff-box which the tsar Alexander presented to him on his visit to Spithead in 1814. Martin was at Plymouth in August 1815 when Napoleon arrived in H.M.S. 'Bellerophon,' and wrote a letter describing in sailor's terms the disgust which he felt at seeing Maitland's subservience to the 'base, detestable coward.' The editor rightly adds a note defending Maitland from the charge of undue obsequiousness. In truth



he acted in very difficult circumstances with great tact and prudence. At that time Martin was angry at having to strike his flag, with little prospect of further employment, and his words need not be taken very seriously. There are no letters of importance in the years from 1816 to 1824. A letter of 6 August [1826 ?] from Sir H. Neale to Martin shows that the latter was not alone in his discontent at the absence of due reward and promotion; the writer states 'that promotion was mainly an aristocratic political job, as it will in the future be a democratic.' In 1833 Martin had the offer of the Mediterranean command on the death of Sir Henry Hotham, but he declined it for private reasons, one of them being his distrust of the Whig ministry.

The interest of the volume, therefore, centres chiefly in letters sent to him by officers on active service, conversations with notable men, and his own journals. On p. 174 is a reference to an early breech-loading 24-pounder. A conversation with Lord Sidmouth gives a reference to a remark of George III about Fox's abilities: 'Yes, but I like to see the heart stand in purity in advance of such abilities' (p. 195). Sidmouth still (in 1846) felt very sore at his desertion by Pitt in 1804. One of Martin's notes, bearing on ships lost at Spithead, gives a story of the explosion on the 'Edgar,' the first lieutenant, O'Brien, being blown up, falling into the sea, and on being picked up scrambling on to the deck of the flag ship and apologising to the admiral for not appearing in cocked hat and sword. Professor Laughton here, however, states that the books of 'Edgar' contain no such name, and that the same story is told of an O'Brien on board the 'Dartmouth,' which blew up during a fight with the Spaniards in 1748. The most valuable papers of the volume are translations (although very inadequate translations) of the letters of a French officer of 'L'Océan,' referring to the attacks of Lord Gambier's fleet at the Basque Roads (off Rochefort) on 11-14 April 1809. They corroborate the judgment usually passed on Gambier that, had those attacks been pushed home with full vigour, they might have led to complete success. The writer refers to the subsequent inaction of the British fleet as unintelligible. What follows shows the demoralisation of the French crews and their admiration of our men; it is clear that had Cochrane been properly supported by Gambier the French fleet might have been entirely destroyed. It is true, of course, that Gambier was honourably acquitted in the court martial, after an inquiry which is fully set forth in his *Memorials*. But that inquiry did not include the evidence of any Frenchman, and the papers now published are therefore of no slight importance. J. HOLLAND ROSE.

*L'Avènement de Bonaparte.* Par ALBERT VANDAL. (Paris: Plon. 1902.)

M. VANDAL's latest work is destined to leave a permanent mark upon historical opinion. No one has ever described France in 1799 in a manner so copious, so learned, so imaginative, and so judicial. We have indeed read in *La Révolution Française* that the book is old-fashioned in that it dares to dispense praise and blame, and manifests indecent sympathy with the priests. It is true that the author has had the temerity to say that the cause of liberty was destroyed not at Brumaire but at Fructidor, and that he has given some support to the thesis, derided

by Lanfrey, that Bonaparte was in no unreal sense the restorer of the altars. An eloquent and beautiful passage upon church bells, indicating perhaps the trend of the author's convictions, has fallen ungratefully in anti-clerical ears, and is judged to savour of *la vieille école*; nor is republican opinion gratified by the demonstration that the consulate was the inevitable result of a long series of misfortunes, of follies, and of crimes. Nevertheless we believe that M. Vandal's account of this vital episode of French history is as impartial as a strict respect for truth will permit.

In the preparation of this elaborate work M. Vandal has had the advantage of access to several unpublished sources: to some *éclaircissements inédits* of Cambacérés, 'a cold account, clearly distinguished for seriousness and gravity;' to the manuscript notes of Grouvelle, 'which appear to have been written straight from the recollections of Siéyès;' to some papers of Daunou's containing the rough draft of the consular constitution, with the emendations which were successively adopted; to a note by Jourdan on the 18th Brumaire. He has also made use of unpublished police reports lying at the National Archives, and here and there a gleam of light is shed from an oral tradition, as, for instance, where the author tells us how Moreau said to Siéyès on the news of Bonaparte's arrival at Fréjus, *Voilà votre homme, il fera votre coup d'état bien mieux que moi*; or again how Villetard, one of the deputies most compromised in the Brumairian plot, took his son and nephew to St. Cloud, hid them in some bushes in the park, and told them to wait till evening, saying that if he did not return then they were to understand that he was dead and to save themselves as best they might. At the same time the weights attaching to the printed authorities are carefully redistributed. While the testimony of Lucien, of Barras, and of Gohier is viewed with suspicion, Rœderer, Sebastiani (printed in Vatout), Madame Reinhard, and Le Coulteux de Canteleu are freely invoked for various portions of the story. If we have lost some familiar and picturesque anecdotes, if Napoleon appears somewhat less wild and distracted, Lucien somewhat less dominant and essential in the park of St. Cloud, we have gained a canvas which is at once larger, more brilliant, and more scrupulous than any which has attempted to portray the two mysterious October days.

The predisposing causes of this final act of the French Revolution were upon the material side the utter disorganisation of the country, upon the moral side the general feeling of lassitude, the insistent desire for peace, mingled with disgust for the men of the Revolution, contempt for the Directors, and hostility to the *ancien régime*. The government of France had long ceased to represent the nation, and if it continued to survive, its survival was due rather to apathy and the fear of violent shocks than to any active principle of consent. 'They governed,' says M. Vandal of the Directors, 'basely, brutally, coarsely. Their policy consisted in striking now at the right, now at the left, and so maintaining their power by alternate acts of violence.' At last a coalition was formed in the councils against the Directorate, a coalition composed of 'neo-moderates'—the term is M. Vandal's—and of Jacobins returned by the elections of Germinal. Rewbell was replaced by Siéyès, and the first breach made in the fortress

of the administration was widened soon afterwards by the forced resignation of La Revellière and Merlin. Yet neither of these triumphs was a triumph for the nation. It is true that Siéyès wished to alter the form of government, that he desired a reasonable, a settled, a pacific France, that he was averse to excess, exaggeration, and troubled nerves; but he was a partisan, 'a man of the third estate in all the restrictive force of the term,' who hated the nobles, despised the people, and chiefly aimed at securing the comfort and repose of the regicidal aristocracy to which he belonged. A really tolerant, comprehensive government, open to all and above all faction, was more than entered into his calculations, and it was left for Bonaparte to give it to France. Nor were the forced abdications of Prairial productive of the desired fruit. Unintelligent and obstructive republicanism replaced the tarnished reputations of Merlin and La Revellière, and the weeks succeeding the revolution of Prairial were full of critical and anxious moments. A strong Jacobin current was running in the Five Hundred, and the reopening of the club at the Manège threatened a recrudescence of '93. So inert and depressed was public opinion, so divided and weak was the executive, that a Jacobin *coup de main* was always within the sphere of possible successes. Suddenly in the later half of September the sky brightened. A series of brilliant victories was reported in Paris, the victory of Brune at Castricum, of Masséna at Zürich, of Bonaparte at Aboukir. Deep depression gave way to a mood of exhilaration and quickened interest in public affairs, and then, when the gay, excited mood was on her, Bonaparte landed in France. It might seem that the victories of Brune and Masséna, which made the return of Bonaparte less necessary, would have had the effect of dulling his reception. The very opposite was the result. In M. Vandal's words—

Elles (*sc.* les victoires) ont secoué la torpeur générale; elles ont relevé progressivement les cœurs; elles ont refait aux Français une âme vibrante, frémissante, disposée à recevoir le choc décisif. Elles sont venues, ces victoires avant-courrières, pour dissiper la brume qui s'appesantissait sur la France; elles ont mis au ciel une lueur d'aurore, et voici que l'astre lui-même se lève, surgit des flots, versant la vie, rallumant les ferveurs d'autrefois. . . . La France patriote et révolutionnaire ne réclamait pas un maître; elle n'avait que de bas tyrans, elle voit s'élever un chef. Pour le peuple cet homme qui passe, c'est le génie et la fortune de la Révolution qui reviennent; c'est plus encore; c'est le gage et le symbole de la résurrection nationale.

There follows a good account, made specially interesting by the new light from Cambacérès and Grouvelle, of the period of suspense and intrigue which intervened between Bonaparte's arrival in Paris and the *coup d'état*. It is clear that Talleyrand, Réal, and Rœderer gave Barras to understand that Bonaparte would act with him, and that the Director was living in a fool's paradise till the last moment. The greatest care was taken to conceal the relations between the general and Siéyès, and the new sources indicate the fact that many obstacles had to be surmounted before the two men finally agreed to a concerted plan of action. In any case Bonaparte was careful not to commit himself to constitutional details, and it is more than probable that Siéyès had no very detailed project in his head.

While the general outline of the *coup d'état* remains unchanged by the researches of M. Vandal, a few subordinate points of interest have been added, notably the advances made by Jourdan to Bonaparte on behalf of the Jacobin party, and the scheme for an alternative government concocted by Cambacérès in case Bonaparte should fail. The story of the making of the constitution has never been told with such circumstance, and in this part of his narrative M. Vandal has been specially helped by the papers of Daunou, Grouvelle, and Cambacérès, by Taillandier's *Documents historiques sur Daunou*, and by Boulay de la Meurthe's *Théorie constitutionnelle de Siéyès*, which was, we believe, the chief source of Thiers's excellent account. It emerges from these authorities that it was Bonaparte's cue to pit Siéyès against the commissions and Daunou against Siéyès, adopting every suggestion which should be favourable to his own ambition, and ruling out all propositions which made against it. The seed of despotism which he thus managed to instil into the constitution ultimately grew into a formidable plant, as all the world knows, but M. Vandal's judicious estimate of the merits and demerits of the document is a wise prophylactic against the vice of anticipation.

H. A. L. FISHER.

*A History of the Peninsular War.* By CHARLES OMAN. Vol. II. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903.)

THIS volume carries on the history to the end of the Talavera campaign, or, in other words, to the autumn of 1809. As the work advances its value becomes more evident. Mr. Oman's industry seems to have neglected no source from which light may be drawn; at the same time he does not overload his narrative with quotation and discussion. He thoroughly appreciates the importance of precision, and has been at great pains to ascertain not only the total strength of the forces engaged at different points, but also their exact composition. He has searched the Madrid archives and has visited the chief battle-fields. He gives a photograph of the Douro above Oporto to show the cliffs at the point where the British troops crossed. These cliffs are 200 feet high, and without coming to the edge of them the French on the plateau above could not see what was going on down below. This is small excuse, however, for their want of vigilance. 'They seemed asleep at high noon,' Mr. Oman says, but it was about 10 A.M. when the passage began. The Murray who crossed at a ford higher up, and failed to make the most of his opportunities, was not (as indexed) George Murray, who was quartermaster-general, but John Murray, who afterwards failed at Tarragona.

Before describing Wellesley's operations against Soult in northern Portugal Mr. Oman devotes a chapter to Wellesley himself, as a general and as a man. He combats 'the school of writers—mostly continental—who have continued to assert for the last eighty years that he was no more than a man of ordinary abilities, who had an unfair share of good luck.' If fortune was sometimes with him she often played him false. Also, if we consider the position in which he was placed,

it is not Wellington's oft-censured prudence that we find astonishing, but his boldness. . . . When a defeat spelt ruin and recall it required no small courage

to take any risks: but Wellesley had the sanest of minds; he could draw the line with absolute accuracy between enterprise and rashness, between the possible and the impossible. . . . In short, he was a safe general, not a cautious one.

Less justice is done to Wellesley's character as a man. His defects are dwelt upon more than his merits. The defects are real, but they are over-emphasised. For instance, stress is laid on his autocratic temper and his unwillingness to concede any latitude to his subordinates; but if there were few men to whom he would give a free hand that was as much owing to his experience as to his temperament. His generals were not of his own choosing, and most of them were hard-fighting men, ill fitted for responsibility.

When once he had made up his mind (says Mr. Oman) he could not listen with patience to advice or criticism. It was this that made him such a political failure in his latter days; he carried into the cabinet the methods of the camp, and could not understand why they were resented.

One has only to read the duke's reports of his diplomatic work at Verona and elsewhere, or his letters to Peel and Canning about questions of home or foreign politics, to see that such military peremptoriness was by no means ingrained with him. No man could argue more calmly and forcibly when he thought it worth while. Peel told Gladstone that 'when he led the house in 1828 under the Duke of Wellington as premier, he had a very great advantage in the disposition of the duke to follow the judgments of others in whom he had confidence with respect to all civil matters.'

The strategy of the Talavera campaign is well discussed, and there is an excellent description of the battle, which occupies fifty pages and puts many things in a fresh light. The summit of the Cerro de Medellin, the key of the British position, was unoccupied on the evening of 27 July (the day before the main battle) and was for a time seized by the French. Mr. Oman is inclined to blame Hill for this, and says that his two brigades 'were not lying on their destined battle ground, but had halted half a mile behind it.' But Wellesley mentioned in his despatch that Hill's division was placed *en échelon*, as the second line, on this height; and Lord Londonderry says that Mackenzie's division was meant to be on the left of Sherbrooke's. The rough handling it met with in the afternoon of the 27th caused Mackenzie's division to be placed behind Sherbrooke's, in second line, and it was apparently owing to this change that Hill had no troops in his front. Mr. Oman shows that Napier was mistaken in supposing that of the two regiments of Anson's light brigade the Germans turned back when they were checked at the ravine, and left the 23rd to charge alone. He places this charge rather late in the day, after victory had been secured in the centre; but Hay's statement on this point does not agree with Wellesley's despatch nor with the official report of the operations of Victor's corps.

The late Sir George Colley pointed out thirty years ago, in a paper on marches, that Napier had overstated the length of the march made by the Light Brigade in its anxiety to reach the field of Talavera in time for the battle. Instead of sixty-two miles Colley reckoned it at forty miles; Mr.

Oman makes it forty-three. It is not surprising that the men who took part in it should have overestimated the distance. Sir Harry Smith in his autobiography calls it fifty-six miles in twenty-eight hours.

Wellesley's operations against Soult and Victor form the main subject of this volume, but it also gives a detailed account of the second siege of Saragossa, of St. Cyr's relief of Barcelona, and of the warfare in Galicia. Napoleon's illusions as to the time and men required for the subjugation of the Spanish provinces are well brought out. In describing Soult's plan for holding down Galicia Mr. Oman reckons that it required at least 35,000 men, since he proposed that there should be seven fortresses with garrisons of 5,000 or 6,000 men each. But Soult's words were that these places should be *susceptibles de contenir* such garrisons, which by no means implies that they would all have them habitually; and he claimed that his scheme would make it possible to reduce the number of troops which were at that time in Galicia. Mr. Oman overlooks Suchet's operations on the Var in 1800 when he speaks of him as making his *début* in independent command when he was placed at the head of the third corps in Aragon. He is too severe on Cradock, who with hardly any cavalry and a very mixed force of infantry was probably well advised in confining himself to the defence of Lisbon. It is a mistake to argue that the work so well done by Sir Robert Wilson with his Portuguese levies on the frontier might have been done on a larger scale by Cradock's troops; and if they had been so employed Wellesley would have found them in no fit condition for his march on Oporto. Wellesley, by the bye, was chief secretary, not under-secretary, for Ireland (p. 288) before he went to the Peninsula.

There is an interesting account of the conspiracy of French officers at Oporto, planned by an inner ring of malcontents hostile to the empire, who hoped to take advantage of the more widespread irritation against Soult for his intrigues to obtain a crown. Mr. Oman does not notice the distinction between the movement which Soult was privately encouraging and the terms of Ricard's circular, issued with his sanction and censured by Napoleon. In the circular there was no suggestion that the marshal should take the royal title, but only that he should act as representative of the prince whom the emperor might select.

The second volume has followed quickly on the first, and we can only hope that the pace may be maintained, and that a few years will bring about the completion of a work which must hold a high place in English military literature.

E. M. LLOYD.

*Vorgeschichte der Schlacht bei Belle-Alliance.* Von JULIUS VON PFLUGK HARTUNG. (Berlin: Schröder. 1903.)

THIS is a monograph on the preliminaries to the actual campaign of Waterloo, especially the relations of Wellington and Blücher. The author is thoroughly at home in the extremely voluminous literature of the subject, and is especially skilful in the critical examination of documents. The question to which he has devoted most of his attention is one which has been discussed ever since the event—Did Wellington promise to support Blücher at Ligny, and thus lead Blücher to accept the battle

in which he was defeated? Behind this lies another question—Was Wellington in a position to render assistance, and if not, was it by his own fault? Seeing how events actually worked out in the Waterloo campaign, it was natural that the Prussians should be sore, all the more so because with slightly altered conditions the chief glory of finally overthrowing Napoleon might have fallen to them. So long as the two allied armies acted in concert their numerical superiority to the French made it certain that they must ultimately succeed: if they separated Napoleon was stronger than either separately. General accord between Wellington and Blücher there was: specific co-operation could only be arranged as occasion arose. Dr. von Pflugk-Harttung seems to think that the allies had given up expecting Napoleon to take the offensive, so that they were in a sense surprised; the attack, however, was in fact made in the direction in which they expected it, if it came at all. He fully recognises that both generals were free to act as they thought right, that Blücher was bent on fighting at the first opportunity, and that Wellington was, and was bound to be, careful to ascertain beyond doubt, before concentrating, where the French attack was coming. He gives strong reasons for maintaining that Bülow was to blame for being absent from Ligny: had he been there, as Blücher ordered and expected, the Prussians would have had decisive superiority in numbers, and might well have won a great victory. Not unnaturally Prussian writers, in seeking to extenuate their defeat, sought a scapegoat—not in their own countryman, who after all did splendid service at Waterloo, but in their ally. Gneisenau notoriously distrusted Wellington, and from the first threw blame on him, and one Prussian after another followed his lead. Was the accusation true, or even plausible? Dr. von Pflugk-Harttung will have none of it. He proves, if on a historical question the dissection of documents can be considered to prove anything, first that Blücher was determined to fight at Ligny, regardless of Wellington, as well he might if Bülow had arrived in time; secondly, that Wellington gave no promise at all, and never was in a position to give one. All that he could and did say was, ‘My army is concentrating: a great part of it will be at Quatre Bras soon, and if I am not attacked in earnest, of which there is no present appearance, I will help you later.’ Wellington’s information was inaccurate, and he expected more troops at Quatre Bras two or three hours too soon; and when afternoon came he had to fight hard; but what would have become of Blücher if Ney’s army had not been fully employed at Quatre Bras? Most critics agree in thinking that Wellington was unduly slow in ordering his troops to move, even when allowance has been made for the slowness with which information reached him from the front, slowness for which the Prussians were responsible, though not very blameworthy, all things considered. Good fortune prevented his suffering by the error, such as it was; and it must always be remembered that it is easy to be wise after the event. That we shall ever hear the last of the controversies which centre round every detail of the Waterloo campaign is perhaps too much to hope for. At any rate it is refreshing to have it dealt with by a writer who honestly presses the conclusions which he believes to be right, though they redound to the credit of the Iron Duke.

HEREFORD B. GEORGE.

*The Second Bank of the United States.* By RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.  
(Chicago: University Press. 1903.)

MR. CATTERALL has accomplished a feat of no little difficulty. He has taken a subject of a technical and, as one would be inclined to expect, of an arid nature, and has invested it with living and dramatic interest. This too has been done in a perfectly legitimate fashion. The book is wholly free from popularity-seeking tricks of style. Its treatment of financial questions is thoroughly sound and scientific. What gives the book its interest for the student of history, with whom national finance is a subordinate subject, is the effective manner in which the sequence of events is brought out, the clearness and force with which the various actors are sketched and their shares in the drama described, and lastly the perception, which never fails the writer, of the relation between his own subject and the wider field of national history.

The necessity of a chartered bank whose paper should circulate throughout the whole union was forced upon the federal government by administrative necessities. The lack of commercial intercommunication between the various states made it absolutely necessary to have a central body, supplying a medium of currency for the whole republic. Mr. Catterall (p. 5) describes the state of things which resulted from the absence of any such currency.

The government found itself burdened with an enormous mass of depreciated paper current only in the immediate vicinity of its issue. To discharge a debt in New England it must offer specie or New England notes, since nothing else was current there, while in New York no one would accept anything of less value than specie, New England notes, or New York notes. In Pennsylvania again New York notes would not be secured at par, and in the rest of the country neither New York nor Pennsylvania notes were acceptable. Since congress had not authorised the treasury to make any allowance for discount in such cases, the government could not employ issues of one state in another state.

The project of a bank was not carried without opposition, based mainly on the danger of its being converted into an instrument of political influence by government. It is noteworthy that the chief supporter and the chief opponent of the scheme should have been the great antagonists of a later day, Calhoun and Webster, and it is a singular illustration of the fluid condition of American parties at that epoch that the views of each should have been wholly at variance with their later attitude. To Calhoun, the opponent of political usurpation, the upholder of state rights, the bank might have seemed fraught with danger. To Webster it might have presented itself as a binding link in the federal system. Calhoun's views prevailed, and in 1815 the bank received its charter.

The career of the second United States bank divides itself into three stages. First, there was a period of incompetent management and gross corruption under the directorship of William Jones, ending in a crash which in a community of less elastic and expansive resources must have spelt wide-spread ruin and been fatal to the institution which caused it. Then came a time of recuperation, under the management of Langton Cheves, when the bank was content with a safe and inexpansive business. This was followed by the last act, when, under the strenuous and ambitious management of Nicholas Biddle, the bank became a financial and



political power, and when its designs brought it into conflict with political forces strong enough to effect its destruction.

The difficulties in which the bank was landed during the first of these three stages were no doubt due in a large measure to the peculiar economical conditions by which it was surrounded. In a new and prosperous country there will always be a tendency, not wholly foolish or culpable, to anticipate undeveloped resources and to stretch credit to the utmost. This manifested itself in two forms, in a multiplication of banks with a practically unlimited issue of paper and a perilous readiness to ask for and to make advances without adequate security. The increase of state banks is described by a contemporary writer whom Mr. Catterall quotes : ' Wherever there is a church, a blacksmith's shop, and a tavern seems a proper site for one of them.' Wholesale speculation in bank stock followed. Jones may have been, Mr. Catterall thinks, honest in intention ; but he was not only utterly powerless to restrain his subordinates from mixing themselves up in bank speculation, but it is clear that he was aware of such speculations, and even accepted a share in the profits. The crash was brought about by the wholesale frauds in the Philadelphia bank. The proceedings of the official staff there are thus described by Mr. Catterall : ' By arrogating to themselves the sole right to discount loans or pledges of stock, by endorsing for each other, by lying to the local board of directors, by false entries in the books of the branch, by false reports to the bank at Philadelphia the speculation was kept going.' When at last exposure came it revealed speculations to the amount of nearly a million and a half of dollars. Only the fact that the bank held among its assets real estate in Cincinnati and elsewhere in the west of rapidly increasing value saved the shareholders from ruin. So too the existence of undeveloped resources enabled the country to weather a storm which would otherwise have brought wide-spread ruin. By a policy of extreme caution Jones's successor, Cheves, restored the status of the bank. But, as Mr. Catterall shows, in order to do so he had somewhat to lessen its utility as an instrument for supplying a medium of currency, and also to adopt in his dealings with the state banks methods so stringent as to provoke serious hostility in those bodies. Moreover stockholders in the bank became, under Cheve's management, restive under low dividends, and safety was gained at the cost of popularity.

In 1823 Cheves, feeling that he had done his work and enabled the bank to surmount the storm, laid down his office. His successor, Nicholas Biddle, was a man of far-reaching schemes, a brilliant financier, with that touch of sanguine optimism from which such men are seldom free. He was far too capable an administrator to fall, as Jones had done, under the control of dishonest or incompetent subordinates, and far too sound a financier to tolerate the vicious methods which had then established themselves. Yet it was impossible to adopt Biddle's enterprising methods without in some measure bringing back the evils of the earlier *régime*. The state of things which resulted is well described by Mr. Catterall and by a contemporary from whom he quotes, whose evidence is all the more valuable because the witness is unconscious of its full meaning.

These bills and drafts drawn ' to pay ' other bills, drafts, and notes coming to maturity were what were known as ' racers ' or racehorse bills, by which

loans were made perpetual. As a result there was the 'payment of debts' up the Mississippi by bills on New Orleans, 'the payment' of those by bills on Nashville and other western offices, and the 'payment' of the bills on these offices by more bills on New Orleans and on other western towns. The iniquity of the business was naively disclosed by an advocate of the bank in 1834, in what he supposed was an argument conclusive of the bank's usefulness to the west and north-west.

Commercial houses all along the western states, said Senator Porter, of Louisiana, having credit and doing business with those of our city have drawn late in the summer or early in the autumn bills of exchange on New Orleans, and sold them to the branches established in their respective states. With the money drawn from other sources the planter and the farmer have been supplied. Its utility, however, did not stop there. A few months run round; the crops are gathered, delivered to the merchant, and transmitted to New Orleans for sale. There then happens what might be expected in all cases where personal advantage enters into the calculations we make of the future. It is found that the planter has estimated too largely his crop; he falls in debt to the merchant, and he in return has a balance against him in the city where the produce was sold. The bank steps in again, and purchases from the planter in New Orleans a draft on the house of the western county, and in that way enables the produce of a second crop to be got to market before payment is really demanded. What I now state has been every year's transactions for several years back.

This was a renewing with a vengeance, and since it had been the transaction every year 'for several years back' it follows that one debt was piled on top of another year after year, and that final payment was still in the future.

Yet it might be urged on behalf of the bank that it only did what in the absence of a national bank would have been done by the state banks with far less moderation and caution. And it is certain that if the bank did offer an unwholesome stimulus to speculative trade it was not that error which destroyed its popularity and effected its ruin. Undoubtedly the bank by enlarging credit and making capital more easily transferable did act as the friend of capital. In the words of its enemies, quoted by Mr. Catterall, the bank 'made the rich richer,' and therefore, by a fallacy as old and as durable as human nature, the poor poorer.

The popular hostility thus created was made definite and effective by the intense personal enmity of President Jackson. Jackson, as Mr. Catterall has pointed out, was possessed to the full by all the ordinary prejudices of the uneducated man, with this added difference, that such prejudices, once adopted, took the form of a religious conviction, were held with the fervour of a monomaniac, and were acted upon without one thought of reserve or compromise. Mr. Lodge, in one of his essays, likens Jackson attempting to regulate the national finances to a monkey meddling with the works of a watch. The justice of the comparison is borne out by more than one quotation from Jackson's sayings and writings. We find him writing to Biddle, 'I do not dislike your bank more than all banks; but ever since I read the history of the South Sea bubble I have been afraid of banks.' Alarmed by Jackson's avowed intention not to renew the bank charter, and by the withdrawal of the national deposits, Biddle adopted the only means of safety within his

power. In his own language, he put his squadron under close-reefed main topsails, and largely and rapidly contracted his issues of paper. The bank was sound financially, but it was debited with all the distress which inevitably followed, and the result was fatal. The issue was socially, economically, and politically full of complexities, and it would have been difficult to find a tribunal less fitted to try such an issue than one where Jackson was the judge and the American democracy the jury. The charter was not renewed; the bank reappeared as a chartered state bank within the colony of Pennsylvania, but it disappeared from the national life.

J. A. DOYLE.

*Aus der preussischen Hof- und diplomatischen Gesellschaft.* Von A. VON BOGULAWSKI, Generalleutnant z.D. (Stuttgart: Cotta. 1903.)

GENERAL VON BOGULAWSKI has done well in reprinting from the *Deutsche Rundschau* a collection of family letters, very simple and very sympathetic, which illustrates certain aspects of the life of the Prussian court under Frederick William III in the years 1822-6 that well deserved recalling. A few interesting touches are added to the now well-known story of the late emperor William I's early devotion to Princess Elisa Radziwill. Faithful though he was, her painful state of doubt seems to have been unnecessarily protracted; and even had the obstacle of her inequality of birth not proved insuperable the difference of their religious confessions must have acted as a bar. Yet, curiously enough, about this very time Queen Louisa's inconsolable widower, whose natural stolidity and gloom were unmistakably tempered by a liking for pretty faces, morganatically married a young catholic lady—the countess Harrach—whom he created princess of Liegnitz, and of whose *début* in her new character these pages contain an amusing account. The circumstances of this union seem in no way to have affected King Frederick William III's sturdy protestantism, and he very severely lectured his niece, the duchess of Anhalt-Köthen, who had, with considerable *tapage*, not only been converted to the Roman communion herself, but taken over her husband with her. On the other hand it was not till seven years after her marriage to the crown prince of Prussia (afterwards King Frederick William IV) that the Wittelsbach Princess Elizabeth professed herself a protestant. All these matters could not but provoke comment at a time when the extraordinary pertinacity of Frederick William III in enforcing the use of a liturgy which very few liked, and which nobody wanted, agitated a large proportion of his subjects. And such comment these together with other contemporary topics of court life amply receive in the present letters, both from the gentle Albertina von Bogulawska, lady-in-waiting to the king's sister-in-law, Princess William (herself a very remarkable woman), and a votaress of Jean Paul, and from her shrewd but kindly mother in the country, an old lady of experience, insight, and notable liberality of thought. To these letters is appended a further series, extending from 1842 to 1857, written by the adopted daughter of Frau von Bogulawska and the wife of Ludwig von Wildenbruch, a son of the once celebrated Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia. Herr von Wildenbruch, after serving as Prussian consul-general at

Beyrut, became minister at Athens and Constantinople in the time of the Crimean war; his later public services were in part connected, like those of General von Willisen, an intimate friend of the family, with a period in the history of the Schleswig-Holstein question which brought little glory to any one concerned in it. The letters of Ernestine von Wildenbruch (whose name descended to her son, the celebrated patriotic dramatist Ernst von Wildenbruch) furnish some interesting glimpses of King Otto and his too busy little queen, and of two far more magnificent potentates, Lord and Lady Stratford de Redcliffe; and they make no secret of the feelings with which Prussian diplomatists at times regarded the part which they and their country had then to play in the great affairs of Europe. But a more vivid interest attaches to the writer's notes on home affairs, on the humiliating 'days of March,' through which she and her husband had to pass at Berlin before his appointment to Athens, and on the information which at an earlier date had reached her at Beyrut as to the progress of the so-called 'German catholic' movement. Unlike most of the members of her open-minded family, she would not believe Ronge to be another Luther; on this head her instincts were probably even sounder than her reasons.

A. W. WARD.

*Journals of Field-Marshal Count von Blumenthal for 1866 and 1870-1.*

Edited by Count ALBRECHT VON BLUMENTHAL. Translated by Major A. D. GILLESPIE-ADDISON. (London: Edward Arnold. 1903.)

THIS is a most disappointing book. Blumenthal was one of the soldiers who took the most prominent part in the two great wars with which these diaries deal. As chief of the staff to the crown prince he was virtual commander of the army which fought its way through the mountains into Bohemia, in a most interesting series of battles, especially interesting as they were the first opportunity in which the Prussian army tested its new organisation and new weapon on a great campaign. His decisive intervention won the victory of Königgrätz. It was the troops under his command that won the battle of Wörth; he took a great part in the manœuvres which preceded the battle of Sedan and in that battle itself; he was in immediate command throughout the investiture of Paris. We naturally expect to find in his personal memoirs, written during the campaigns, new light on these great events, and explanations on matters which have never been fully explained. This we do not find. There is scarcely a single point in which any new light is thrown on the military operations. To give a single example of the manner in which the operations are retold we can quote one paragraph. 'Our first army corps was engaged the whole day yesterday at Trautenau. The guards gave no assistance, either to the right or the left, but remained inactive in the middle.' This refers to what was perhaps the critical day of the whole campaign, and the engagement at Trautenau was a severe check to the Prussians; but we have nothing beyond a bald statement of the fact. And then the statement as to the guards, what does it imply? Does it mean that they had culpably failed in the task given to them? To the ordinary reader it must seem so, but we know from other sources that as a

matter of fact the guard had sent to ask if their help was required. A statement of this kind is really worse than useless.

An explanation of the poverty and meagreness of his diary may easily be found in the amount of work which fell to him. There is no cause for criticism that the general who had the whole responsibility for the movements of over 100,000 men, who more than once fought two distinct battles on the same day, could not find time to write up his diary, but one doubts whether it was wise in the interest of his reputation to publish these notes, which cannot add anything to, and may indeed take something from, the reputation he had earned. What military interest the book has is the curious illustrations it affords of the small amount of control which in the best-organised army the commander is able to keep over the forces under him. The cardinal instance of this is Wörth, where the commander knew no more that a decisive battle was being begun by part of his forces than did the humblest subaltern. The diaries naturally become fuller during the siege of Paris, and we hear a good deal of the disputes concerning the advisability of a bombardment, which, as is well known, caused so much friction between Bismarck and the military authorities. The most valuable part of the book is Blumenthal's discussion of the matter. He was the chief opponent of the bombardment. He defends himself against the well-known taunt that it was the English ladies (his wife and the crown princess, as well as Moltke's wife, were all English) who wished to spare Paris. We hear naturally enough of the smaller jealousies and misunderstandings, of which there were so many in the army, and there are some curious passages on the relations of the general to the crown prince. (In one of these there is an obvious mistranslation: on p. 212, 'It is not possible for him to feel offended' should be, 'It is not possible for one to be offended with him.')

While the highest tribute is paid to the prince's personal character we are not told anything on the interesting point as to his real military capacity. We would gladly also have had more light thrown on the relations between a royal commander and his chief of the staff, relations which must be full of difficulty when the prince is not content with a merely nominal command and the chief of the staff is not prepared to be merely a subordinate. 'I told him I was not in the position of an adjutant who merely had to carry out orders, that I was only too willing to leave him all the honours of the command and do all the work, but that my position could not be reduced to that of an adjutancy. He saw my point, but he has not a very clear comprehension of his position in the command,' he writes during the siege of Paris. One would like to have had the point further illustrated, especially from those parts of the campaigns in which the crown prince took a more active part.

J. W. HEADLAM.

*Istória koloniál'noj Impérii i koloniál'noj Politiki Anglii.* (A History of the Colonial Empire and Colonial Policy of England.) By P. G. MIZHUEV. (St. Petersburg: Brockhaus, Efron, & Co. 1902.)

M. MIZHUEV is already known in Russia for his studies of the American Revolution and of New Zealand as well as of education in England and America. In the present work he gives the Russian reader a short history of each of our self-governing colonies and of India, and briefly

describes the relations of each of these to the United Kingdom. In this there is little that is new to the English reader, for the book is principally compiled from the standard authorities of which a bibliography is annexed to it. But the whole point of view will be astonishing to the Russian public; for M. Mizhnev is never tired of emphasising the liberality with which as a general rule England has treated her colonies, and contrasts this with the policy of other countries in their possessions over sea, and even in Europe itself. He points out that the grievances even of the American colonies have been overestimated and quotes Americans in support of his contention; and in South Africa he is steadily on the side of the British against the Dutch. So in treating of India he holds that there is little foundation for the Russian idea that it is greedily exploited by grasping adventurers. In all these cases he quotes the testimony of foreign eye-witnesses, French, German, and American, well aware that the prejudices of his countrymen would forbid them to accept the evidence of English writers. All through the book he is continually comparing the progress made by British colonies in material things, commerce, railways, agriculture, with those achieved by Siberia and even European Russia, while he refers less directly, though with no less insistence, to the difference in education, justice, and political freedom. He endeavours to turn the attention of the Russians to such facts as the existence in India of the National Congress and almost complete freedom of the press, to the women's franchise in New Zealand, and to the universal responsibility of officials. In South Africa he brings out the fact that the origin of all difficulties with the Boers was their treatment of the natives, although he does not scruple to blame the proceedings of the Chartered Company. Even an Englishman may admit that M. Mizhnev is too uniformly favourable in his account of our colonial affairs, and he might have had more effect on Russian opinion if he had pointed out the dark as well as the bright sides of colonial life. As it is, Russians will probably say that he was hired to write a book of special pleading, but possibly he may persuade some to take a less hostile view of the British empire and British methods where they do not come into conflict with Russian interests.

E. H. MINNS.

The Rev. G. A. Cooke's admirable *Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), originally intended to be a handbook for students of Semitic epigraphy in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford, has grown into a fine work which no Semitic scholar can afford to ignore. It comprises 150 inscriptions—namely, Canaanite (Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician) and Aramaic (Old and Middle, Nabataean, Sinaitic, Palmyrene), with a complete commentary, elaborate indexes, and plates. The last mentioned are not numerous, but this is not the editor's fault, and, since the aim has been to keep down the price of the work, complaint would be out of place. In the course of a brief introduction Mr. Cooke sums up the importance of epigraphical studies for Semitic students. Apart from the philological value of the inscriptions many of them are of considerable interest to the historian, and those who have followed the brilliant researches of Clermont-Ganneau are well aware how helpful they are for the study of Semitic archaeology

in its widest extent. The commentary is intended primarily for beginners, but its richness of archaeological notes will ensure for it a warm welcome from the more advanced students. Lecturers in Semitic epigraphy will find it indispensable, although they may not always agree with the views which Mr. Cooke has adopted. His plan has not been 'to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of [his] own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts.' Whether, however, he has done well to deny the existence of the 'internal passive' (p. 334) or has rightly explained the Phoenician nominal suffix in *yōd* is questionable. A few typical seals, gems, and coins are included, and in an appendix some notice has been taken of two recently edited texts, one a Phoenician inscription from Sidon, the other an Aramaic papyrus from Elephantina. The Appendix is a practical illustration of the difficulty involved in the attempt to keep pace with the progress of epigraphical research. Had Mr. Cooke delayed the publication of his work, other inscriptions from Sidon and another equally important Aramaic papyrus would probably have found a place, although we doubt whether this would have been wise. It is a common experience that it requires several heads and a considerable interchange of criticism before the interpretation of many of the inscriptions can be decided, and signs are not wanting that the explanation of one at least of the two in the appendix will ultimately require modification. This remark, however, does not apply to the book as a whole where it is only in the matter of minor details that subsequent research is likely to have effect, and we may conclude with the hope that Mr. Cooke's production, which is a noteworthy addition to Semitic scholarship and a credit to the Clarendon Press, will arouse greater interest and more active participation in a study too much neglected in this country. B.

Four oriental manuals published by Hoepli (Milan) may be mentioned for English readers interested in oriental subjects. Signor G. Schiaparelli in *L' Astronomia nell' Antico Testamento* discusses the astronomical details in the Bible in a careful sketch which as regards wealth of detail leaves little to be desired. The Arabic scholar Professor Pizzi of Turin is the author of *Letteratura Araba* and *L' Islamo*. In the former he presents an eminently readable account of the progress of Arabic literature; in the latter he traces the origin, growth, and development of Mohammedanism. Both are written for popular tastes and are enriched with numerous translations from leading native writers. *Letteratura Assira*, by Professor Teloni, contains a complete survey of the literature of Assyria and Babylonia, with translations of select passages. It is, we believe, the first recent work of its kind, and the care which has been taken to record all bibliographical details of importance gives this little book a value which one does not always expect in a popular handbook. The author has managed to keep abreast with recent publications, with the result that if the book will be read with interest by the ordinary reader it will be really helpful to the Assyriologist. The amount of information which he has managed to arrange and compress in a small space

is admirable, and we do not hesitate to say that this manual supplies a want that has been felt by Assyrian students. C.

*Die Mysterien des Mithra* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903) is a translation into German of the final section of Professor F. Cumont's great work, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, giving the conclusions of that work without citation of the evidence on which those conclusions are founded. Versions in French and English have also appeared quite recently. The admirable method and completeness of M. Cumont's great work are universally admitted. Not only is he the principal authority as to the cult of Mithra, but he may almost be said to be the sole authority, since he has written the articles on Mithra in Roscher's and in Daremberg and Saglio's Lexicons, besides the work already cited. However excellent M. Cumont's work may be, there is perhaps some disadvantage in not being able to compare his views with those of some even less competent authority. This is scarcely the place for an analysis of M. Cumont's final views as to Mithra, since such an analysis would needs involve a comparison of them with the evidence. This, after all, is deplorably defective, and scarcely gives us any detailed knowledge of the religion which once was the faith of the Roman army and a serious rival of Christianity. Unless we can discover more documents, in particular more sacred writings of the religion, we must content ourselves with a few generalities, such as those set forth in the work before us and more briefly in Roscher's *Lexicon*, ii. 3028-3071.

P. G.

Augustus will always be an interesting figure to the reader of history. His life has just that combination of great acts and puzzling acts which stimulates the student into pleasant theorising, and its internal contrasts and contradictions are heightened by the external contrast with the dictator Julius. Comparing Julius and Augustus is, indeed, like comparing Pitt and Chatham, and the attractiveness of the comparison is heightened because we know so little of Julius and Augustus. But of course there are more solid grounds for studying Augustus. Coming as he does in the middle of the history of the Roman empire, at the moment of a great change in its ideals and organisation, he is one of those imperial figures with which the present age has considerable sympathy, and his interest is heightened by the fact that he carried out his vast reforms without any external fuss or blowing of imperialistic trumpets. One is glad, therefore, to get a really readable and reasonable account of this man, suited to educated readers. Mr. John B. Firth in his *Augustus Cæsar* (New York: Putnam, 1903) writes with adequate accuracy and knowledge, and follows in general the views current in the Oxford ancient history teaching. His illustrations are rather better than those in other volumes of the *Heroes of the Nations* series: his index is rather scanty.

F. H.

In *Das Institut der Chorbischöfe im Orient* (Munich: Lentner, 1903) Dr. Franz Gillmann discusses with great thoroughness the history and character of the chorepiscopate in the East, especially in regard to the



complicated question whether the *χωρεπίσκοποι* were bishops or presbyters. He shows that in the earliest times every Christian community, however small, had its bishop; but that in the latter half of the third century the influence of the civil organisation caused the village bishops to be placed under the authority of the city bishops, just as these were placed under that of the metropolitan. The synods of Sardica and Laodicea altogether prohibited the chorepiscopate; and, though these canons were not immediately put into effect, the institution began from this time to decline. Unfortunately the texts which bear upon the subject are obscure and corrupt; but Dr. Gillmann makes out a very strong case for his contention that the *χωρεπίσκοποι* were originally true bishops, though from the fifth century onwards we find the title borne by presbyters. Probably, however, the change began sooner than he will allow, for the *χωρεπίσκοπος* whom Gregory of Nazianzos terms his *συμπρεσβύτερος* (p. 107) must surely, though Dr. Gillmann denies this, have been a presbyter. The synod of Laodicea ordered the duties of the *χωρεπίσκοποι* to be taken over by *περιοδευταί*, and Dr. Gillmann points out that among the later Melchites and Nestorians the offices were identical, though not among the Jacobites. We may point to an early combination of the two in Severus, *Ep.* i. 98. The statement on p. 43 that the Sardican canons were not accepted in the East because nearly all the eastern bishops at Sardica were Eusebians is obscure and misleading, for it is well known that the Eusebians took no part in the synod. Again on p. 120 the assertion that the *χωρεπίσκοποι* were never called by the name of their see is very hard to reconcile with the account of their origin.

E. W. B.

The question discussed by Dr. Wilhelm Ohr in *La legendaria Elezione di Carlomagno a Imperatore* (Roma: Loescher, 1903) is an old one, that of the share taken by the Roman people in the election of Charles the Great. From one point of view the answer is easy. The most powerful party among the Romans had lately rebelled against the pope; they had been crushed by force; and their leaders were, at the moment of the election, under arrest and awaiting their trial. The coronation of Charles was the work of a party at the head of which stood the pope; and therefore the Roman element in that party was a minority of the Roman people. The credit of arranging the imperial coronation may have belonged to Leo III alone, or it may have been shared with Leo by the Franks; the Roman people counted for little or nothing in the deliberations. If we are to believe the statement made by Charles to Einhard, that the scene in St. Peter's came as a complete surprise to him, it follows that the pope was the person chiefly responsible for bringing about the coronation at the time and in the manner which gave it a character so dramatic. But we have the authority of the *Annales Laureshamenses* for the statement that a mixed assembly of Franks and Romans had previously determined to bestow the imperial dignity on Charles; and, while it is possible that the pope precipitated the course of events in order to keep for himself the leading rôle in the eyes of the general public, there is really no reason for doubting that the wishes of the Franks were the decisive factor in the situation. There remains, however, the question of legal right and theory. For the citizens of Rome to

create an emperor there was in the year 800 no real justification. Rome had lain, for years, to all intents and purposes outside the sphere of the empire; and whatever precedents may have existed for the election of a second Augustus in the West to divide the imperial authority with an eastern colleague were ridiculously inapplicable to the state of things which now existed. Still there is no doubt that Charles and his supporters attached importance to the voice of the Roman people, and laid stress on the fact that the Romans were exclusively responsible for acclaiming the new emperor after his coronation. This much may be regarded as proved by Wilhelm Sickel's examination of the evidence. But it is doubtful whether we can advance from this fact to any conclusion on what is after all the question of real interest. We cannot say whether the intention of Charles and Leo was to declare the deposition of Irene or to claim for the new imperial dynasty an authority coequal and coextensive with that of the dynasty at Constantinople. We may conjecture that recent events had proved to all parties the impossibility of maintaining the papacy without a temporal power to protect it; that the tie created between Rome and the Carolingians by the patriciate was justly considered insufficient; and that the primary intention of the parties to the imperial coronation was to create a new *defensor sanctae ecclesiae*, whose power should extend as far as that of the holy see, and should be exactly similar to that exercised by the orthodox emperors of the past, so far at least as his relations with the Church were concerned. But the most minute inquiries into the forms with which Charles the Great was elected are very unlikely to increase or decrease the probability of such hypotheses. The article which we have before us is a review of Sickel's theory, and the view stated above is in part that of Dr. Ohr. He is inclined, however, to handle the texts in an arbitrary way. He admits that only the Romans took part in the ceremony of acclamation. But he denies that this ceremony constituted, or formed the sequel to, an election of any kind; and this in spite of the words of the *Vita Leonis III*, '*ab omnibus imperator constitutus est.*' Again he disputes the evidence of the *Annales Laureshamenses* as to the share of the Franks in the debate which preceded the coronation, on the ground that, if Franks had been present, Charles would not have been taken unawares when the pope placed the crown on his head. But, as we have already shown, the statement of Einhard, that Charles was taken by surprise, is not necessarily irreconcilable with that of the *Annales Laureshamenses*; Charles may have expected to be crowned, but not by the pope or not without further delay. Another weak point in Dr. Ohr's argument is the persistent confusion of two issues. To show that the real share of the Romans in the election was small is one thing; to show that the supporters of Charles attached little weight to the formal approval of the handful of partisans who called themselves the Roman people is another. Dr. Ohr has proved the first point; his case required, however, that he should prove the second, which he has not done.

H. W. C. D.

*The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy*, by James Mackinnon, Ph.D. (London: Longmans, 1902), is described by the author as a study of government in France under the old *régime* in its relation to the nation for the time being, and he claims in addition to

have 'elucidated' the causes of the Revolution, both remote and immediate. As he expressly limits himself to the 'substance' rather than the form of government, he scarcely performs the latter promise. The dry bones of French institutional history must be vivified in any attempt to set forth the causes of the French Revolution. In the comparative study of the institutions of France and England, which began by being so similar and ended by being so dissimilar, lies the secret of the failure of constitutional machinery to supply a safety-valve for popular discontent with inefficient government which led to the French Revolution. It is rather to the causes of that discontent and the general working of French institutions that Dr. Mackinnon limits himself. The book is an interesting, if somewhat diffuse, sketch of certain aspects of the growth and decline of the French monarchy, which in the later parts at least indicates a good deal of labour in abstracting the contemporary memoirs. It would be more readable if the author had stuck to one tense in the narrative and apostrophised less. There is really room for a good concise book in English on the subject; but Dr. Mackinnon is too wanting in detachment, too diffuse, and too rhetorical.

W. E. R.

Canon Giuseppe Celidonio's treatise, *Delle antiche decime Valvensi* (Sulmona: Colaprete, 1903), gives very interesting results extracted from somewhat unpromising material. It is substantially a chronological calendar of a series of documents at Sulmona relating to the collection of tenths of church property, and consisting mainly of receipts for the contributions of the canons of Sulmona. The more important documents are printed in full, and all alike are provided with a running commentary. It would be hard to give too much praise to the care with which these documents, many of them in bad condition, have been edited. The printing, done in an Italian country town, is less satisfactory. The editor has prefixed to his calendar a short treatise on the various kinds of tenths—tithes, papal tenths, and tenths granted to Christian kings (like the Saladin tithe) for a crusade, or for the defence of papal territory, or even, as in the fourteenth century, for national defence. The Holy Land tenth granted to our own Edward I shows how easily these two latter species fade into each other. The documents illustrate the history of the kingdom of Naples, and the Abruzzi in particular, from the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. We may especially mention two taxations, one (1257–1274) of the province of the Abruzzi for legatine procurations, the other (before 1350) of the united dioceses of Valva and Sulmona for a tenth. These are of considerable topographical value. There is an interesting grant (16 Aug. 1257) by the rectors and chaplains of the parishes immediately subject to the cathedral of Sulmona to their mother church of the tithes of lands held by certain religious houses, from which the author infers that the Cistercians accepted tithes, since in no other way could the parish churches have acquired them from the Cistercians. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that the inference should be that the Cistercians in this case waived their ordinary privilege of being tithe-free in favour of the parish churches. An incidental discussion of the process by which a *plebs* or district church was broken up into parishes affords an interesting parallel with the similar process which has so much confused parochial

topography in Ireland. We may also gratefully acknowledge the new information given by a document of 15 Feb. 1365 as to the winter quarters of Hawkwood's White Company after its retirement from Perugia in 1364: *Propter magnam societatem Anglicorum que in Vulve partibus morantur (sic) ad presens prope civitatem ipsam Sulmonam non erat tutum ipsis religiosis viris dictam appellationem intimare.* C. J.

In a thick volume of *Documents relatifs aux Etats Généraux et Assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel*, in the 'Collection de Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France' (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1901), M. Georges Pibot has collected a very large number of documents, mainly from the Trésor des Chartes, which illustrate with varying completeness the history of the divers assemblies held by Philip IV in order to educate public opinion to help him in his warfare against Boniface VIII and the Templars. The enterprise, now happily concluded, has had a long and somewhat chequered history. Begun many years ago on a much more extended plan, the execution of it was entrusted to M. Picot in 1879, and he has wisely limited himself to publishing at this stage a complete collection of documents illustrating the history of the states-general between the years 1302 and 1308. M. Paul Guérin, who has done much towards the determination of the text, has also added a very full and accurate index. M. Picot has written an introduction of nearly 60 pages, in which he points out that the mass of the texts have been known since the days of Dupuy, and makes many useful and valuable suggestions as to their bearing on history. Very illuminating, for example, are the glimpses shown of the methods by which the electors of all three orders were convened and by which they chose their representatives. While grateful for what M. Picot has given us we cannot but regret that he did not go a little further. He might, for example, have done something in the direction of drawing up that *carte du régime municipal* to which he alludes on p. lvi. One is struck with the way in which towns and churches outside the royal domain were summoned to attend the estates or to express their adhesion to the policy of the king. For instance, the towns and churches of Ponthieu were very fully represented in 1308, though that country was then in the hands of the English king. Also the archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishop of Rennes, and representatives of Gascony and Brittany seem to have found a place in these assemblies. The whole illustrates the thorough way in which Philip the Fair had established his power even over the still autonomous great fiefs of the French monarchy. T. F. T.

In *Alcuni Cimeli della Cartografia Medioevale* (Firenze: Seeber, 1903), Professor G. Crivellari describes a number of manuscript maps and *portolani* which are preserved in the public libraries of Verona. The most interesting of these (of which a facsimile is given) is the planisphere drawn in 1442 by Giovanni Leardo, showing within a circle the three continents as known half a century before the discoveries of Columbus. The east is put at the top, and in the further region of China is marked the '*Paradiso Teresto*' (the dialect of the nomenclature is Venetian, with many *x*'s). Professor Crivellari has been at much pains to read, and in most cases to identify, the geographical names. Those found in Europe need no comment. It is, however, worth remarking that Leardo has drawn the Mediterranean

of proportionate length and breadth, herein adopting the corrections made by the Arab geographers, who rightly curtailed the inordinate length which Ptolemy had given this sea. The neighbouring Black Sea is marked with the uncommon name of 'Mar Mauro,' but Professor Crivellari is mistaken in stating that this appellative *provieni da Marmara, regione situata nella Panfilia al piede orientale del Tauro*; also Leardo was not (as the professor adds) the first to use *tale vocabolo*, for, to cite but one instance, writing in 1330, Friar Jordanus had already described the eastern part of the Euxine under the name of 'the Moorish Sea.' In Asia the Aral is clearly laid down at some distance to the east of the Caspian, which last Leardo calls the Sea of Baku—'Mar Dabachu'—while the Aral has the name 'Corasā' given to it, which must stand either for Khurasān or Khwārizm. Near the Aral is placed the city of 'Norgancia,' evidently (though Professor Crivellari does not mention it) intended for Urganj or Jurjāniyah, the older capital of Khwārizm, prior to Khivah. The continent of Africa is, of course, the most fanciful part of the planisphere, the southern end being painted red, and here Leardo has written, *Dixerto dexabitado p chaldo e serpenti*. Passing on to note a hitherto undescribed *portolano* drawn by Jaume Ollives of Majorca, dated 1552, Professor Crivellari mentions some other charts that he found, and concludes his pamphlet by describing the atlas of nine maps drawn by Giacomo Scotto of Genoa in 1592. Here too a facsimile is given of the first sheet, showing the land hemisphere of the three older continents with the two Americas. North America is, of course, drawn as forming part of eastern Asia, but Africa and South America are both most exactly delineated, and the atlas forms an interesting commentary on the progress of geography made during the hundred and fifty years from the time of Leardo aforesaid to the close of the century following the death of Columbus.

G. LE S.

*Isabella d' Este, Marchioness of Mantua (1474-1539): a Study of the Renaissance*, by Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady) (2 vols. London: John Murray, 1903), gives a pleasant account of one of the most fascinating and individual characters of that age of individualism, the Italian Renaissance. It will be welcome to all who enjoyed her former study of Beatrice d' Este. The writer does not pretend to original research, and acknowledges in her preface that her materials are largely drawn from the work of Dr. Luzio and Signor Regnier in various Italian articles and pamphlets. But she makes the result of their studies accessible to general English readers, and, since she is able to popularise so important a subject, and to interest in it the public who are not specialists, her work will not be wasted. There are a few slips in dates and facts which need not be quoted, but perhaps the main defect in the book is that it gives too rose-coloured a view of the social life of the age. The author does not disguise Isabella's personal failings, especially her acquisitiveness, which amounted to greed; but one would hardly realise from the perusal of these pages the corruption and cruelty of society in Isabella's lifetime.

K. D. V.

Mr. E. Belfort Bax's *Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists* (London: Sonnenschein, 1903) is his final contribution to the history of the *Social Side of the*

*Reformation in Germany*, though it is not quite clear why the revolution in Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns and their *Grafenfehde* should not come under that designation. The tone of the book may be inferred from the assertion (p. 137) that 'now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the first time in history has the opposition to the interests of the propertied classes acquired sufficient strength and consistency to make headway against the distortion of history designed to pander to their passions.' But it is only fair to say that the irrelevant assertion of his own economic views is less intrusive in this than in Mr. Bax's previous volumes, notwithstanding that he is unable to resist the temptation of once more dragging in the Paris commune (p. 320) as an illustration of the distortion of history; and with Mr. Bax's general view of the significance of the Anabaptist movement we are disposed to agree. He does not pretend to original research, but the German works on which this book is based are little known in England, and Mr. Bax performs a useful function in popularising the labours of others. We are not quite convinced of the soundness of Mr. Bax's acquaintance with German history apart from its social side. Some reference, for instance, should have been made to the Württemberg war of 1534 as a contributory cause to the protracted duration of the siege of Münster, and there are several misconceptions embodied in the statement (p. 111) that the 'power of the extinct house of Burgundy' in the Netherlands had 'reverted to the Hapsburgs, who held the seventeen provinces under their centralised sway as part of the Spanish monarchy.' And is the phrase 'prince bishop of Cleves' (p. 256) intended to imply that the Duke of Cleves was *summus episcopus* like the elector of Brandenburg?

A. F. P.

Vol. xi. part 2 of the *Publications of the Thoresby Society* contains a document from Thoresby's collection which is of great interest to military historians. This is 'An Accompt of Contingencies disbursed since December 1646 by Warrants from His Excellency the Lord General Fairfax,' drawn up by Edward Grosvenor, quartermaster-general of the foot in Fairfax's army. The disbursements are of a miscellaneous character. Grosvenor had nothing to do with the regular pay of the troops, which was entirely in other hands. He was simply charged to pay for special services of various kinds which had to be defrayed out of the fund for contingencies at the disposal of the commander-in-chief. The custom was to allow every commanding general so much a month for these purposes. In the present account there are certain items, such as the payment of 1,617*l.* to Colonels Butler and Fincher for disbanding their troops, which should properly have been defrayed from other funds, but most of the items are of the sort one would expect to find in such a statement. Some are of practical interest, such as the payment to Cornet Joyce 'for extra charges' in July 1647, which may be connected with his seizure of the king, or for seizing the artillery train at Oxford. Many items are for gifts to maimed soldiers, some for the burial of soldiers, others to replace lost horses; and guides and messengers are frequently mentioned. A good deal comparatively went in charity. 'To a poore man' and 'to a poore woman' are common entries; in some cases it is specified that the recipient of the money had suffered either through the accidents of war or the misconduct of the soldiers. More remarkable

still are a number of disbursements for literary services. There are payments also to the printers of the 'Agreement of the People' and other declarations issued by the army. Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* was evidently considered an official publication, for the printer, Partridge, received 150*l.* to compensate him for the losses he sustained by it (p. 140). Mr. Watts, a divine who translated Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, appears here as the recipient of a gratuity of 1*l.*, apparently as charity (p. 158). It is evident that these accounts were not very critically audited. Appended is 'An Accompt of Monies disbursed out of Contingencies for the Carrying on the Workes before Colchester in the Yeare 1648.' From the document it appears that the soldiers of the New Model were regularly paid so much per yard for the entrenchments constructed by them: it was not considered part of their ordinary duty. The only other document of historical interest in this volume consists of the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of Methley for 1681-1705. C. H. F.

The new edition of the *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656*, by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, in four volumes (London: Longmans, 1903), contains, in addition to the three volumes of the original work, a new chapter (xlix.) which has already been published separately. (See *ante*, vol. xviii. p. 611.) As the first of the original three volumes of the history was twice reprinted, it was throughout carefully corrected by its author. In an appendix to the third volume of the original issue he also added some supplementary notes to vol. ii., which have now been inserted in their proper place in the text. Some marginal corrections made in the author's own copy have also been incorporated. Mr. Firth, whose name is appended to the preface, has confined himself to adding a few notes on questions of detail where some small correction was necessary, and these notes are distinguished by square brackets (*e.g.* i. 53; iv. 12, 151, 164). Moreover, as Mr. Gardiner himself edited for the Navy Records Society two volumes of documents relating to the Dutch war, which he had previously utilised in his chapters on that subject, it was thought well to give references to the printed volumes as well as to the manuscripts in the footnotes. For similar reasons references have sometimes been added to different books and collections of documents relating to the period which have seen the light since the first edition of Mr. Gardiner's book appeared. Mrs. Gardiner has constructed an excellent index to the whole four volumes, which will be of great service to students. D.

In *Parliamentary England* in the series called 'The Story of the Nations' (London: Unwin, 1903) Mr. Edward Jenks essays to give a popular account of the evolution of the cabinet system. He writes fluently and pleasantly, and with real interest in his subject, but his readiness too often leads him to obscure the real points with a mass of general narrative, and his interest inclines him towards a very one-sided and partisan view of his whole theme. Moreover he writes with such haste that he takes far too little trouble to secure accuracy of detail or relevancy and proportion of statement. Amidst all the clearness of the exposition of parts of the subject, he does not make the leading lines of development intelligible, and indeed hardly seems to understand them

himself. Thus his view of Charles II or George III is not only that of a mere partisan, but goes clearly against the best modern lights on the subject. His list of authorities is neither accurate nor complete. Altogether the book, though possessing some real merits, cannot be regarded as satisfactory or scientific. E.

Mr. J. Macbeth Forbes's *Jacobite Gleanings from State Manuscripts* (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1903) contains many interesting details regarding some of the lesser characters who followed Prince Charles's fortunes, but can hardly be regarded as an important contribution to its branch of Jacobite literature. The term 'state manuscripts' is of very vague import, and Mr. Forbes would have done well to indicate precisely the sources of his information. An attempt to collate it with the already considerable amount of material published upon the Jacobite trials and prisoners might also have been made, and an index should certainly have been provided. C. S. T.

The first part of the *Story of General Bacon* (London : Methuen, 1903) has not much interest. The biographer, Mr. A. J. Boger, gives a sketch of the Peninsular war and Waterloo, which is hardly wanted, but not those personal touches which we expect in memoirs to illustrate well-known periods. In the other chapters—namely, on the civil war in Portugal—there is some interest, for Bacon raised a regiment of lancers for Queen Maria and met with the usual ingratitude. F.

Much research within a small compass is contained in Mr. F. L. Paxson's *The Independence of the South American Republics* (Philadelphia : Ferris & Leach, 1903). It is based for the most part upon unpublished original manuscripts. A careful account of the South American wars of liberation leads to an investigation of the South American policies of the United States and of Great Britain. It is possible that Mr. Paxson does not quite appreciate the individual leanings of George Canning towards liberalism in international relations, but he is doubtless right in emphasising that commercial considerations were the governing factor in influencing British policy, and that Canning's hyperbole about calling a new world, &c., must be taken with a considerable grain of salt. H. E. E.

Although their historical value is small, the letters published under the title of *Paris in '48*, by Baroness Bonde, *née* Robinson (London : John Murray, 1903), are good reading. They give a lively idea of the feelings and experiences during 1848 of English residents in Paris who were in touch with French society. The writer was evidently an intelligent, observant, and spirited young woman ; she would use her eyes and her ears, and the account of what she herself saw is always interesting and sometimes suggestive, yet it is remarkable how little she knew of what was going on around her. We are told that her letters, written to a friend in London, were eagerly read by prominent politicians ; and this is not incredible to any one who has turned over the rubbish for which in past times the Foreign Office thought it worth while to pay its agents. Miss Robinson had no sympathy for Louis Philippe. She denies to him even the quality of which he had given many conspicuous proofs—courage.



She speaks of the 'fatal course of concession' when there were 100,000 regular troops in Paris. As a matter of fact Bugeaud could dispose of about 16,000 trustworthy men. That she should appreciate the difficulties or the merits of the Provisional Government is not to be expected. Ledru Rollin is to her the incarnation of all evil, and the long since disproved imputations on his integrity are readily accepted. Her judgment of men and measures is that of the prejudiced and narrow circle in which she lived, and therefore for the most part worthless. There are indications that she would have done better to trust her own mother wit. She foretells (p. 35) a conflict between the people and the bourgeoisie and 'the return to something absolute, whether military or legitimate,' but believes that of all the pretenders the Orleanists have least chance; *on revient sur la haine, jamais sur le mépris.* G.

In spite of its ample title Signor Ernesto Ovidi's *Roma e i Romani* (Roma: Roux e Viarengo, 1903) is only concerned with the military history of papal and republican Rome in the years 1848, 1849. The subject is, in fact, very narrow and rarely inspiring. One-third of the book consists of *Documenti* of very unequal value, presented in no order of date or writers, and untabulated. Signor Ovidi's acquaintance with the period does not apparently extend beyond the Italian authors, and his documents are not all of them heretofore unpublished, as he may find by consulting Signor Giovagnoli's *Ciceruacchio e Don Pirlone*. Nevertheless the work will be indispensable for any student investigating this particular subject; it comes to a premature close at the end of 1848, and is apparently, like too many Italian books, to be left incomplete. R. M. J.

The third edition of *India, its Administration and Progress*, by Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I. (London: Macmillan, 1903), has lately appeared. No one has better claim to be heard on India than the distinguished author of this volume, whose knowledge of the country began in 1844, and who with his brother, General Sir Richard Strachey, joint author of a smaller book out of which the present one grew, has filled almost every important office of state from Acting Viceroy downwards. In this edition the book has been enlarged from the series of lectures, delivered at Cambridge, out of which the first edition (1888) originated, and now forms a comprehensive account of India as it is, written to enlighten the ordinary Englishman. It has been brought thoroughly up to date, the results of the census of 1901 and the last commissions on plague and famine, land revenue, and education being incorporated; and such incidents as the Tilak prosecution, the settlement of the assigned districts in Berar, and even the recent Durbar and abdication of Holkar—the last of which took place only three months before the book was published—find mention. It is right and natural that Sir John Strachey should give us the official view of the Indian government, albeit coloured in some measure by his own personal opinions in the days when he held office under the queen; as, for instance, when with the fervour of a convinced free-trader he takes exception to the customs tariff instituted in a later day. He deals strongly with the false history which James Mill perversely manufactured to the detraction of his countrymen, and has himself disposed of one of the calumnies to which Macaulay gave unhappy

vitality. To the polemics favoured by a certain school of English politicians, which Sir John Strachey dismisses with impatience, an antidote may be found in this book and in the secretary of state's Decennial Report on the moral and material progress of India, which has just been issued for 1902-3. But, lest these should be thought biased, Sir John Strachey commends his readers for corroboration of his statements to the impartial testimony of St. Harmand and M. Chailley-Bert; to which may be added the discriminating commendations uttered even more recently by M. Jules Bois, who set out with no inclination in favour of the government of India, and remained to praise. P. S. A.

*La Transformation de l'Égypte*, by M. Albert Métin ('Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.' Paris: Alcan, 1903), contains a popular sketch of Egypt under the British, inspired by so sincere a desire to promote a better understanding between the writer's nationality and our own that one could wish its acute and suggestive studies of the rival temperaments and methods had a sounder background of local knowledge. But an author must both have read up his Egypt and studied on the spot very superficially who can say that the Fayum is watered *par un bras de fleuve qui se détache au pied du promontoire dominé par la pyramide de Sakkarah* (read *Hawara*, and still the expression is hopelessly erroneous), and relate as a typical event of a day spent with a provincial *mudir* (at Minieh?) the flogging of an Egyptian soldier by order of the British military authority. In short M. Métin's knowledge of Egypt is that of a tourist visiting the country for the first time without knowledge of its language. He has nothing to say about the political, financial, or economic problems that has not been said often before, but his reflexions on British imperial methods are both interesting and instructive. H.

Mr. C. H. Lincoln has compiled *A Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (1903). These were part of the well-known Peter Force Collection, and were used by Col. Sherburne in his *Life of John Paul Jones*. They deal with the years 1776-8. In 1788 we find the empress Catherine of Russia 'persuaded that the American Revolution cannot fail to bring about others and to influence every other government.' From the same library is issued *A List of Lincolniana*, consisting first of writings of Abraham Lincoln and secondly of writings relating to him. The list does not purport to be a complete bibliography but an inventory of works in the library.

H. E. E.

We welcome the appearance of a friendly rival in the *Scottish Historical Review* (Glasgow: MacLehose), under which title a new series of the *Scottish Antiquary* is begun on an enlarged plan. It takes in a wider sphere than our Review: archæology, folklore, philology, and literature, as well as history in the stricter sense, are all included; and it enjoys the undeniable advantage of being illustrated. The first number, published in October, is excellent; nothing in it falls below a high standard, and there is much that will be read with pleasure even by those who have no special interest in Scottish history. K.

## *Notices of Periodical Publications*

[Contributions to these Notices, whether regular or occasional, are invited. They should be drawn up on the pattern of those printed below, and addressed to the Editor, at Oxford, by the first week in March, June, September, and December.]

*Acquisitions of the department of manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1900-1902*: by H. OMONT, continued.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.

*The authorship of the Peregrinatio Silviæ ad Loca sancta*: by M. FÉROTIN [who attributes it to the Spanish virgin Etheria, whose Life, written in the seventh century by the monk Valerius, he prints from a manuscript in the Escurial].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct.

*St. Germanus of Auxerre*: by W. LEVISON [who maintains the *Vita* represented by the text of Mombricitus to be really the work of Constantius of Lyons, c. 480, examines its historical bearing, and traces its use by early mediæval writers; and describes the enlarged form, which was made at Auxerre in the ninth century and is printed by Surius and the Bollandists; with observations on Heiric and the *Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium*, and on the transmission of the *Vita* in the British Isles].—N. Arch. xxix. 1.

*Theodorus Lector*: by F. DIEKAMP [who prints from three manuscripts the extracts from his lost History contained in the treatise on the contest between the Latin and Greek churches attributed to Nicetas, chartophylax of Nicaea (Mai, *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, vi. ii. 446)].—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 3.

*The oldest charters of Corbie*: by B. KRUSCH [who restates, against L. Levillain, his arguments against the genuineness of the three diplomas of Chlotar III and Theodoric III, but relents in favour of the charter of exemption granted by bishop Berthefrid of Amiens, which M. Levillain considers to be interpolated].—N. Arch. xxix. 1.

*The earliest Life of St. Richarius (Riquier)*: by B. KRUSCH [who admits the Avranches text edited by A. Poncelet to represent the Life which was afterwards redacted by Alcuin, but holds it to belong not to the seventh but to the middle of the eighth century].—N. Arch. xxix. 1.

*Remarks on E. Dümmler's edition of the Letters of Lupus, abbat of Ferrières*: by L. LEVILLAIN [chiefly on the dating of the letters].—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.

*Notes on mediæval Latin authors* [John Scotus, Rabanus Maurus, Bernard Silvester (or Silvestris) of Tours, Gunther, Gautier de Châtillon (or de l'Isle), Alain de l'Isle, and Joannes de Garlandia]: by J. E. SANDYS [chiefly on their knowledge of classical writers].—Hermathena, 29.

*The date of the Visio Karoli Tertii*: by R. POUPARDIN [who maintains that it was composed soon after the emperor's death].—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.

*Florentine texts of the Life of St. Xenophon and his companions* [tenth and fourteenth centuries]: printed by A. GALANTE.—Anal. Bolland. xxii. 4. Oct.

*The translation and miracles of St. Catharine*: printed, from a Rouen version traceable to the eleventh century, by A. PONCELET.—Anal. Bolland. xxii. 4. Oct.

*The Greek Acts of SS. Jonas and Barachisius*: printed from a Venice manuscript [c. 1100] by H. DELEHAYE.—Anal. Bolland. xxii. 4. Oct.

*On Echebert's Vita Willibrordi*: by W. LEVISON. [The work is a redaction of Alcuin's

- Life, written in the twelfth century, not later than 1173].—N. Arch. xxix. 1.—Cf. Anal. Bolland. xxii. 4. *Oct.*
- A gloss to the Lex Visigothorum*: printed by B. VON BONIN. [It is found in a Skokloster manuscript, and was written between the last years of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.]—N. Arch. xxix. 1.
- Grant by Philip Augustus, at the request of the crusaders and clergy assembled at the interview between him and king John, of one fortieth of his revenues for one year for the aid of the Holy Land* [June 1201]: printed by H. F. DELABORDE [who restores the entire text with the correct date, in place of 1214, from two misplaced leaves in the register, now in the Vatican library].—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.
- A Summa Dictaminis in a Merseburg manuscript* [now at Dresden]: by M. MANITTIUS. Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxiv. 4.
- Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend*.—Church Qu. Rev. 113. *Oct.*
- A Book of Hours of Jacqueline of Bavaria, countess of Holland* [containing verses of historical interest]: by L. DELISLE.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.
- On Aeneas Sylvius' continuation of the Liber Augustalis of Benvenuto Rambaldi*: by A. BERNOULLI [who notes its existence in a Basel manuscript].—N. Arch. xxix. 1.
- The Book of Hours of the duke of Berry* [begun for duke John and finished after 1485]: by P. DURRIEU.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.
- Documents relating to the Jews* [1648-1680]: printed by C. H. FIRTH. [They relate to the question of the re-settlement in England and to the condition of the Jews in Tangier].—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- Two lives of the emperor Charles V*: by E. F. HENDERSON [comparing Robertson's work with that of E. Armstrong].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 1. *Oct.*
- On the German military memoirs of the time of the war of liberation, and especially of the year 1815*: by J. VON PELUGK-HARTTUNG [who points out contradictions and exaggerations].—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 3.
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- The excavations at Knossos*: by A. ROERSCH.—Rev. génér. 1903. 9.
- Pergamum*: by M. ZECH [on recent excavations].—Rev. génér. 1903. 6.
- Bankers and brokers in ancient Rome*: by R. LANGIANI.—Monthly Rev. 37. *Oct.*
- The emperor Augustus*: by E. MEYER.—Hist. Zft. xci. 3.
- The war of Bar Kochba and the Jewish accounts concerning it*: by A. BÜCHLER.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 61. *Oct.*
- Manes and Manicheism*: by V. ERMONT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. *Oct.*
- The theory of F. Leo on the 'capitatio plebeia'*: by F. THIBAUT [who denies the existence of a poll-tax in the Roman empire after the reforms of Constantine].—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 4.
- Medieval hospitals*: by ELIZABETH SPEAKMAN.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 48. *Oct.*
- The shilling of the early Teutonic laws and the wergeld*: by B. HILLIGER, concluded. Vierteljahrschr. vi. 4.
- St. Columban and the foundation of Irish monasteries in Brie in the seventh century*: by G. BONET-MAURY.—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 2. *Nov.*
- The schools of the palace in Merovingian times*: by A. S. WILDE [who holds that the training in liberal arts was more usual than is admitted by E. Vacandard].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. *Oct.*
- Loans to foreign prelates at the Roman curia in the thirteenth century*: by A. GOTTLÖB [who analyses the relation of the popes to these loans].—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 3.
- The imperialism of Dante*.—Church Qu. Rev. 113. *Oct.*
- The hundred years' war at the death of Benedict XII; the intervention of the cardinals before the conclave, and of Clement VI before his coronation* [25 April-19 May 1342]: by E. DÉPREZ, with documents.—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 1. *Sept.*
- The Bohemians at the council of Constance*: by J. FIKRLE, continued.—Český Čas. Histor. *Nov.*
- Diplomatic relations between Moscow and Rome in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*. Russk. Star. *Oct., Nov.*

- Charles II and the scheme for reunion with Rome*: by the rev. A. S. BARNES [who gives an account of the journey of Richard Bellings to Rome, Oct. 1662, ostensibly to ask for the cardinal's hat for the abbé Aubigny, but holding secret orders to consult with the pope on the subject of reunion; with documents quoted vaguely from 'the French and Italian Records'].—Monthly Rev. 39. Dec.
- The Jews of Moldavia at the beginning of the eighteenth century*: by E. SCHWARZFELD. Jew. Qu. Rev. 61. Oct.
- Marie Thérèse of France* [daughter of Louis XVI] at Vienna [1796-1799], from unpublished letters: by baron A. DE MARICOURT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct.
- The conference of London* [1830-1831]: by P. POUCKET [specially on the part played by Talleyrand].—Rev. génér. 1903. 5.
- The Turkish emissaries in Russia before the war of 1877*: by P. YUDIN. Russk. Star. Nov.
- France and the congregations* [a sketch of legislation in different centuries against the regular orders], with a note by the right rev. F. A. GASQUET.—Quart. Rev. 369. Oct.
- Leo XIII*: by the rev. W. BARRY.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 48. Oct.
- Historical synthesis*: by F. M. FLING [against the adoption by historians of sociological methods].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 1. Oct.

### France

- A residence of Judicael, king of Damnonia*: by F. LE LAY [who holds that the castle near Plumieux was not at Bodieuc, as A. de la Borderie thinks, but on the site of the present town of La Trinité-Porhoet].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 1.
- St. Leontius, commemorated in Périgord on 19 Nov.*: by L. CELIER [who thinks that he was perhaps the sixth-century bishop of Bordeaux, and rejects some modern legends connected with him].—Anal. Bolland. xxii. 4. Oct.
- Church and state in France from the ninth to the eleventh century*: by J. FLACH.—Rev. Hist. eccl. 1903. 3.
- Three forged or interpolated charters to the abbey of Marmoutier* [887, 912, 931]: by P. LÉVÊQUE. II: Appendix of documents.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 3, 4.
- The original text of the legend of the translation of the relics of St. Matthew to Brittany*: by J. LOTH [showing that Le Baud's tissue of absurdities on this subject is derived from a manuscript not composed before the second half of the tenth century, and recently published by *L'Echo paroissial* of Brest].—Ann. de Bretagne, xviii. 4.
- The Breton calendar of Rennes in the twelfth century*: by F. DUINE [Breton names in an unpublished Rennes calendar].—Ann. de Bretagne, xviii. 4.
- On the ancient corporations of artisans and merchants in the town of Rennes*: by A. RÉBILLON.—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 1 (continued from xviii. 1, 3).
- Cartulary of the abbey of Sainte-Croix at Quimperlé* [a second and revised edition of the Egerton MS. 2802]: by L. MAÎTRE and P. DE BERTHON.—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 1, and subsequent issues [published as a new volume of the *Bibliothèque Armoricaire-Bretonne*, an appendix to the *Annales*].
- A bishop of Dol in a medieval sermon*: by F. DUINE [a short account of the vices of Thébaud de Pouencé, bishop of Dol, who died in 1301, from a collection of sermon *exempla* for the use of preachers].—Ann. de Bretagne, xviii. 4.
- A trial for sorcery before the Inquisition at Tours*: by J. M. VIDAL [narrating the process of Hervé de Trévalloet before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Tours (1335-1337), and the evocation of the suit to the papal curia by Benedict XII, and printing in full four documents from the pope's register].—Ann. de Bretagne, xviii. 4.
- Fiscal measures in Brittany of the Avignon popes during the great schism*: by G. DE LESQUEN and G. MOLLAT [a list of arrears in the dioceses of Dol and Saint-Malo, published in *extenso* from the Vatican archives].—Ann. de Bretagne, xviii. 4 (continued from xviii. 2).
- The general and provincial estates and the abolition of aids at the beginning of the reign of Charles VI* [1380-1381]: by L. MIROT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct.

- Documents relating to the siege of Pontorson by Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick [1427]*: printed by P. FLAMENT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct.
- Joan of Arc*.—Church Qu. Rev. 113. Oct.
- Sieges of Lourdes during the wars of religion*: by IDA H. LAYARD.—Proc. Huguenot Soc. Lond. vii. 1.
- Industrial and commercial questions in the petitions of the city and guilds of Paris to the states-general of 1614*: by H. HAUSER.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 3.
- Gallicanism at the Sorbonne*: by A. CAUCHIE [from the correspondence of Bargellini, nuncio in France from 1668 to 1671].—Rev. Hist. eccl. 1903. 3.
- Huguenot corpses drawn on hurdles and cast into the sewer under Louis XIV*: by H. GELIN [who gives a catalogue with references to the evidence for each case].—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. lii. 5. Sept.
- The great winter and the famine of 1709*: by A. DE BOISLIBLE. II.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct. (continued from lxxiii. 2).
- Turgot and the six edicts*: by R. P. SHEPHERD [who gives a translation].—Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist. and Econ. xviii. 2.
- The rehabilitation of Lally-Tolendal [1778-1786]*: by H. CARRÉ.—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 1. Sept. (Cf. lxxxiii. 2. Nov.)
- Three speeches of Mirabeau*: by F. DREYFUS [a report on the MS. of the three speeches of 26 Sept. 1789 recently acquired by the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Mirabeau appears to have written the speeches after delivery from memory or from brief notes].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 6. Dec.
- The revolutionary press and the censorship of theatres under the Revolution*: by A. LIEBY.—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 4, 6. Oct., Dec.
- Fragments of the memoirs of Charles Engelbert Oelsner on the French revolution*: printed by A. STERN [May-July 1792].—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 2. Nov. (continued from lxxxii. 1).
- The financial policy of the Reign of Terror [1792]*: by R. DE WAHA.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 4.
- The Conventuel Prieur de la Marne on mission [in Brittany, 1793-4]*: by P. BLIARD. Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 1, 2. Sept., Nov.
- The arrest of Rabaut de Saint-Etienne*: by A. LONS [to show that Fabre d'Eglantine was not concerned with it].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 4. Oct.
- The mission of Albert in the Marne in the year III*: by S. BLUM [illustrating by documents drawn from the archives of Rheims the measures taken to punish the terrorists].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 3. Sept.
- Attempted negotiations between Condé and Moreau*: by G. CAUDRIILLIER [showing from the archives of Chantilly that Moreau did not accept royalist overtures in 1796].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 3. Sept.
- The Egyptian legend of Bonaparte*: by T. CHAUVIN.—Ann. Soc. Sciences Hainaut. 1903. 1.
- The concordat of 1801*: by D. M. O'CONNOR.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 48. Oct.
- The religion of Napoleon I*: by J. HOLLAND ROSE [who collects evidence of a belief in the utility of a religious sentiment and some personal inclination to theism, especially in his latter years].—Quart. Rev. 396. Oct.
- Cuvillier-Fleury and Jules Michelet, from unpublished letters [1835-1845]*: by G. MONOD.—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 1. Sept.

### Germany and Austria-Hungary

- The oldest Bohemian Chronicle*: by J. PERAŇ [on the date of the martyrdom of St. Ludmila].—Český Čas. Histor. Nov.
- On the authorities for Bohemian history [twelfth century]*: by V. NOVOTNÝ. I: The first continuator of Cosmas. II: The monk of Sazawa. III: The *Annales Gradicensis* and *Annales Opatowicensis*. IV: The lost *Annales Pragenses*.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxiv. 4.
- The origin of modern capitalism [in Germany]*: by G. VON BELOW [in connexion with W. Sombart's *Der moderne Kapitalismus*].—Hist. Zft. xci. 3.

- The budget of a medieval German city* [Augsburg]: by C. MEYER.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 4.
- The earliest statutes of Trent and their transmission in manuscript* [from the fourteenth century]: by H. VON VOLTELLINI.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. xcii. 1.
- The relations of the Bohemian humanist, Johann von Rabenstein, with Bavaria*: by H. WALTZER [who prints his oration at the opening of the university of Ingolstadt, 1472, and another oration, possibly his, addressed to Nicholas V].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxiv. 4.
- Bohemia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire* [1526-1901].—Edinb. Rev. 406. Oct.
- The establishment of the reformed community at Emmerich* [1568]: by W. MEIJER [who prints an eighteenth-century record of its history].—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 3.
- The ecclesiastical policy of Brandenburg on the Lower Rhine in the early part of the seventeenth century*: by F. SCHRÖDER.—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 3.
- The establishment of the imperial and royal archives* [1749-1762]: by G. WINTER.—Arch. Oesterreich. Gesch. xcii. 1.
- The reform movement in Judaism*: by D. PHILIPSON, continued.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 61. Oct.
- Austria and Prussia in March 1848*: by F. RACHFAHL. III.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vi. 4.
- Engelbert Mühlbacher* [†17 July 1903]: by M. TANGL.—N. Arch. xxix. 1.

### Great Britain and Ireland

- Writ of Gospatric* notifying the grant of lands in Cumberland [some time between 1067, or 1072, and 1092]: printed from a thirteenth-century copy at Lowther Castle by the rev. JAMES WILSON [who notes the interest of the document, which implies that the district dealt with was politically connected with Northumberland].—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.—Also by F. W. RAGG.—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- The rise of the Pophams*: by J. H. ROUND [who deals with Turstin, clerk to William de Pont de l'Arche, chamberlain of the exchequer under Henry I, and sheriff of Hampshire, and with his son Richard, likewise sheriff of that county, and fermor of Winchester. Both held lands of the honour of the church of Bosham].—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- Notes on the succession of the bishops of St. Andrews* [1093-1571]: by bishop J. DOWDEN. II: 1254-1401.—Journ. Theol. Stud. 17. Oct.
- Extracts relating to the Jews from the Calendar of Close Rolls, 1279-1288*: by Miss A. CORCOS.—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- History of the Domus Conversorum*, in London, from 1290 to 1891: by the rev. M. ADLER [who prints Henry III's foundation charter, 1232, and documents concerning the house from 1280 to the time of James I. The total number of converts received between 1330 and 1606 was thirty-eight men and ten women].—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- The barons' letter to the pope* [1301]: by J. H. ROUND [who gives a second instalment of their seals, with explanations].—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- Receipt by the rural dean of Rutland* [28 Sept. 1325] for 17½d. from the church of Oakham towards the maintenance of teachers of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee, in the university of Oxford [in accordance with the decree of the council of Vienne (cf. Denifle, *Chartul. Univ. Paris*, ii. no. 695). The levy was at the rate of a farthing in the pound].—Oxford Magazine, xxii. 4. Nov. 11.
- Illustrations of English costume in the early part of the fourteenth century* [reproduced from the Royal MS. 19 B. xv.]: by O. BARRON.—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- 'A Commemoration of the Life of William Offley [fl. 1517], bayliffe of Stafford and after alderman of the city of West Chester, and of the fortunate blessings of God in his children and posterity:' printed from a manuscript of the time of James I by G. C. BOWER.—Genealogist, xix.
- A description of Scotland written for Magdalene de Valois, queen of James V*: by A. H. MILLAR [who gives an account of the book, which was written not before

- 1537, and relates the circumstances of queen Magdalene's marriage and brief wedded life, correcting several current errors].—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.
- The writings of the English martyrs*: by the rev. J. H. POLLEN [on George Haydock, Robert Southwell, Arthur Bell, Thomas Belchiam, Henry Heath, Philip Howard earl of Arundel, William Howard lord Stafford, Richard Langhorn, Henry Walpole, William Ward, Richard White, John Ingram, John Thulis, and others].—Dublin Rev., N.S., 48. Oct.
- Lislebourg and Petit Leith*: by T. G. LAW. [The former name is used by French writers for Edinburgh, from 1540 to the end of the century, always by way of distinction from its port, 'Petit' Leith. It is suggested in a note that the word means Leith-le-Bourg].—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.
- Letter from sir William Stewart, Lyon herald, to the regent Moray* [5 Aug. 1569]: printed by A. LANG.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.
- Notes on the records of the French protestant churches in London, Norwich, Southampton, &c.*: by W. J. C. MOENS.—Proc. Huguenot Soc. Lond. vii. 1.
- Joachim Gause and his mining operations in England* [1581]: by I. ABRAHAMS.—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- The will of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex* [26 July 1591].—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- The failure of the Humble Petition and Advice*: by R. C. H. CATTERALL [who points out in detail the defects of the constitution on which the second protectorate was based, showing that its failure to work was largely due to the impossibility of erecting a satisfactory second chamber, and that the Protector finally accepted the plan of reviving monarchy as the best solution of the difficulty. This valuable article is based in part on unpublished materials].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. i. Oct.
- The Lives of authors*: by W. RALEIGH [specially on Izaak Walton, John Aubrey, Anthony à Wood, Robert Shiels, and Samuel Johnson].—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.
- John Dury and the English Jews*: by the rev. S. LEVY.—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- The status of the Jews in England after the re-settlement*: by L. WOLF [with documents, 1659-1680].—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- The French protestants in London and the collections made for their relief* [from the records of the city]: by G. B. BEMAN [with an appendix of documents from various manuscript sources].—Proc. Huguenot Soc. Lond. vii. 1.
- The journey of Gédéon Bonnivert to Ireland* [1690]: printed from the Sloane MS. 1033, by Mrs. O. BARRON. [Bonnivert describes the battle of the Boyne, at which he was present].—The Ancestor, 7. Oct.
- Bernard de Mandeville*: by A. SCHATZ [an investigation of the origins of economic liberalism].—Vierteljahrscr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. i. 4.
- The position of the Roman catholics in Scotland in 1715*: by the hon. J. R. ERSKINE. Dublin Rev., N.S., 48. Oct.
- Welsh Methodism*: its origin and growth.—Church Qu. Rev. 113. Oct.
- The Emmet insurrection*: Edinb. Rev. 406. Oct.
- Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmith and the admission of the Jews of England to parliament*: by I. ABRAHAMS [with correspondence, &c., 1823-1841].—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.
- The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*.—Quart. Rev. 369. Oct.
- Gladstone as a foreign minister*: by E. T. COOK.—Monthly Rev. 38. Nov.
- Lord Salisbury* [†23 Aug. 1903].—Monthly Rev. 37. Oct.
- Corrections of errors in John Hill Burton's History of Scotland*: by W. L. MATHIESON.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 1. Oct.

### Italy

(Including SAN MARINO)

- The papal bulls of the *Archivio diplomatico* of Florence: by P. KEHR [who gives indices arranged (1) according to *provenance*, (2) in order of chronology, 1013 to 1197].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 3.
- The Greek monasteries in South Italy*: by the rev. K. LAKE. III: The policy of the Normans towards the Greek monasteries, with outlines of the history of those of St. Elias of Carbo, St. Nicholas of Casola, and St. Mary Hodegitria at Rossano; the decadence of the Basilian monasteries.—Journ. Theol. Stud. 17. Oct.



- The list of the dukes of Naples*: by P. FEDELE [from the MS. 529 in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, written c. 1200. The text is here printed from 518 to 948-9, and a facsimile of the manuscript is given].—Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 3.
- On the lost Greater Chronicle of Sicard of Cremona*: by O. HOLDER-EGGER.—N. Arch. xxix. 1.
- Studies on the early constitution of Florence*: by P. SANTINI [continued to 1239, relating chiefly to the growing importance of the Arts in the constitution of the commune].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 3.
- A sirventes of 1268 against the church and Charles of Anjou* [by a Genoese, Caleca Panzá]: by R. STERNFELD and O. SCHULTZ-GORA.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxiv. 4.
- The Jews at Vigevano in the fifteenth century*: by F. FOSSATI [illustrating the great liberality of their treatment in a Lombard commune].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxix.
- Unpublished documents on Carmagnola* [relating to his health and his visits to the baths of the Sieneese]: by A. BATTISTELLA.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxix.
- The naval battle of Rapallo between Venetians and Genoese* [27 August 1431]: by G. CAPPELLINI.—N. Arch. Ven., N.S., 11.
- A senator of Rome in 1456*: by A. CAPPELLI [on Pietro de' Tebaldeschi da Norcia], with two letters of interest relating to the office of senator under Calixtus III. Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxix.
- Forty two letters of Pius II relating to the war of Neapolitan succession*: by A. RATTI. Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxviii.
- The diplomatic opposition of Venice to the aims of Sixtus IV*: by E. PRIVA, concluded. N. Arch. Ven., N.S., 11.
- The pontificate of Pius III according to contemporary sources*: by P. PICCOLOMINI [who gives a long extract from the unpublished *Historiae Senenses* of Tizio, and prints documents from the archives of Siena].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 3.
- Fragments relating to San Marino and Montefeltro*: by AMY A. BERNARDI [a mission of Baldassare Castiglione sent to San Marino in 1509 by the duchess Elisabetta, and various correspondence with the republic].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 3.
- A germanising movement in Italian monasteries*; Subiaco and Farfa in the sixteenth century: by J. SCHMIDLIN III [with documents, 1514-1535].—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 3.
- On the life and engagements of Andrea Alciato*: by O. GIARDINI [with unpublished letters of Alciato at Basle].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxviii.
- The earliest Index of the inquisition at Venice*: by R. L. POOLE [who describes a Bodleian copy of the book printed in 1554, which has been hitherto supposed to have totally disappeared].—Journ. Theol. Stud. 17. Oct.
- Eight pontificates of the sixteenth century*: illustrated from unpublished correspondence in the Trivulzian library: by E. MOTTA [chiefly on the conclaves from Paul IV to Innocent IX].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxviii.
- The kingdom of Naples in the time of Charles of Bourbon*: by M. SCHIPA, continued. Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 3.
- Benedict XIV and the duchies of Parma and Piacenza* [from the unpublished correspondence between the pope and cardinal de Tencin, archbishop of Lyons]: by P. A. KIRSCH [tracing the pope's negotiations for the acquisition of the duchies down to the final disappointment of his project at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle].—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 3.
- Unpublished letters of Bernardo Tanucci to Ferdinando Galiani* [Jan.—June 1763]; printed by F. NICOLINI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 3.
- The end of the Neapolitan republic*: by H. HUEFFER. I. [Sacchinelli's account of the events in June 1799 is subjected to a damaging criticism, but no final judgment is passed on the responsibility for the alleged breach of faith with regard to the capitulation.].—Rev. hist. lxxxiii. 2. Nov.
- Count Antonio Durini* [1770-1850], podestà of Milan [i.e. head of the municipal government, 1807-15 and 1826-37], from unpublished family documents: by G. B. MARCHESI.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xxxix.

### Netherlands and Belgium

- The only known letter of James van Artevelde* [asking Edward III for aid, 1344].—Bull. Soc. hist. Gand. 1903. 2.
- A recently discovered baptist martyrology* [1577]: by F. PIJPER.—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 3.
- The reformed church in its contest about civil marriage*: by L. KNAPPERT.—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 3.
- A letter of Episcopius* [1626]: printed by B. TIDEMANN, Jzn.—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 3.
- The Jews of Amsterdam in 1655* [documents giving a list of those who had relations with Spain, and of their correspondents in that country].—Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. iv.

### Russia

- The tower of Marina Mnizsek* [the Polish wife of the false Demetrius]: by G. SINYUKHAEV.—Russk. Star. Sept.
- Count K. Ramuzovski* [the favourite of the empress Elizabeth] at *Baturin*: by I. INOZEMTSEV.—Istorich. Vestnik. Nov.
- The grand duchess Alexandra Pavlovna* [daughter of Paul, betrothed to Gustavus IV of Sweden]: by E. STUDENSKAYA.—Istorich. Vestnik. Oct.
- Russia at the beginning of the nineteenth century*: by N. DUBOVIN.—Russk. Star. Nov.
- Notes on the private life of Suworov*: by P. YUDIN.—Istorich. Vestnik. Oct.
- The insurrection in Daghestan in 1877*: by A. ANDRÉEV [from the account of an eye-witness].—Istorich. Vestnik. Nov.
- The historical associations of Chernigov*: by V. POLIAKOV.—Istorich. Vestnik. Nov.

### America and Colonies

- Christopher Columbus and the discovery of America* [containing a severe examination of some points in J. B. Thacher's new book].—Edinb. Rev. 406. Oct.
- The company of husbandmen, or of the plough* [formed, probably in London, for the colonisation of New England, about 1629]: by V. C. SANBORN, with documents.—Genealogist, xix.
- The administration of the French East Indian Company* [1665-1684], from unpublished documents: by G. SAINT-YVES and J. CHAVANON.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxiv. 2. Oct.
- The antecedents of the Declaration of Independence*: by J. SULLIVAN and W. A. DUNNING [who trace the principles of the Declaration through Protagoras, the Stoics, Cicero, the Roman jurists of the Early Empire, St. Augustine, the churchmen of the Middle Ages, Wycliffe, and Nicolas of Cusa. The expression 'an aid of right ought to be' is traced through Swift, the Bill of Rights, a House of Commons resolution in 1621, and Whitgift back to Boniface VIII in 1300].—Amer. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1902, i. 65-85.
- Josiah Tucker*: by W. E. CLARK [on his position in economic history, with copious quotations from his writings and a full bibliography].—Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist. and Econ., xix. 1.
- The administration of Iowa*; a study in centralisation: by H. M. BOWMAN [dealing with public education, charities and corrections, public health and safety, and public finance].—Columbia Univ. Studies in Hist. and Econ., xviii. 1.

# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Early Norman Castles of England*

### PART I.

IT is the object of this paper to put together in a compendious form such trustworthy information as we possess concerning the castles built in England by the Norman conquerors during the eleventh century, and to interpret this information in the light of a theory entirely opposed to that which, to judge from English archæological literature, is now generally current among modern writers on that subject. The theory here maintained is not, indeed, a new one; it was held by Sir Henry Ellis, and has more recently been defended, in a modified form, by Mr. J. H. Round. It has been so fully expounded elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that it is only necessary here to summarise briefly the arguments in its favour. The theory is that with very few exceptions the castles first built by the Normans in England were not of stone, but were hillocks of earth, generally round, sometimes oval, and occasionally square, surrounded by a ditch, and crowned by a wooden stockade and a wooden tower. Attached to these citadels were base courts, or *baileys*, surrounded by a ditch with a bank both on the scarp and counterscarp, the bank on the counterscarp being continued so as to encircle the ditch of the hillock, or *motte*. The hillock was in most cases artificial, but where a natural hill or rock would serve the purpose it was

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O, p. 328; an article by Mr. George Neilson on 'The Motes in Norman Scotland,' in the *Scottish Review* for 1898; and a paper on 'Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman Castles,' by the present writer, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxxiv. See also a recent paper by Mr. Round on 'The Castles of the Conquest,' *Archæologia*, vol. lviii.

scarped by art into the required shape. The evidence for this theory may be arranged under three heads—

1. Negative: the assurance of Ordericus Vitalis that the Saxons did not construct castles,<sup>2</sup> and the absence of any reference to castles in the Anglo-Saxon historians, except in connexion with Normans.<sup>3</sup>

2. Inferential: (a) the distribution of these ancient castles, which are common throughout Normandy, England, Wales,<sup>4</sup> and the Norman spheres of influence in Scotland, Ireland, and Italy;<sup>5</sup> (b) the nature of these fortifications, small in area, quickly and cheaply constructed, and placed in situations indicating the invader's distrust of his neighbours; such forts were exactly suited to the needs of the Normans in these islands, and belong to a type common in the feudal period: (c) the word *motte*, which is the only word known for hillocks of the kind described, is of Norman-French origin.<sup>6</sup>

3. Positive: in that the Bayeux tapestry, that most valuable piece of contemporary evidence, shows us the Normans in the very act of constructing a castle of this kind at Hastings, and gives us pictures of four similar ones in Normandy and Brittany; while the use of the words *motte* and *mota* in Anglo-Norman literature and documents shows that the *motte* was a recognised institution in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even later.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 'Munitiones enim (quas castella Galli nuncupant) Anglicis provinciis paucissimae fuerant; et ob hoc Angli, licet bellicosi fuerint et audaces, ad resistendum tamen inimicis extiterant debiliores.' *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 184 (Le Prévost's edition).

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, Appendix O, for remarks on the word *castellum*, which, as he shows, was used before the Conquest (and even afterwards) with its original meaning of a *little castrum* and applied to a town. No one can read the Anglo-Saxon charters without coming to a similar conclusion. A charter of Archbishop Oswald, for example, in 989, refers to the 'monasterio Sanctae Mariae in Wiogorna castello,' where *castellum* is clearly the equivalent of *caestre* (Heming's *Cartularium*, i. 169).

<sup>4</sup> The great majority of the Welsh mottes must be the work of the Normans, but it must remain doubtful, until further investigation, whether those in the interior of the country are Welsh imitations of the Norman type or are indications of a Norman advance earlier than has hitherto been suspected: see Morgan's *Survey of West Gower*.

<sup>5</sup> For Scotland see Mr. Neilson's paper in the *Scottish Review*, 1898; for Ireland, Wright's *Louthiana*; for Italy, Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, ii. 504. In Syria also the ground-plans of several of the Frank fortresses given in Rey's *Architecture Militaire des Croisés* show the *motte* and bailey plan.

<sup>6</sup> The word *motte* will be used in this paper to avoid the confusion with *moot* which is caused by using *note*, the word which is still in use in Scotland for hillocks of this kind.

<sup>7</sup> In the paper referred to in note 1 the writer endeavoured to show the futility of the late Mr. G. T. Clark's contention that these mounds were called *burhs* by the Anglo-Saxons. It is strange that Mr. Clark was never challenged to produce a single instance from Anglo-Saxon literature where the word *burh* was clearly used in this sense. An examination of the *burhs* built by Edward and Ethelfleda shows that we never find a moated mound on these sites unless a Norman castle-builder has been at work there subsequently. The early Latin chroniclers generally translate the *burh* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as *urbs*.

A word should be said here about the claim which is sometimes made for the Danes as authors of these mottes. Let us admit at once that, as these earthworks are clearly the work of invaders settling in a hostile country, the claim of the Danes comes only second to that of the Normans. But against this we have to set the fact that these fortifications were *castles*—that is, private fortifications—and we have no evidence that the Danes built castles any more than the Saxons; and though the subject of Danish fortification in England has received far too little attention, those which have been investigated appear to have been of an entirely different character. They were either *hithes*—that is, large embankments on the shores of rivers or of the sea, where the pirates drew up their ships when they went on plundering raids by land, as at Bamfleet—or they were camps on headlands, without citadels, as at Shoebury.<sup>8</sup> A list of all the places where the Chronicle attributes forts or winter quarters to the Danes shows that where any earthworks remain they are as above described, unless a Norman castle has been placed there subsequently. Moreover the extreme paucity of mottes in those parts of Scotland which were conquered and colonised by the Norwegians,<sup>9</sup> and their total absence in Norway and Sweden,<sup>10</sup> prove that they were not invented by the Scandinavian race. They are indeed found in Denmark, but, if we are to trust the most recent Danish archæology, they are found with associations which point to the medieval period.<sup>11</sup>

Leaving then the question of evidence, we will now examine the castles which we know on good evidence to have been existing in England in the reigns of William I and William II, that is, before the close of the eleventh century. Domesday Book mentions only fifty castles in England and Wales;<sup>12</sup> but it is well known that the Survey is as capricious in its mention of castles as in its mention of churches. We give in alphabetical order a *catalogue raisonné* of the Domesday castles, in order that the evidence furnished by each case may be separately considered. We shall afterwards endeavour

<sup>8</sup> See Mr. Spurrell's papers in *Archæol. Journ.* vols. xlii. and xlvii.

<sup>9</sup> See Mr. Neilson's remarks, *Scottish Review*, xxxii. 223.

<sup>10</sup> Professor Montelius assures the writer that they are quite unknown in Norway and Sweden.

<sup>11</sup> See Dr. Sophus Müller's remarks on Danish mottes in *Vor Oldtid*, ch. xii.

<sup>12</sup> The list is made up to fifty by interpreting the *regis domus* of Winchester to be Winchester Castle; the reasons for this will be given later. The number would be increased to fifty-two if we counted Ferle and Bourne as castles, as Mr. Freeman does in his *Norman Conquest*, v. 808. But the words of Domesday are: 'Ferle . . . De hac terra sunt 7 hidæ in Rapa de Hastings. . . Custodes castelli [habent] 3 hidas et 20 acras' (i. 21). 'Borne. Comes de Moritonio tenet in dominio Borne. . . De terra huius manerii sunt duo hidæ et una virgata in Rapa de Hasting. Custodes castelli [habent] 2 hidas' (i. 20 b). The language in both cases seems to imply that it is the castle of Hastings which is spoken of, and that the lands mentioned were held of that castle by the service of castle guard.

to add to the list the other eleventh-century castles for whose existence there is good evidence.

1. ARUNDEL.—The *castrum* of Arundel, says Domesday Book, paid 40s. in King Edward's time from a certain mill, and 20s. from three boardlands (or feorm-lands) and 2s. from one pasture. Now, between the town feorm and the water gate and the ships' dues it pays 12*l.*<sup>13</sup> *Castrum* in Domesday nearly always means a castle; yet the description here given is certainly that of a town and not of a castle. We must, therefore, regard it as an instance of the fluctuating meaning which both *castrum* and *castellum* had in the eleventh century.<sup>14</sup> Arundel is one of the towns mentioned in the document known as the 'Burghal Hidage,' which is now believed to be a list of fortified towns belonging to the kingdom of Wessex, dating from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>15</sup> It is therefore disputable whether we ought to include Arundel among the castles mentioned in Domesday Book.<sup>16</sup> But we can have very little doubt that the original earthen castle was reared by Roger de Montgomeri, to whom William I gave the rapes of Arundel and Chichester, and whom he afterwards made earl of Shrewsbury. Roger had contributed sixty ships to William's fleet, and both he and his sons were highly favoured and trusted by William, until the sons forfeited that confidence. We shall see afterwards that their names are connected with several important castles of the early Norman settlement. We shall see also that the rapes into which Sussex was divided—Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings—were all furnished with Norman castles, each with the characteristic motte. Each of these castles, at the time of the Survey, defended a port by which direct access could be had to Normandy. It was to protect his base that William fortified these important estuaries, and committed them to the keeping of some of the most prominent of the Norman leaders.

The castle stands on the end of a high and narrow ridge of the

<sup>13</sup> 'Castrum Harundel T. R. E. reddebat de quodam molino 40 solidos, et de 3 conviviis 20 solidos et de uno pasticio 20 solidos. Modo inter burgum et portum aquae et consuetudinem navium reddit 12 libras, et tamen valet 13. De his habet S. Nicolaus 24 solidos. Ibi una piscaria de 5 solidis et unum molinum reddens 10 modia frumenti, et 10 modia grossae annonae. Insuper 4 modia. Hoc appreciatum est 12 lib. Robertus filius Tetbaldi habet 2 hagas de 2 solidis, et de hominibus extraneis habet suum theloneum.' Several other *hagae* and *burgenses* are then enumerated (D. B. i. 23 a, 1).

<sup>14</sup> See Mr. Round's remarks on the words in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, App. O. This was written before the appearance of Mr. Round's paper on 'The Castles of the Conquest' (*Archaeologia*, lviii.), in which he rejects the idea that *castrum Arundel* means the castle.

<sup>15</sup> See Maitland's *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 188.

<sup>16</sup> There can be no doubt, however, that Arundel Castle existed in the eleventh century, as it is mentioned by Florence of Worcester in 1088 as Roger Montgomeri's castle.

South Downs, above the town of Arundel. It consists of an oblong ward, covering not quite five acres, in the middle of which, but on the line of the walls, is a large motte, about ninety feet high, surrounded by its own ditch. Mr. Clark states that there was formerly a ditch and bank across the bailey from the motte, dividing the former into two wards. This, coupled with the fact that there is no communication from the keep with the curtain on the northern side, renders it highly probable that the southern half of the bailey, where the modern castle stands, formed (with the motte) the original castle of Earl Roger, fitted with wooden defences. Round the top of the motte is a slightly oval wall, of the kind called by Mr. Clark a shell keep. The correctness of this term may reasonably be doubted. If we consult the representation in the Bayeux tapestry of an eleventh-century wooden castle (at Dinant), we shall see that the motte has not only a wooden tower at the top, but a small court enclosed with a stockade. Most of our tower keeps on mottes, as Norwich, Guildford, Corfe, have small wards attached to the keep. It is not improbable that where there is not a stone tower now there has been a wooden one, even after the so-called shell keep was built.<sup>17</sup> There certainly was a tower here in Henry II's time, as he paid for the flooring of it.<sup>18</sup> It is extremely probable that the stone wall round the motte is his work, as he spent nearly 340*l.* on this castle between the years 1170 and 1187. His work consisted chiefly of a wall, a king's chamber, and a chapel.<sup>19</sup> The wall of the motte corresponds in style to the work of the middle of his reign; it is built of flints, but cased with Caen stone brought from Normandy, and has Norman buttresses. The original Norman doorway, on the south side (now walled up), has the chevron moulding, which shows that it is not earlier than the twelfth century. There are still the remains of a tower on the motte, but it is of the same date as the thirteenth-century work which is conspicuous in several parts of the keep and castle. It has, however, a round arched Norman entrance, and may represent the tower alluded to in

<sup>17</sup> Mr. H. E. Malden, in an interesting paper on Guildford Castle in the *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. xvi., argues that the keep at Guildford is later than the wall round the motte. The first keep would certainly be of wood, and perhaps it was not removed when the stone wall was substituted for the stockade.

<sup>18</sup> 'Pro planchianda turre et herbario ante thalamum regis faciendo' 12*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (Pipe Roll, 1187.) A similar entry of smaller amount occurs in the following year.

<sup>19</sup> 'In operatione camere et muri eiusdem castelli 145*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.*' (1181.) 'In operatione castelli et capelle et camere regis 73*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*' The other entries are for *operationes castelli*, or for repairs, and for the tower and garden, as mentioned above. We should certainly expect to find the king's chamber in the keep at this date; the herbarium would, therefore, be a small garden inside the 'shell keep.' The word *castellum*, in the Pipe Rolls, is certainly used in the sense of our word 'castle;' occasionally it is applied to the keep alone, when the keep was the dominant work in masonry, as in the case of Orford. But the usual word for the keep is *turris*, which is never applied to mere mural towers.

Henry II's records, especially as it contains a chapel, and a chamber (now ruined), besides the well chamber.

There is earlier Norman work still remaining in the castle—namely, the fine gateway to the bailey,<sup>20</sup> which, though of plain and severe Norman, is larger and loftier than the earliest work of that style, and of superior masonry. The one Pipe Roll of Henry I which we possess shows that he spent 78*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* on the castle in 1130,<sup>21</sup> and possibly this refers to this gatehouse. Whether he also carried a stone wall round the banks of the bailey we cannot determine, as the original bailey wall has disappeared under modern buildings, and the loss of the rolls for his reign leaves us at the mercy of conjecture. We are told he was a great builder,<sup>22</sup> but so was the former owner of the castle, Robert Bellesme.

The visitor to Arundel will be informed by the custodian that the keep was built by Alfred the Great, and recased by the Normans. It is to be regretted when the noble owners of historic sites are content to have repeated the archæology of a hundred years ago. There is no reason to connect Alfred with Arundel, except that a word in his will which the latest criticism reads Crundell was formerly read Erundel.

The value of the town of Arundel had greatly increased since the Conquest, at the time of the Domesday survey.<sup>23</sup>

2. BERKELEY, OR NESS.—The identity of Berkeley Castle with the Ness Castle of Domesday is almost certain. All that the Survey says about it is: 'In Ness there are five hides belonging to Berkeley, which Earl William put out to make a little castle.'<sup>24</sup> Earl William is William Fitzosbern, the trusty friend and counsellor of the Conqueror, whom he had made earl of Herefordshire. He had also authority over the north and west during William's first absence in Normandy, and it was part of the commission he received from William to build castles where they were needed.<sup>25</sup> Berkeley was a royal manor with a large number of berewicks, and the probable meaning of the passage in Domesday is that Earl William removed the *geldability* of the five hides occupying the peninsula or *ness* which stretches from Berkeley to the Severn, bounded on the south by the Little Avon, and appropriated these lands to the upkeep of a small castle. This castle can hardly have been placed anywhere but at Berkeley, for there is no trace of

<sup>20</sup> Masked by a thirteenth-century gateway, which serves as a sort of barbican.

<sup>21</sup> 'In operibus castelli de Arundel 22*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* Et debet 55*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*' (Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I, p. 42).

<sup>22</sup> William of Jumièges, viii. 31.

<sup>23</sup> D. B. i. 23 a, 1.

<sup>24</sup> 'In Ness sunt 5 hidæ pertinentes ad Berchelai, quas comes Willielmus misit extra ad faciendum unum castellulum' (D. B. 163 a, 2).

<sup>25</sup> 'Castella per loca firmari præcepit' (Flor. Wig. 1067). See Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 72. Domesday tells us that Fitzosbern built Ness, Clifford, Chepstow, and Wigmore.



any other castle in the district.<sup>26</sup> Earl Godwin had sometimes resided at Berkeley, but probably his residence there was the monastery which by evil means had come into his hands; <sup>27</sup> for we never hear of any castle in connexion with Godwin. But a Norman motte still exists at Berkeley, though buried in the stone keep built by Henry II. Mr. Clark remarks: 'If the masonry of Berkeley Castle were removed its remains would show a mound of earth, and attached to three sides of it a platform, the whole encircled with a ditch or scarp.'<sup>28</sup> The motte raised by Earl William has in fact been revetted with a stone shell keep of the twelfth century, whose bold chevron ornament over the entrance gives evidence of its date. What is still more remarkable is that documentary evidence exists which gives the exact date of this transformation. A charter of Henry II is preserved at Berkeley Castle, in which he grants the manor to Robert Fitzhardinge, pledging himself at the same time to fortify a castle there, according to Robert's wish.<sup>29</sup> Robert's wish probably was to possess a stone keep, like those which had been rising in so many places during the twelfth century. But there had been a Norman lord at Berkeley before Fitzhardinge, Roger de Berkeley, whose representatives lost the manor only through having taken sides with Stephen in the civil war. This Roger no doubt occupied the wooden castle on the motte built by William Fitzosbern.<sup>30</sup> Henry II's shell keep was probably the first masonry connected with the castle.<sup>31</sup> Mr. Clark states that the walls of the inner bailey are also Norman, but he produces no evidence for it. This bailey is rectilinear and nearly square; the motte, which is at one corner, encroaches on about a quarter of it. The small size of the area it encloses, not much more than an acre and a half, corresponds to the statement of Domesday Book that it was 'a little castle.' There is no trace of the usual ditch surrounding the motte, and the smallness of the bailey makes it un-

<sup>26</sup> Robert Fitzhardinge in his charter to St. Austin's Abbey at Bristol says that King Henry (II) gave him the manor of Berchall, and all Berchaleiernesne (Dugdale *Mon. Angl.* vi. 365).

<sup>27</sup> It is not necessary to discuss the authenticity of the story preserved by Walter Map; it is enough that Gytha, the wife of Godwin, held in horror the means by which Godwin got possession of Berkeley Nunnery (D. B. i. 164).

<sup>28</sup> *Medieval Military Architecture*, i. 236.

<sup>29</sup> The gift of the manor was made before Henry became king, and was confirmed by charter on the death of Stephen in 1154. Fitzhardinge was an Englishman, son of an alderman of Bristol, who had greatly helped Henry in his wars against Stephen.

<sup>30</sup> He held Berkeley under the crown at the time of the Survey (D. B. i. 163 a).

<sup>31</sup> This remarkable keep is nearly circular, and has three round towers and one oblong. As the latter, Thorpe's tower, was rebuilt in Edward III's reign, it is probable that it took the place of a round tower, and that the keep was originally quite circular. The keep is built of rubble, and its Norman buttresses (it has several later ones) project about a foot. The cross loopholes in the walls of the keep are undoubtedly insertions of the reign of Edward III, or later. The buildings in the bailey are chiefly of the reign of Edward III. See Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester*.

likely that there ever was one. A second bailey has been added to the first,<sup>32</sup> and the whole is surrounded on three sides by a moat, the fourth side having formerly had a steep descent into swamps, which formed sufficient protection.<sup>33</sup>

There is no statement in the survey of the value of Ness, but the whole manor of Berkeley had risen since the Conquest. There are no entries for the cost of Berkeley Castle in the Pipe Rolls.

3. BRAMBER.—Of the manor of Washington, in which Bramber is situated, the Survey says that it formerly paid geld for fifty-nine hides, and in one of these hides sits the castle of Bramber.<sup>34</sup> It must not be imagined that the castle *occupied* a whole hide, which, according to the latest computations, would be about 120 acres. It is evident that there had been some special arrangement between the king and William de Braose, the Norman tenant-in-chief, by which the whole geld of the manor had been remitted. The Domesday scribe waxes almost pathetic over the loss to the fisc of this valuable prey. 'It used to be *ad firmam* for 100*l.*,' he says. The manor of Washington belonged to Gurth, the brother of Harold, before the Conquest, but there is no evidence that he had any residence at Bramber, which, it is clear, was not the *caput* of the manor in Saxon times; nor was Washington the centre of a large soke. Bramber Castle was constructed to defend the estuary of the river now known as the Adur, one of the waterways to Normandy already alluded to.

The castle occupies a natural hill which forms on the top a pear-shaped area of not quite three and a half acres. Towards the north-eastern corner rises an artificial motte about twenty feet high; there is no sign of a special ditch round it, except that the ground sinks slightly at its base. The bailey is surrounded by a very neatly built wall of flints, laid herring-bone wise, which does not stand on an earthen bank. The absence of this bank makes it possible, though of course not certain, that this wall was the original work of De Braose; the flints of which it is composed would be almost as easily obtained as earth for a bank. On the line of the wall stands a tall fragment of an early Norman gatehouse. The workmanship of this gatehouse, which is also of flints laid herring-bone-wise, with quoins of ashlar, so strongly resembles that of the neighbouring church that it seems obvious that both

<sup>32</sup> Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester* attributes this bailey to Maurice, son of Robert Fitzhardinge. One of the most interesting features in this highly interesting castle is the wooden pentice leading from the main staircase of the keep to the chamber called Edward II's. Though a late addition it is a good instance of the way in which masonry was eked out by timber in medieval times.

<sup>33</sup> Clark, *M. M. A.* i. 229.

<sup>34</sup> 'Ipse Willielmus tenet Wasingetune. Guerd comes tenuit T. R. E. Tunc se defendebat pro 59 hidis. Modo non dat geldum. In una ex his hidis sedet castellum Brembre' (D. B. i. 28 a, 1).

were built at about the same time.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the church is dedicated to St. Nicholas is insufficient to prove anything more than that it was built in Norman times. Normandy worshipped St. Nicholas as early as 1067,<sup>36</sup> and it was probably the Normans who introduced his worship into England. Both church and gatehouse are undoubtedly early Norman, but whether they are as early as the eleventh century there are hardly sufficient data for deciding.<sup>37</sup> The motte shows no sign of masonry.

The value of the manor of Washington had slightly risen since the Conquest.

4. BURTON.—Henry de Ferrers, says Domesday Book, has half a hide in Burton, in which his castle sits.<sup>38</sup> There is not now the slightest trace of any castle at Burton-on-Trent, which is the Burton in question. There is no mention in history of a castle at Burton; nor do the rather detailed charters in the *Monasticon* relating to Burton make any allusion to a castle. Moreover the abbot of Burton held the whole town, by the gift of Wulfric Sprot, long before the Conquest; and in Henry I's time he had the full feudal court which one would expect to find in the hands of the castellan, if there were one. Erdswick thought that the Domesday scribe had made a slip, and entered Henry de Ferrers's castle of Tutbury, which is only five miles off, for Burton. Tutbury Castle, however, is mentioned in its own place.

5. CAERLEON.—Domesday speaks of the *castellaria* of Caerleon.<sup>39</sup> A *castellaria* appears to have meant a district in which the land was held by tenure of castle guard in a neighbouring castle. The Survey goes on to say that this land was waste in the time of King Edward, and when William de Scohies, the Domesday tenant, received it; now it is worth 40s. *Wasta*, Mr. Round has remarked, is one of the pitfalls of the Survey. Perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we say that in a general way it means that there was nobody there to pay geld. When this occurs in a town it may point to the devastations caused by the Conquest; but when it occurs in

<sup>35</sup> We often find that the architecture of the nearest church throws light on the date of a castle. A Norman seldom built or restored his castle without doing something for the church at the same time.

<sup>36</sup> See Ordericus, ii. 178.

<sup>37</sup> The window opening which still remains, high up in the wall, is very large for an eleventh-century window. The voussours are well cut, but wide-jointed.

<sup>38</sup> 'In Burton habet [Henricus] dimidium hidam, in qua sedet eiusdem castellum' (D. B. i. 248 b). The value T. R. E. is not given.

<sup>39</sup> 'Willelmus de Scohies tenet 8 carucatas terrae in castellaria de Caerlion, et Turstinus tenet de illo. Ibi habet in dominio unam carucam, et tres Walenses lege Walensi viventes, cum 3 carucis, et 2 bordarios cum dimidio carucae, et reddunt 4 sextares mellis. Ibi 2 servi et una ancilla. Haec terra wasta erat T.R.E. et quando Willelmus recepit. Modo valet 40 solidos' (D. B. 185 b, 1).

the country, and when it is accompanied by so clear a statement that the land which was *wasta* in King Edward's time and at the Conquest is now producing revenue, the inference would seem to be clear that the castle of Caerleon was built on uninhabited land. Caerleon, however, had been a great city in Roman times, and had kept up its importance at least till the days of Edgar, when it is twice mentioned in Welsh history.<sup>40</sup> It must, therefore, have gone downhill very rapidly. Giraldus mentions among the ruins of Roman greatness which were to be seen in his day a gigantic tower, and this is commonly supposed to have belonged to the castle.<sup>41</sup> It certainly did not, for Giraldus is clearly speaking of a Roman tower, and the motte of the Norman castle not only has no sign of masonry, but has been thrown up over the ruins of a Roman villa.<sup>42</sup> The motte and other remains of the castle are outside the Roman *castrum*. The area of the bailey cannot be recovered from the ordnance map.

6. CAMBRIDGE.—Ordericus states that William built this castle on his return from his first visit to Yorkshire in 1068,<sup>43</sup> and Domesday Book says that twenty-seven houses were destroyed to make room for the castle.<sup>44</sup> There can hardly be a clearer statement that the castle was entirely new. Moreover Professor Maitland, in his book on *The Borough*, has shown that the castle was originally outside the walls of Cambridge,<sup>45</sup> an arrangement common in the case of many other important towns, and in itself conclusive against the Saxon origin of such castles, as a Saxon king or lord would certainly have sought the protection of the town walls, whereas the Norman placed his castle *ad urbem iusticiandam et si opus fuerit defendendam*, as it is aptly expressed in a writ of King John.<sup>46</sup> The motte and a portion of the bank of the bailey are all that now remain of the Castle. There was formerly a round tower on the motte, which, if it had the cross loopholes and machicolations represented in the print published in 1575, was certainly not of Norman date. Grote's view shows some buildings in the bailey with round arches and herring-bone work, which were probably rather early Norman. The area of the bailey cannot be recovered, but from Speed's map it appears to have been rectilinear. The castle was a royal one, and, like many royal castles, went early to ruin. Henry IV gave the materials of the hall to the master and wardens of King's Hall for building their chapel.

<sup>40</sup> The 'Gwentian Chronicle,' pp. 962, 967.

<sup>41</sup> *Itin. Cambriae*, p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> Loftus Brock, in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* xlix.

<sup>43</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, p. 189: '[Rex] in reversione sua Lincolniae, Huntendonae, et Gronteburgae castra locavit.'

<sup>44</sup> 'Pro castro sunt destructae 27 domi' (D. B. 189).

<sup>45</sup> See pp. 37 and 119.

<sup>46</sup> Close Rolls, i. 6 b, *mandamus* concerning Dublin Castle.

The general value of Cambridge at the date of the Survey is not stated, but it is clear that the exactions were increased.

7. CANTERBURY.—Domesday Book mentions this castle only incidentally in connexion with an exchange of land: 'The archbishop has seven houses and the abbot of St. Augustine fourteen for the exchange of the castle.'<sup>47</sup> It has been too hastily assumed that it was a pre-Conquest castle which was thus exchanged for twenty-one houses; but any one who knows the kind of relations which existed chronically between the archbishop of Canterbury and the abbot of St. Augustine's will perceive that it was an impossibility that these two potentates should hold a castle in common. It was the land for the castle, not the castle itself, which the king got from these ecclesiastics. This is rendered clear by a passage in the chartulary of St. Augustine's which tells us that the king, who was mesne lord of the city of Canterbury, had lost the rent of thirty-two houses through the exchange of the castle, seven having gone to the archbishop, fourteen to the abbot, and eleven having been destroyed in making the castle ditch.<sup>48</sup> There can scarcely be any doubt that the Dane John is the motte of this original castle of the Conqueror. Its proper name, the Dungeon Hill, which it bore till the sixteenth and even the eighteenth century, shows what its origin was; it was the hill on which stood the dungeon or donjon of a Norman castle. The name Dane John is not so much a corruption as a deliberate perversion introduced by the antiquary Somner about 1640, under the idea that the Danes threw up the hill,<sup>50</sup> an idea for which there is not the slightest historical evidence. Neither is there any archæological evidence that the Danes ever constructed hills of this kind, and their connexion with this earthwork is due to one of those guesses, too common in English archæology, which have no scientific basis whatever.<sup>51</sup>

Somner makes the important statement that this earthwork was originally outside the city walls. His words are—

I am persuaded (and so may easily, I think, any one be who observes the place) that the works both within and without the present walls of the city were not counterworkers one against the other, as the vulgar opinion goes, but were some time one entire plot, containing about three

<sup>47</sup> 'Archiepiscopus habet ex eis [burgensibus] 7 et abbas S. Augustini 14 pro excambio castelli' (D. B. i. 2 a, 1).

<sup>48</sup> 'Et undecim sunt perditii infra fossatum castelli;' cited by Larking, *Domesday of Kent*, App. xxiv. Domesday says 'sunt vastati xi in fossato civitatis.' There can be no doubt that the chartulary gives the correct account.

<sup>49</sup> The hill is called the Dungan, Dangon, or Dungeon Hill in many old local deeds. See 'Canterbury in Olden Times,' *Arch. Journ.* 1856. Stukeley calls it the Dungeon Hill (*Itin. Cur.* i. 122)

<sup>50</sup> Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 144.

<sup>51</sup> See *ante*, p. 211.

acres of ground, of a triangular form (the outwork), with a mount or hill entrenched round within it; and that when first made or cast up it lay wholly without the city walls; and hath been (the hill or mount, and most part also of the earthwork), for the city's more security, taken in and walled since; that side of the trench encompassing the mound now lying without and under the wall fitly meeting with the rest of the city ditch, after either side of the outwork was cut through to make way for it, at the time of the city's inditching.<sup>52</sup>

It is not often we are so fortunate as to have so clear a description of an earthwork which has almost entirely disappeared; but the description is confirmed by Hasted a hundred years later,<sup>53</sup> and down to the making of the Chatham and Dover railway station the earthworks of the bailey outside the city walls were still to be seen, and were noticed by Mr. G. T. Clark.<sup>54</sup> It is clear that Somner's description corresponds exactly, even in the detail of size, to the type of a motte and bailey castle.

The walls of Canterbury have never yet received so careful an examination as those of Rochester have had from the Rev. Greville Livett;<sup>55</sup> but the researches of Mr. Pilbrow about thirty years ago showed that the original Roman walls included a very small area, which would leave both the motte and the Plantagenet castle outside.<sup>56</sup> Certain entries in the Close Rolls show that the fortification of the town of Canterbury was going on in the years 1215-25.<sup>57</sup> But it is too often forgotten that where a wall stands on an earthen bank it is a clear proof that before the wall was built there was a wooden stockade in its place. Now the portion of the city wall which encloses the Dane John stands on an earthen bank; so indeed does the whole wall from the Northgate to the castle. It is clear that the portion of the bank which encloses the Dane John cannot have been made till the first Norman castle, represented by this earthwork, was abandoned; and fortunately we have some evidence which suggests a date for the change. In the Pipe Rolls of Henry II's reign there are yearly entries, beginning in 1168, of five shillings paid to Adeliza Fitzsimon 'for the exchange of her land which is in the castle of Canterbury.' There can be little doubt that this new land was taken in to build the great Plantagenet castle whose splendid keep was once one of the finest in England.<sup>58</sup> The portion of the castle wall which can still be seen does not stand on an earthen bank, an indication (though not a

<sup>52</sup> *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 145.

<sup>53</sup> Hasted's *Kent*, iv. 430.

<sup>54</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xv. 344. Mr. Clark (and Hasted also) thought there was another motte in the earthworks outside the walls; but as Gostling says there were two, it is probable that these writers mistook a better preserved and higher portion of the bank for a separate mound, an error which is not uncommon.

<sup>55</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxxiii. 152.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* xxi.

<sup>57</sup> Close Rolls, i. 234 b, ii. 7 b, ii. 89.

<sup>58</sup> Now, to the disgrace of the city of Canterbury, converted into gasworks.

proof) that the castle was on a new site. Henry II was a great builder of stone keeps, but he seldom placed them on artificial mottes. It is no uncommon thing to find an old motte and bailey castle abandoned for a better or larger site close at hand.<sup>59</sup>

The bailey of the second castle, according to Hasted, extended almost to the Dane John, which is about 800 feet from the present keep. The part of the older castle which lay outside the new city bank was possessed by a family of the name of Chiche from the time of Henry II to that of Edward IV, while the Dungeon Hill itself remained royal property.<sup>60</sup> That the new city bank was Henry II's work we may conjecture from the passages in the Pipe Rolls which show that between the years 1166 and 1173 he spent about 30*l.* in enclosing the city of Canterbury and making a gate. We are, therefore, not without grounds for concluding that Henry II was the first to enlarge the city by taking in the Dane John, cutting through the ancient bailey, and at the same time enclosing a piece of land for a new stone castle.<sup>61</sup> The very small sum paid for the city gate (1*l.*s.) suggests that the gate put up by Henry II was a wooden gateway in the new stockade.<sup>62</sup> The stone walls and towers

<sup>59</sup> For instance, at Middleham, Rochester, and Rhuddlan.

<sup>60</sup> *Beauties of England and Wales, Kent*, p. 893.

<sup>61</sup> The passages from the Pipe Rolls bearing on this subject, which have not been noticed by any previous historian of Canterbury are as follows: 'In operatione civitatis Cantuar. claudendae 5 l. 19 s. 6 d. et in operatione porte civitatis 11 s.' (1166.) 'Ad claudendam civitatem Cantuar. 20 l.' (same year.) 'Pro claudenda civitate Cantuar. 5 l. 1 s. 1 d.' (1167.) 'In terris datis Adelizae filie Simonis 15 solidos de tribus annis pro escambio terrae suae quae est in castello de Cantuar.' (1168.) 'In operatione turris et castelli chant. 24 l. 6 s.' (1173.) 'In operatione turris Cantuar. 5 l. 11 s. 7 d.' 'Et in warnisione turris eiusdem 5 l. 8 s.' (1174.) The latter extract seems to show that the tower was finished. The sums spent on the castle are so small that it is clear the greater part of the expense must have come from sources which do not appear in the sheriff's accounts. Since this note was in type, Mr. St. John Hope has kindly furnished me with three more entries, omitted by my copyist: 'In operatione turris eiusdem civitatis, 10 l. In operatione predictae turris, 53 l. 6 s. 8 d. et 9 l. 14 s. 8 d. Summa denariorum quos vicecomes misit in operatione turris 73 l. 1 s. 4 d.' (1172-3.)

<sup>62</sup> Leland and Stukeley say that Worthgate, which was in the castle yard, and Ridingate, which was in the wall to the east of the Dungeon Hill, were both Roman. But the architectural ascriptions of our older antiquaries are always doubtful. Leland says that the Ridingate contained 'long Briton's bricks,' by which he means Roman tiles. But the Normans also often introduced courses of tiles into their work, as at Colchester. The picture which Hasted gives of the Ridingate looks much more like Norman work than Roman. The portion of the wall of Canterbury which rests on an earthen bank extends from Northgate to the castle, and is roughly semicircular in plan. In the middle of it was St. George's Gate, which was anciently called *Newingate* (Gostling, *Walk in Canterbury*, p. 53). The part enclosing the Dungeon Hill is at a sharp angle, and appeared to Mr. Clark, as well as to Somner and Hasted, to have been brought out at this angle in order to enclose the hill. If Henry II's extension were only this angle of the wall, the accounts of Leland and Stukeley would be reconcilable with the theory in the text. Mr. Pilbrow in 1868 found some hard concreted wall with courses of tiles on the inside of the south wall of the castle, form-

which were afterwards placed on the bank are of much later date than his reign.<sup>63</sup>

The Dungeon Hill was eventually converted into the city pleasure ground. The wide and deep ditch which had surrounded it was filled up in 1790, and serpentine walks cut to lead up to the summit. But in spite of these modern deformations there is still enough of the Dungeon Hill left to show that it was a very fine motte, such as we might expect the Conqueror to raise to hold in check one of the most important cities in his new realm.

The value of Canterbury had increased from 51*l.* to 54*l.* since the days of King Edward.<sup>64</sup>

8. CARISBROOKE.—There can be no doubt that this is the castle spoken of in Domesday Book under the name of Alwinestone. Carisbrooke is in the immediate neighbourhood of Alvington. The language in which the Survey speaks of this manor is worthy of note. 'The king holds Alwinestone; Donnus held it. It then paid geld as two and a half hides; now, as two hides, because the castle sits in one virgate.'<sup>65</sup> Certain entries similar to this in other places<sup>66</sup> seem to indicate that there was some remission of geld granted on the building of a castle; but, as here the king was himself the owner, the remission must have been granted to his tenants.

The original castle of Carisbrooke consists of a high motte, ditched round, placed at the corner of a bailey court forming a parallelogram with rounded corners, the whole covering a little more than two and a quarter acres. This bailey is surrounded by high banks, which testify to the former presence of a wooden stockade. There is another bailey on the eastern side, called the Tilt-yard. The excellent little local guide-book compiled by Mr. Stone calls this a British camp, but there is no reason to believe that it was anything else than what it appears to be, a second bailey added as the castle grew in importance.<sup>67</sup> On the motte is a shell keep of polygonal form, of rubble masonry, but having groins

ing part of it (*Archæologia Cant.* xxxiii. 152). Yet the original wall of the city was not so far out as this, as Mr. Pilbrow himself says.

<sup>63</sup> There was a great repairing of the walls of Canterbury by Queen Eleanor during Richard I's captivity (Somner, *Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 1 of Appendix).

<sup>64</sup> D. B. i. 2 a, 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* i. 52 b, 1. 'Isdem Rex tenet Alwinestone. Donnus tenuit. Tunc pro duabus hidis et dimidia. Modo pro duabus hidis, quia castellum sedet in una virgata. . . . Valet et valuit 3 l., tamen reddit 4 l.'

<sup>66</sup> See below, under Windsor.

<sup>67</sup> Carisbrooke is supposed to be the Wiltgaras byrig of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (530), but independently of the uncertainty of this identification it is clear from the enormous number of places ending in 'burgh' or 'bury' which now show no sign of any fortification that the *burgh* was often a very slight affair. See Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 184. The lines of the present castle banks, if produced, would not correspond with those of the Tilt-yard, which is proof that the Norman castle was not formed by cutting an older fortification in two.



of well-dressed ashlar. It is believed to be of the time of Henry I, since the author of the *Gesta Stephani* states that Baldwin de Redvers, son of Richard de Redvers, to whom Henry granted the lordship of the Isle of Wight, had there a castle splendidly built of stone, defended by a strong fortification.<sup>68</sup> This would indicate that, besides the stone keep, stone walls were added to the banks. The keep is of peculiar interest, as it still retains the remains of the old arrangements in keeps of this style, though of much later date. But these do not concern our present subject. The motte was opened in 1893, and was found to be composed of alternate layers of large and small chalk rubble.<sup>69</sup> Little attention has hitherto been paid to the construction of these Norman mottes, but other instances have been noted which show that they were often built with great care.<sup>70</sup> The whole castle, including the Tilt-yard, was surrounded with an elaborate pentagonal fortification in Elizabeth's reign, when the Spanish invasion was expected.

The value of the manor of Alvington had increased at the time of the Survey, though the number of ploughs employed had actually decreased. This increase must have been owing to the erection of a castle; for not only did a castle provide security for trade and agriculture, it was also itself a source of income through the profits of its feudal courts,<sup>71</sup> the soke of its mills and oven, the tolls of the market and fair which it generally possessed, the prise of beer, and other occasions for feudal exactions. Alvington was not the centre of a large soke, so that it is unlikely that there was any fortification there in Saxon times.

9. CHEPSTOW (ESTRIGHOEL, or STRIGUL).—Notwithstanding the fact that there is another castle of the name of Strigul about nine miles from Chepstow, it is clear that Chepstow is the castle meant by Domesday Book under the name of Estrighoel, as the entry speaks of ships going up the river, a thing impossible at Strigul.<sup>72</sup> In spite of the transformations which this castle has undergone there is no difficulty in tracing the site of the original motte of William Fitzosbern. It forms now the fourth ward from the main entrance, and has been transformed into a barbican. But

<sup>68</sup> 'In hac castellum habebat ornatissimum lapidum aedificio constructum, validissimo munimine firmatum' (*Gesta Stephani*, R.S., p. 28).

<sup>69</sup> Stone's *Official Guide to the Castle of Carisbrook*, p. 39.

<sup>70</sup> At Almondbury, near Huddersfield, layers of stone were introduced into the motte.

<sup>71</sup> The manorial courts had in many cases existed before the Conquest; but Professor Maitland says 'already [in D. B.] the Norman lords are assuming a soke which their *antecessores* did not enjoy' (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 95).

<sup>72</sup> 'Castellum de Estrighoel fecit Willelmus comes, et eius tempore reddebat 40 solidos, tantum de navibus in silvam euntibus' (D. B. i. 162). Tanner has shown that while Chepstow was an alien priory of Cormeille, in Normandy, it is never spoken of by that name in the charters of Cormeille, but is always called Strigulia (*Notitia Monastica, Monmonthshire*. See also Marsh's *Annals of Chepstow Castle*).

the fact that it occupies the highest ground in the castle shows it to have been the oldest part; and it alone is separated from the other wards, and from the ridge behind it, by a ditch cut in the solid rock. Probably it once had an artificial cone of earth to raise it above the adjoining hill, and this may have been removed when the present stone wall was built, which by the depressed arches and the character of the towers certainly belongs to the thirteenth century. What is now the third court must have formed a small oblong bailey to this motte; the greater part of this ward is now filled up by the fine stone hall of early Norman character (splendidly restored in the 13th century) which is believed by Mr. St. John Hope to be the work of Fitzosbern himself.<sup>73</sup> As the forebuilding of the hall opens on to the wall of what is now the second ward, it is probable that this court was either added or walled in Norman times; it has a Norman postern on the south side. This hall and these walls were probably the first masonry added to the castle; all the rest is either of the late Early English or the Perpendicular period. The whole area of the castle is only  $1\frac{3}{4}$  acre.<sup>74</sup> The shape of all the baileys is roughly quadrangular, except the fourth, which is assumed to have been the motte, and which would be semicircular but for the towers at its corners.

We are not told what the value of Estrighoel was before William Fitzosbern built his castle there, but from the absence of this mention the site was probably a waste. It paid 40s. in his time from ships' dues, 16*l.* in his son Earl Roger's time, and at the date of the survey it paid the king 12*l.*<sup>75</sup> Chepstow was not the centre of a large soke, and it appears to have owed all its importance to the creation of William Fitzosbern's castle.

10. CLIFFORD.—It is clearly stated by Domesday Book that William Fitzosbern built this castle on waste land.<sup>76</sup> In no part of the country are mottes more numerous than on the marches of Wales, and the annexation of Welsh country was steadily pursued by the Normans from the Conqueror's time onward. No less than twelve of the castles mentioned in the Survey, besides two defensible houses (*domus defensabiles*), are at no great distance from the Welsh border. But probably these were only a tithe of the number erected. That the innumerable mottes still existing on the marches were castles recognised by the crown is shown by a writ of King John ordering the sheriff of Shropshire to be repaid what he has spent on the repair of the wooden castles in the baili-

<sup>73</sup> A stone hall of this early date is very rare in Norman castles.

<sup>74</sup> Willett, *Monmouthshire and South Wales*, p. 289, says three acres.

<sup>75</sup> D. B. 162, 1 a.

<sup>76</sup> 'Willelmus comes fecit illud [castellum] in wasta terra quam tenebat Bruning T. R. E.' (D. B. i. 183 a, 2).

wick of Salop,<sup>77</sup> and another of Henry III ordering all those who have mottes (*motas*) in the valley of Montgomery to furnish the same with good bretasches without delay, for the security and defence of those parts.<sup>78</sup> At the time of the Survey Clifford Castle, though built by Fitzosbern, was held by Ralph de Toden, who had sublet it to the sheriff.<sup>79</sup> William Fitzosbern, we must remember, was the king's vicegerent in England during his absence in Normandy, with special power to build castles.<sup>80</sup> In the many castles attributed to him we may see an indication that the building of castles, even on the marches of Wales, was not done without royal sanction. In the reign of Henry I Clifford Castle had already passed into the hands of Richard Fitzpons, the ancestor of the celebrated house of Clifford, and one of the *barons* of Bernard de Neufmarché, the Norman conqueror of Brecon.<sup>81</sup>

The keep stands on a square motte, which must be in part artificial.<sup>82</sup> There are also remains of a hall on the motte, and there is a small court, with a wall which stands on a low bank. The masonry is entirely of the thirteenth century. Below the motte is a rectangular bailey of about two acres, with earthen banks which do not appear ever to have carried any masonry, though in the middle there is a small mound which evidently covers the remains of buildings. On the south there is a curious triangular ward, included in the ditch which has surrounded the whole. The whole area of the castle, including the motte and the two baileys, is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

The value of the whole *castellaria* had apparently risen from nothing to 8*l.* 5*s.* Clifford was not the centre of a large soke.

11. CLITHEROE.—There is no express mention of this castle in Domesday Book, but of two places in Yorkshire, Barnoldswick and Calton, it is said that they are in the *castellate* of Roger the Poitevin.<sup>83</sup> A *castellate* implies a castle, and, as there is no other castle in the Craven district (to which the words of the Survey relate) except Skipton, which did not form part of Roger's property, there is no reason to doubt that this castle was Clitheroe, which

<sup>77</sup> Close Rolls, i. 17, anno 1205.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 42, anno 1225.

<sup>79</sup> D. B. i. 183.

<sup>80</sup> 'Castella per loca firmari praecepit' (*Flor. Wig.* 1067). 'And Bishop Odo and William the earl remained here behind, and they built castles wide throughout the nation, and poor people distressed' (A.-S. C., a. 1067).

<sup>81</sup> *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Society, vol. x.), charter xiii., and Mr. Round's note, p. 25.

<sup>82</sup> It is extraordinary that Mr. Clark, in his description of this castle, does not mention the motte, except by saying that the inner ward is 60 or 70 feet higher than the outer.

<sup>83</sup> This passage occurs in a sort of appendix to Domesday Book, which is said to be in a later hand, of the twelfth century (Skaife, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, pt. iv. p. 299). It cannot, however, be very late in the twelfth century, as it speaks of Roger's holdings in Craven in the present tense.

for centuries was the centre of the honour of that name. The whole land between the Ribble and the Mersey had been given by William I to this Roger, the third son of his trusted supporter Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. One can understand why William gave important frontier posts to the energetic and pushing young men of the house of Montgomeri, one of whom was the adviser and architect of William Rufus, another a notable warrior in North Wales, another the conqueror of Pembrokeshire. As it appears from the Survey that Roger's possessions stretched far beyond the Ribble into Yorkshire and Cumberland, it seems quite possible that just as his brothers had a free hand to conquer as they listed from the North and South Welsh, so Roger had a similar commission for the hilly districts still unconquered in the north-west. In the end the sons of Earl Roger proved somewhat too pushing, and misfortune overtook them all.<sup>84</sup> Roger the Poitevin was finally banished from England in 1102.

The castle of Clitheroe stands on a lofty motte of natural rock. There are no earthworks on the summit, but a stout wall of limestone rubble without buttresses encloses a small court, on whose east side stands a small but remarkable keep. It is just possible that the wall may be the original work of Roger, as limestone rubble would be easier to get than earth on this rocky hill. The keep, too, has a very ancient appearance. It is small, rudely built of limestone rubble, and has neither fireplace nor *garde-robe*, nor the slightest ornamental detail, not even a string course. But, in spite of the entire absence of ornament, a decorative effect has been sought and obtained by making the quoins, voussoirs, and lintels of a dressed yellow sandstone. The care with which this has been done is inconsistent with the haste with which Roger must inevitably have constructed his first fortification, if we suppose, as is probable, that he received the first grant of his northern lands on William's return in 1170 from his third visit to the north, when he made that remarkable march through Lancashire to Chester which is described by Ordericus. On the whole it seems likely that even if the outer wall were the work of Roger he had only wooden buildings within its circuit.<sup>85</sup> The bailey court of Clitheroe lay considerably below the keep, but, as it is now overbuilt with a

<sup>84</sup> The Poitevin came off the best, as, having married a wealthy heiress in Poitou (hence his nickname), he retired to her property.

<sup>85</sup> Mr. Clark appears to have been puzzled by this keep, which he says is 'certainly not later than the reign of Henry I.' A really expert opinion is greatly to be desired. That most mendacious document, the '*Historia Laceyorum*,' names Robert de Lacy, in the reign of Henry II, as the builder of Clitheroe Castle (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v. 533). But the Lancashire estates of the Poitevin did not pass into the hands of the Lacies till the reign of John, when Robert Bussell lost them through not paying his fine. See Hulston's *Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham*, vol. iii. p. xx (Cheetham Soc.)

modern house, stables, and garden, it is impossible to recover its area or shape.

As the very name of Clitheroe is not mentioned in Domesday Book, it clearly was not an important centre in Saxon times. The value of Blackburn hundred, in which Clitheroe is situated, had fallen between the Confessor's time and the time when Roger received it. It is quite possible that he never lived at Clitheroe, as he subinfeoffed the manor and hundred of Blackburn at an early date to Roger de Busli and Albert Greslet.

12. CORFE.—Mr. Eyton has shown that for the *castellum Wareham* of Domesday Book we ought to read Corfe, because the castle was built in the manor of Kingston, which is four miles from Wareham.<sup>86</sup> And this is made quite clear by the 'Testa de Nevill,' which says that the church of Gillingham was given to the abbey of Shaftesbury in exchange for the land on which the castle of Corfe is placed.<sup>87</sup> Because King Edward the Martyr was murdered at Corfe, at some place where his stepmother, Elfrida, was residing, it has been inferred that there was a Saxon castle at Corfe; and because there is a building with some herring-bone work in the present ruins it has been assumed that these are the remains of that castle or palace. But the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the only contemporary authority for the event, says nothing of any castle at Corfe,<sup>88</sup> but simply tells us that Edward was slain at Corfe Geat, a name which evidently alludes to a gap or passage through the chalk hills, such as there is at Corfe. Nor is there any mention of Corfe as a fortress in Anglo-Saxon times; it is not named in the burghal hidage, and we do not hear of any sieges of it by the Danes. Nor is it likely that the Saxons would have had a fortress at Corfe when they had a fortified town so near as Wareham.<sup>89</sup> Kingston, the manor in which Corfe is situated, was not an important place, as it had no soke. The language of Domesday absolutely upsets the idea of any Saxon castle or palace at Corfe,

<sup>86</sup> Eyton, *Key to Domesday*, p. 43. This was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Round. The castle is not mentioned in Domesday under Wareham, but under Kingston. 'De manerio Chingestone habet rex unam hidam, in qua fecit castellum Warham, et pro ea dedit S. Mariae [of Shaftesbury] ecclesiam de Gellingeham cum appendiciis suis' (D. B. i. 78 b, 2).

<sup>87</sup> 'Advocatio ecclesie de Gillingeham data fuit abbati [sic] de S. Edwardo in escambium pro terra ubi castellum de Corf' positum est' ('Testa de Nevill,' 164 b).

<sup>88</sup> It is by no means certain that Corfe was the scene of Edward's murder, as we learn from a charter of Cnut (*Mon. Angl.* iii. 55) that there was a Corfe Geat not far from Portisham, probably the place now called Coryates.

<sup>89</sup> Asser calls it a *castellum*; but it has already been pointed out that *castellum* in early writers means a walled town and not a castle. Wareham is a town fortified by an earthen vallum and ditch, and is one of the *burhs* of the 'Burghal Hidage.' A Norman castle was built there after the Conquest, and its motte still remains. D. B. says seventy-three houses were nearly ruined from the time of Hugh the sheriff (i. 75).

as it tells us that William obtained the land for his castle from the nuns of Shaftesbury, and we may be quite sure they had no castle there.<sup>90</sup>

Corfe Castle stands on a natural hill, which has been so scarped artificially that the highest part now forms a large motte. Three wards can now be distinguished, the eastern or motte ward, the western, and the southern. The two former probably formed the original castle. On the motte (which possibly is not artificial, but formed by scarping) stands the lofty keep, of splendid workmanship, probably of the time of Henry I. In the ward pertaining to it are buildings of the reign of John and Henry III.<sup>91</sup> The western ward likewise has towers of the thirteenth century, but it also contains the interesting remains of an early Norman building, probably a hall, built largely of herring-bone work. This is the building which has been so positively asserted to be a Saxon palace. But herring-bone masonry, which used to be thought an infallible sign of Saxon work, is now found to be more often Norman.<sup>92</sup> The building is certainly an ancient one, and may possibly have been contemporary with the first Norman castle; for as that castle was held by so great a potentate as Robert, count of Mortain, the king's half-brother, we might expect to find the work here on a scale of more than usual solidity. The details of this building are unmistakably Norman. But very likely this hall was the only Norman mason work of the eleventh century at Corfe Castle. It is clear that the stone wall which at present surrounds the western bailey did not exist till after the hall was built, as it blocks up its southern windows. Probably there was a palisade at first on the edge of the scarp.<sup>93</sup> Palisades still formed part of the defences of the castle in the time of Henry III, when 62*l.* was paid 'for making two good walls in place of the palisades at Corfe between the old bailey of the said castle and the middle bailey towards the west, and between the keep of the said castle and the outer bailey towards the south.'<sup>94</sup> This shows that the motte was separated from the western bailey by a stockade, and also that there were palisades along the broad and deep ditch which separated the keep from the southern bailey. This ditch has been attributed to King John on the strength of an

<sup>90</sup> Edred granted to 'the religious woman Elthryth,' supposed to be the abbess of Shaftesbury, 'pars telluris Purbeckinga,' which would include Corfe (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 478).

<sup>91</sup> Both these kings spent large sums on Corfe. See the citations from the Pipe Rolls in Hutchins's *Dorset*, vol. i., and in Mr. Bond's *History of Corfe Castle*.

<sup>92</sup> See Professor Baldwin Brown's paper in the *Journal of the Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, ii. 488, and Mr. Micklethwaite in *Archæol. Journal*, liii. 338; also Professor Baldwin Brown's remarks on Corfe Castle in *The Arts in Early England*, ii. 71.

<sup>93</sup> It is very likely that John was the first to substitute a wall for this palisade, when the old Norman hall was disused for the new hall in the upper ward, which is probably his work.

<sup>94</sup> Cited in Hutchins's *Dorset*, i. 488.

entry in the Close Rolls which says that he sent fifteen of his own miners and stonemasons in 1214 to work on the banks of the ditch.<sup>95</sup> But we may be quite certain that this ditch below the motte belonged to the original plan of the castle; John's work would only be to line it with masonry, as the mention of masons suggests. It is not without significance for the early history of the castle that Durandus *the carpenter* held the manor of Moulham, near Corfe, by the service of finding a carpenter to work at the keep whenever required.<sup>96</sup>

The area of Corfe Castle, if we include the large southern bailey, would be somewhat under five acres; without it, less than two acres. This bailey was certainly in existence in the reign of Henry III (as the extract from the Close Rolls proves), before the walls and towers of superb masonry were added to it by Edward I.

The value of Kingston Manor had considerably increased at the date of the Survey. After the count of Mortain forfeited his lands Corfe was kept in the hands of the crown.

13. DUDLEY.—William Fitzansculf held Dudley at the time of the Survey, 'and there is his castle.'<sup>97</sup> Mr. Clark appears to accept the dubious traditions of a Saxon Dodda, who first built this castle in the eighth century, since he speaks of Dudley as 'a great English residence.'<sup>98</sup> This tradition, however, is not supported by Domesday Book, which shows Dudley to have been only a small and unimportant manor before the Conquest. There is no Norman masonry in the present ruins of Dudley. The earliest work is that of the keep on the motte, which is clearly of the thirteenth century, and agrees with the date of the license to crenellate granted in 1264. Probably down to that time the buildings had all been of wood. The castle was demolished by Henry II in 1175, and an attempt to restore it in 1218 was stringently countermanded. The whole area of the castle, including the motte, but not including the works at the base of the hill on which it stands, is about two acres. Dudley is an instance in which the value of the manor has gone down instead of up since the erection of the castle. This may perhaps be laid to the account of the devastation caused through the Staffordshire insurrection of 1069.

14. DUNSTER.—This is the castle called Torre in Domesday Book; it belonged to William de Moion.<sup>99</sup> The motte is a natural one, scarped to make it defensive. The masonry which remains is,

<sup>95</sup> Close Rolls, i. 178 b.

<sup>96</sup> Hutchins's *Dorset*, i. 488.

<sup>97</sup> 'Istedem Willelmus tenet Dudelei, et ibi est castellum eius. T. R. E. valebat 4 libras, modo 3 libras' (D. B. i. 177).

<sup>98</sup> *M. M. A.* i. 24.

<sup>99</sup> 'Ipse [Willelmus] tenet Torre, et ibi est castellum eius' (D. B. i. 95-6).

according to Mr. Clark,<sup>100</sup> not earlier than the reign of Henry III. There is no masonry now on the motte. The area of the castle can scarcely be two acres. The value of the manor had tripled at the time of the Survey, but it was only a small place before the Conquest.

15. EWYAS.—The brief notice of this castle in Domesday Book throws some light on the general theory of castle-building in England. William Fitzosbern, as the king's vicegerent, rebuilt this march castle, and committed it to the keeping of another Norman noble, and the king confirmed the arrangement. But in theory the castle would always be the king's.<sup>101</sup> This is the only case in the Survey where we hear of a castle being *rebuilt* by the Normans. We naturally look to one of King Edward's Norman favourites as the first founder, for they alone are said by history to have built castles on the Welsh marches before the Conquest. Mr. Round conjectures that Ewyas was the 'Pentecost's castle' spoken of in the (Peterborough) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year 1052.<sup>102</sup> No masonry is now to be seen on the motte at Ewyas, but Mr. Clark states that the outline of a circular or polygonal keep is shown by a trench out of which the foundations have been removed. Such a keep was certainly not of early Norman date. The bailey is roughly crescent-shaped and the mound oval. The whole area of the castle, including the motte and banks, is about five acres.

16. EYE.—This castle was built by William Malet,<sup>103</sup> one of the companions of the Conqueror, who is described as having been half Norman and half English.<sup>104</sup> Eye, as its name implies, appears to have been an island in a marsh in Norman times, and therefore a naturally defensible situation. The references in the Pipe Rolls to the *paliicum* and the *bretasches* of Eye Castle show that the outer defences of the castle at any rate were of wood in the days of Henry II.<sup>105</sup> That there were works in masonry at some subsequent

<sup>100</sup> *M. M. A.* i. 23.

<sup>101</sup> 'Alured de Merlberge tenet castellum de Ewias de Willelmo rege. Ipse rex enim concessit ei terras quas Willelmus comes ei dederat, qui hoc castellum refirma-verat, hoc est, 5 carucatas terrae ibidem. . . . Hoc castellum valet 10 l.' (D. B. 186 a.) As there is no statement of the value in King Edward's day, we cannot tell whether it had risen or fallen.

<sup>102</sup> The present writer was led independently to the same conclusion.

<sup>103</sup> '[Willelmus Malet] fecit suum castellum ad Eiam' (D. B. ii. 379).

<sup>104</sup> Freeman, *N. C.* iii. 466, note 4.

<sup>105</sup> Pipe Rolls: 'In operatione castelli de Eya et reparatione veterum bretascharum et 2 novarum bretascharum et fossatorum et pro carriagio et petra et aliis minutis operationibus 20 l. 18 s. 4 d.' (vol. xix., 19 Henry II). The small quantity of stone referred to here can only be for some auxiliary work. 'In emendatione paliicii et 1 exclusae vivarii et domorum castelli 20 s.,' 28 Henry II (unpublished). 'In reparatione paliicii castelli 14 s. 7½ d.,' 32 Henry II (unpublished).



period is shown by a solitary vestige which remains of a wall of flints, now without facing, which runs up the motte, the top of which is occupied by a modern tower. The bailey of the castle, the outline of which can still be traced, though the area is covered with buildings and gardens, was oval in shape; the whole area, including the motte, cannot have exceeded three acres.

The value of the manor of Eye had gone up since the Conquest from 15*l.* to 21*l.* This must have been due to the castle and to the market which Robert Malet or his son William established close to the castle; for the stock on the manor and the number of ploughs had actually decreased.<sup>106</sup> A proof that there is no deliberate register of castles in Domesday Book is furnished by the very careful inventory of the manor of Eye, where, though it is noticed that there are *now* a park and a market, there is no mention of a castle, and it is only in the account of the lands of the bishop of Thetford, in mentioning the injury which William Malet's market at Eye had done to the bishop's market of Hoxne, that the castle of Eye is named.

17. GLOUCESTER.—‘There were sixteen houses where the castle sits, but now they are gone, and fourteen have been destroyed within the *burgh* of the city,’ says Domesday Book.<sup>107</sup> Gloucester was undoubtedly a Roman *chester*, and Roman pavements have been found there. The description in the Survey would lead us to think that the castle was outside the ancient walls, though Speed's map places it on the line of the wall of his time, which may have been a medieval extension. The castle of Gloucester is now entirely destroyed, but there is sufficient evidence to show that it was of the usual Norman type. There was a motte, which was standing in 1819, and which was then called the Barbican Hill.<sup>108</sup> It appears to have been utilised as part of the works of the barbican. This motte must originally have supported a wooden keep, and Henry I must have been the builder of the stone keep which Leland saw standing ‘in the middle of the area;’<sup>109</sup> for in 1109 Henry gave lands to Gloucester Abbey ‘in exchange for the site where now the keep of Gloucester stands.’<sup>110</sup> The bailey had previously been enlarged by William Rufus.<sup>111</sup> Possibly the

<sup>106</sup> D. B. ii. 319, 320.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* i. 162. ‘Sedecim domus erant ubi sedet castellum, quae modo desunt, et in burgo civitatis sunt wastatae 14 domus.’

<sup>108</sup> Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester*, pp. 125, 126. Stukeley, writing in 1721, says: ‘There is a large old gatehouse standing, and near it the castle, with a very high artificial mount or keep nigh the river’ (*Itin.* i. 69).

<sup>109</sup> ‘Of al partes of yt the hy tower in *media area* is most strongest and auncient:’ Leland, *Itin.* iii. 64.

<sup>110</sup> ‘In excambium pro placea ubi nunc turris stat Gloucestriae, ubi quondam fuit ortus monachorum’ (*Mon. Angl.* i. 544). The document is not earlier than Henry II's reign.

<sup>111</sup> Round, *Studies in Domesday*, p. 123.

*framea turris* spoken of in Henry II's reign may refer to the wooden tower which had been left standing on the motte.<sup>112</sup> The walls of Gloucester Castle were frequently repaired by Henry II,<sup>113</sup> but the word *murus* in medieval documents by no means always implies a stone wall, and it is certain that the castle was at that time surrounded by a wooden stockade, as a writ of a much later period (1225) says that 'the stockade which is around our castle of Gloucester has been blown down and broken by the wind and must be repaired.'<sup>114</sup> Wooden bretasches on the walls are spoken of in the Pipe Rolls of 1193,<sup>115</sup> and even as late as 1222.<sup>116</sup>

The value of the city of Gloucester had apparently risen at the time of the Survey, though the entry being largely in kind T. R. E. it is not easy to calculate.<sup>117</sup>

18. HASTINGS.—In this case we have positive contemporary evidence that the earthen mound of the castle was thrown up by the Normans at the epoch of the Conquest, for there is a picture in the Bayeux tapestry which shows them doing it. A number of men with spades are at work raising a circular mound, on the top of which, with the usual all-inclusiveness of medieval picturing, a stockade is already erected. A man with a pick seems to be working at the ditch. The inscription attached is: 'He commands that a castle be dug at Hastingaceastre.'<sup>118</sup> There is no need to comment on the significance of this drawing and its inscription for the history of early Norman castles; what is extraordinary is that it should have been so entirely overlooked. In no case is our information more complete than about Hastings. Not only does Domesday Book mention the *castellaria* of Hastings,<sup>119</sup> but the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also tells us that William built a castle there, while the chronicle of Battle Abbey makes the evidence complete by telling us that, 'having taken possession of a suitable site, he built a *wooden castle* there.'<sup>120</sup> This of course means the stockade and bretasche on top of the motte. It is possible that some

<sup>112</sup> 'In operatione frame turris de Glouec. 20 l.' (Pipe Rolls, i. 27.) In the single Pipe Roll of Henry I there is an entry, 'In operationibus turris de Gloec. 7l. 6s. 2d.,' which *may* be one of a series of sums spent on the new stone keep.

<sup>113</sup> Pipe Rolls, 1177, 1180, 1181, 1184.

<sup>114</sup> Close Rolls, ii. 88 b.

<sup>115</sup> 'In reparatione murorum et bretaschiarum 20 l. 7 s. 11 d.'

<sup>116</sup> Order to the sheriff to make a drawbridge with a bretasche (Close Rolls, i. 490). Order for 'posts, planks, joists, and other timber' for the same (*ibid.*).

<sup>117</sup> The entry is curious: 'T.R.E. reddebat civitas de Glowceestre 36 libras numeratas et 12 sextaria mellis ad mensuram eiusdem burgi, et 36 dicras ferri, et 100 virgas ferreas ductiles ad clavos navium regis, et quasdam alias minutas consuetudines in aula et in camera regis. Modo reddit ipsa civitas regi 60l. de 20 in ora, et de moneta habet rex 20l.' (D. B. i. 162.)

<sup>118</sup> 'Jussit ut foderetur castellum apud Hastengaceastra.'

<sup>119</sup> D. B. i. 18 a, 2.

<sup>120</sup> 'Dux ibidem [at Pevensey] non diu moratus, haud longe situm, qui Hastings vocatur, cum suis adiit portum, ibique opportunum nactus locum, ligneum agiliter

of the masonry now existing may be as old as the time of Henry I.<sup>121</sup> The wall carried over the top of the motte resembles in its masonry a style which was much used in the time of Henry II, and the beautiful fragment of the chapel of St. Mary is probably of his reign. It would appear from an entry in the Pipe Rolls that he intended to build a keep there; <sup>122</sup> but no foundations of such a building have been found on the motte. The other towers are of the thirteenth century. The ditch in this castle does not run round the motte, but is cut through the peninsular rock on which the castle stands, the motte and a small ward being thus isolated. The form of the inner bailey is now triangular, but it may have been square originally, as a portion of the ward has been washed away by the sea. Beyond the ditch is another bailey, defended by earthen banks and by a second ditch cut through the peninsula.<sup>123</sup> The whole area of both wards is about three acres.

Hastings itself had been a fortified town before the Norman Conquest, and is one of those mentioned in the 'Burghal Hidage.' The name *Hastingaceastræ* seems to date its fortifications from Roman times. But the Norman castle is outside the town, on a cliff which overlooks it. As in the case of the other ports of Sussex, the castle was committed to an important noble, in this case the count of Eu.

The manor of Bexley, in which Hastings Castle stood, had been laid waste at the Conquest; at the date of the Survey it was again rising in value, though it had not reached the figure of King Edward's days.<sup>124</sup>

19. HUNTINGDON.—'There were twenty houses on the site of the castle, which are now gone.'<sup>125</sup> Ordericus tells us that the castle of Huntingdon was built by William on his return from his second visit to York in 1068.<sup>126</sup> Huntingdon had been a walled town in Anglo-Saxon times, but, as in the case of so many other towns, the houses outside the walls had to pay geld along with those of the city, and it was some of these which were displaced by the new *castellum statuens, provide munivit* (*Chron. Monast. de Bello*, p. 3, ed. 1846). Wace also says—

'Un chastel i ont fermé,  
De bretesches e de fossé'

(Freeman, *N. C.* iii. 409).

<sup>121</sup> The north wall, with the tower containing Norman arches, and the chapel of the Holy Cross. It is, however, possible that this tower was the work of Henry II.

<sup>122</sup> 'In attractu petre et calcis ad faciendam turrim de Hasting 6 l. Idem 13 l. 12 s. (Pipe Rolls, xviii. 130, 1171.)

<sup>123</sup> This bailey has been supposed to be a British or Roman earthwork, but no evidence has been brought forward to prove it.

<sup>124</sup> 'Totum manerium T. R. E. valebat 20 libras, et postea wastum fuit. Modo 18 l. 10 s.' (D. B. i. 18 a, 2.)

<sup>125</sup> 'In loco castri fuerunt 20 mansiones, quae modo absunt' (D. B. i. 203).

<sup>126</sup> Ordericus, ii. 185.

Norman castle. Huntingdon was part of the patrimony of Earl Waltheof, and descended to the Norman family of St. Liz through the marriage of his daughter and heiress. The line of St. Liz ended in another heiress, who married David, brother of William the Lion, king of Scotland; David thus became earl of Huntingdon, and in the insurrection of the younger Henry in 1174 he took sides with the young king. Consequently the castle of Huntingdon was besieged and taken by the forces of Henry II,<sup>127</sup> and the king ordered it to be destroyed. The Pipe Rolls show that this order was carried out, as they contain a bill for 'hooks for pulling down the stockade of Huntingdon Castle,' and 'for the work of the new castle at Huntingdon, and for hiring carpenters, and crooks and axes.'<sup>128</sup> We learn from these entries that the original castle of the Conquest had just been superseded by a new one, very likely a new fortification of the old mounds by Earl David in anticipation of the insurrection. We also learn that the new castle was a wooden one; for a castle which has to be pulled down by carpenters with hooks and axes is certainly of wood. It does not appear that the castle was ever restored, though 'the chapel of the castle' is spoken of as late as the reign of Henry III.<sup>129</sup> Camden gives a picturesque story that Henry II ordered the castle of Huntingdon to be destroyed because of the perpetual squabbles of the Scotch and the St. Liz over it, but this is not consistent with the authentic notices given above, nor with the fact that the only survivor of the line of St. Liz was the wife of the Scottish prince David.

The motte of Huntingdon still exists, and has not the slightest sign of masonry. The six-inch Ordnance map shows the bailey to have been roughly square, with the usual rounded corners. The motte was inside this enclosure, but had its own ditch. The whole area was not much over two acres.

The value of Huntingdon appears to have been stationary at the time of the Survey, the loss of the twenty houses causing a diminution of revenue, which must have been made up from the increased feudal dues of the castle.

20. LAUNCESTON, OR DUNHEVED.<sup>130</sup>—There, says Domesday Book, is the castle of the earl of Mortain.<sup>131</sup> In another place it tells us

<sup>127</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, i. 70. Richard de Luci threw up a siege castle against it.

<sup>128</sup> 'Pro uncis ad prosternandum palicium de Hunteð 7 s. 8d. In operatione novi castelli de Hunteð et pro locandis carpentariis et pro croccis et securibus et aliis minutis rebus 21 l.' (Pipe Rolls, 20 Henry II, pp. 50, 63.) It is clear that the *operatio* was in this case one of pulling down. Giraldus says the castle was destroyed (*Vita Galfridi*, iv. 368, R.S.)

<sup>129</sup> *Mon. A.* vi. 80.

<sup>130</sup> Leland tells us that Launceston was anciently called Dunheved (*Itin.* vii. 122.)

<sup>131</sup> 'Ibi est castrum comitis' (D. B. i. 121 b). 'Haec duo maneria [Hawstone et

that the earl gave two manors to the bishop of Exeter 'for the exchange of the castle of Cornwall,' another name for Dunheved Castle. We have already had occasion to note that 'the exchange of the castle,' in Domesday language, is an abbreviation for the exchange of the site of the castle. The fact that the land was obtained from the church is a proof that the castle was new, for it was not the custom of Saxon prelates thus to fortify themselves.

The motte of Launceston is a knoll of natural rock, which has been scarped by art. This motte now carries a circular keep, which cannot be earlier than the time of Henry III.<sup>132</sup> There is no early Norman work whatever about the masonry of the castle, and the remarkably elaborate fortifications on the motte belong to a much later period.<sup>133</sup> The motte rises out of a pentagonal bailey court, which covers about three and a half acres.

Launceston was only a small manor of ten ploughs in the time of the Confessor. In spite of the building of the castle the value of the manor had greatly gone down in William's time.<sup>134</sup> The ten ploughs had been reduced to five.

21. LEWES.—The castle of Lewes is not mentioned in its proper place in Sussex by Domesday Book, and this is another proof that the Survey contains no inventory of castles; for that the castle was existing at that date is rendered certain by the numerous allusions in the Norfolk portion to 'the exchange of the castle of Lewes.'<sup>135</sup> It is clear that at some period, possibly after the revolt of Robert Curthose in 1079, William I gave large estates in Norfolk to his trusty servant William de Warenne, in exchange for the important castle of Lewes. This bargain cannot have held long, at least as regards the castle, which continued to belong to the Warenne family for many generations. We cannot even guess now how the matter was settled, but the lands in Norfolk certainly remained in the hands of the Warennes.

Lewes is one of the very few castles in England which have two mottes.<sup>136</sup> They were placed at each end of an oval bailey, each surrounded by its own ditch, and each projecting about three-fourths beyond the line of the bailey. On the northern motte

Botintone] dedit episcopo comes Moriton pro excambio castelli de Cornualia' (D. B. i. 101 b, 2).

<sup>132</sup> There are no entries for Launceston except repairs in the three preceding reigns.

<sup>133</sup> Murray's *Guide to Cornwall*, p. 203.

<sup>134</sup> 'Olim 20 l.; modo valet 4 l.' (D. B. i. 121 b).

<sup>135</sup> D. B. ii. 157, 163, 172. The first entry relating to this transaction says: 'Hoc totum est pro escangio de 2 maneriis Delaquis.' The second says: 'Pertinent ad castellum Delaquis.' It is clear that Lewes is meant, as one paragraph is headed 'De escangio Lewes.'

<sup>136</sup> Lincoln and Pontefract are the only other instances known to the writer. Diganwy has two natural mottes.

only the foundations of a wall round the top remain; on the other, part of the wall which enclosed a small ward, and two mural towers still remain. These towers have signs of the early Perpendicular period, and are very likely of the reign of Edward III, when the castle passed into the hands of the Fitzalans. The bailey, which enclosed an area of about five or five and a half acres, is now covered with houses and gardens, but the local guide-book states that the still remaining portions of the walls stand on banks, bearing witness to the original wooden fortifications. The great interest of this bailey is its ancient Norman gateway, which may possibly be as early as the time of William de Warenne. The gateway was regarded by medieval architects as the weakest part of a fortress, and we frequently find that it was the first part to receive stone defences.<sup>137</sup> It is not surprising that at such an important place as Lewes, which was then a port leading to Normandy, and at the castle of so powerful a noble, we should find an early development of stone architecture supplementing the wooden defences, as well as an unusually large area; but the two artificial mottes have no masonry that can be pronounced early Norman.

Lewes is one of the boroughs mentioned in the 'Burghal Hidage,' and was a *burgus* at the time of the Survey.<sup>138</sup> The value of the town had increased by thirty-eight shillings from what it had been in King Edward's time.

22. LINCOLN.—Domesday Book tells us that 166 houses were destroyed here to furnish the site of the castle.<sup>139</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that William built a castle here in 1068 on his return from his first visit to York, and Ordericus makes the same statement.<sup>140</sup> Lincoln, like Exeter, was a Roman *castrum*, and the Norman castle in both cases was placed in one corner of the *castrum*; but the old Roman wall of Lincoln, which stands on the natural ground, was not considered to be a sufficient defence on the two exterior sides, probably on account of its ruinous condition. It was, therefore, buried in a very high and steep bank, which was carried all round the new castle.<sup>141</sup> This circumstance seems to point to the haste with which the castle was built. The area thus enclosed is about  $5\frac{1}{4}$  acres; and this unusually large

<sup>137</sup> Exeter and Tickhill are instances of early Norman gateways, and at Ongar and Pleshy there are fragments of early gateways, though there are no walls on the banks. We have already seen that Arundel and Bramber have gateways which cannot be later than Henry I's time.

<sup>138</sup> D. B. i. 26 a, 1.

<sup>139</sup> 'De praedictis wastis mansionibus propter castellum destructi fuerunt 166' (D. B. i. 336 b, 2).

<sup>140</sup> Ordericus, p. 185.

<sup>141</sup> At present the bank is wanting on a portion of the south side, between the two mottes.

site explains why so many houses were destroyed for the castle.<sup>142</sup> Lincoln, like Lewes, has two mottes. The one in the middle of the southern line of defence is the greater and more important; it was originally surrounded with its own ditch. It is now crowned with a polygonal shell keep, which, according to Dugdale, was built by Ralph Gernon, earl of Chester, in the reign of Stephen.<sup>143</sup> The tower on the other motte, at the south-east angle, has been largely rebuilt in the fourteenth century and added to in modern times, but its lower story still retains work of Norman character. But it is certainly not early Norman, as it is clearly later than the wall of the bailey, which can be seen inside it, with its coping, forming its eastern side. Now there is good reason to suppose that this bailey was first walled with stone in Richard I's reign, as there is an entry in the Pipe Rolls of 1193-4 'for the cost of fortifying the bailey, 82*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*'<sup>144</sup> The present wall contains a good deal of herring-bone work, and this circumstance led Mr. Clark, who was looking for something which he *could* put down to William I's reign, to believe that the walls were of that date. But the herring-bone work is all in patches, as though done in repairs, and herring-bone was used for repairs at all periods of medieval building. Probably, therefore, this tower is only an instance of a rule that can be distinctly traced in castle architecture, that its style generally is decidedly earlier than that of church architecture of the same period.<sup>145</sup> The two gateways are probably of about the same date as the bailey wall; at any rate they both have portcullis grooves, which show that they are not earlier than the twelfth century.

The total revenue which the city of Lincoln paid to the king and the earl had gone up from 30*l.* T.R.E. to 100*l.* T.R.W. For the sake of those who imagine that Saxon halls had anything to do with mottes it is worth noting that the hall which was the residence of the chief proprietor in Lincoln before the Conquest

<sup>142</sup> Mr. Clark gravely argues that the houses were inside what he believes to have been the Saxon castle. It is needless to state that there is not a vestige of historical evidence for the existence of any castle in Lincoln before the Norman period.

<sup>143</sup> Dugdale says that Stephen bestowed on him the castle and city of Lincoln, and gave him leave to fortify one of the towers in Lincoln Castle, and to have command of it until the king should deliver to him the castle of Tickhill; then the king was to have the city and castle of Lincoln again, excepting the earl's own tower, which his mother had fortified. Dugdale refers to this charter as still existing (*Baronage*, p. 39).

<sup>144</sup> 'In custamento firmandi ballium castelli Lincoll.' (P. R. 5 Ric. I.) In an excavation made for repairs in modern times it was found that this wall rested on a timber framework, a device to avoid settling, the wall being of great height and thickness. (Wilson, 'Lincoln Castle,' *Proc. of the Archaeol. Inst.* 1848.)

<sup>145</sup> In the Pipe Roll of 2 John is an entry of 20*l.*, 'ad reparationem nove turris et gaiole,' which may possibly refer to this tower. Or it may have been built by Nichola de Haya, who spent 360*l.* on the castle between 1218 and 1221. There is a blocked postern in the south wall of the bailey, which Mr. Clark himself pronounced late Norman.

was still in existence after the building of the castle, but evidently had no connexion with it.<sup>146</sup>

23. MONMOUTH.—Domesday Book mentions this castle as being the property of the king, but in the custody of William Fitzbaderon.<sup>147</sup> There is no motte now at Monmouth, as the castle has been transformed into barracks, but Speed tells us that there was 'within her walls another mount, whereon a Towre of great height and strength was built.'<sup>148</sup> The sketch in Speed's map indicates this motte, ditched round, with a *round* tower on it, clearly not of early Norman date. It stood in the N.W. corner of a square bailey, the extent of which cannot now be recovered. There is no statement in Domesday Book of the value of Monmouth T.R.E., which probably points to its having been uninhabited before the Conquest, but at the date of the survey 'what the king has in this castle is worth 100 shillings, and what William (Fitzbaderon) has is worth 30l.' The manor was a small one, with no soke.

24. MONTACUTE.—This is another instance of a site for a castle obtained by exchange from the church. Count Robert of Mortain gave the manor of Candel to the priory of Athelney in exchange for the manor of Bishopstowe, 'and there is his castle, which is called Montagud.'<sup>149</sup> The English name of the village at the foot of the hill was Ludgarsburh, which does not point to any fortification on the hill itself, where the wonder-working crucifix of Waltham was found in Saxon times. Robert of Mortain's son William gave the castle of Montacute, with its chapel, orchard, and other appurtenances, to a priory of Cluniac monks which he founded close to it. The gift may have had something compulsory in it, for William of Mortain was banished by Henry I in 1104 as a partisan of Robert Curthose. Thus, as Leland says, 'the notable castle partly fell to ruin, and partly was taken down to make the priory, so that many years since no building of it remained; only a chapel was set upon the very top of the dungeon, and that yet

<sup>146</sup> D. B. i. 336 b, 2: 'Tochi filius Outi habuit in civitate 30 mansiones praeter suam hallam, et duas ecclesias et dimidiam, et suam hallam habuit quietam ab omni consuetudine. . . . Hanc aulam tenet Goisfredus Alselin et suus nepos Radulfus. Remigius episcopus tenet supradictas 30 mansiones, ita quod Goisfredus nihil inde habet.

<sup>147</sup> 'In castello Monemude habet rex in dominio 4 carucas. Willielmus filius Baderon custodit eas. Quod rex habet in hoc castello valet 100 solidos' (D. B. 180 b). Probably *castello* here means *castellaria*.

<sup>148</sup> Speed's *Theatre of Britain*, p. 107.

<sup>149</sup> 'Ipse comes tenet in dominio Bishopstowe, et ibi est castellum eius quod vocatur Montagud. Hoc manerium geldabat T. R. E. pro 9 hidis, et erat de abbacia de Adelingi, et pro eo dedit comes eidem ecclesiae manerium quod Candel vocatur (D. B. i. 93 a, 1).



standeth there.'<sup>150</sup> A drawing in Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* shows the high round motte of the castle; Mackenzie states that there are some traces of earthworks round the hill.<sup>151</sup> The motte, according to Mr. Clark, is of natural rock. Its French name was, of course, imported from Normandy, and we nearly always find that an English castle with a Norman-French name of this kind has a motte.<sup>152</sup>

Bishopstowe, in which the castle was placed, was not a large manor in Saxon times, and had no soke. Its value T. R. E. is not given in the Survey, but we are told that it is worth 6*l.* to the earl and 3*l.* 3*s.* to the knights who hold under him.

25. MONTGOMERY.—This is another French name, but it is the surname of the builder himself, the celebrated Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, who came from Montgomeri in Normandy. Domesday Book names him as the builder of this castle.<sup>153</sup> The motte and bailey plan is still very apparent in the ruins, though the motte, which is of natural rock, is only a few feet higher than the ward attached. The masonry, the chief part of which is the mural keep on the motte, is none of it older than the reign of Henry III, when large sums were spent on this castle,<sup>154</sup> and it is spoken of in a writ as 'the new castle of Montgomery.'<sup>155</sup> Yet even then the whole of the defences were not remade in stone, as bretasches of timber are ordered in a mandamus of 1223.<sup>156</sup> There are four wards at Montgomery, and the first and second wards do not appear to have had any defences in masonry.<sup>157</sup> The third ward, which is the highest ground of the whole, and which we assume to have been formerly the site of the motte, is now about a quarter of an acre square. It is defended on one side by a ditch cut through the rock, and on the other three sides the ground falls precipitously. The four wards are all roughly rectilateral. The whole area of the castle cannot exceed 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  acres.

After the forfeiture of Montgomery Castle by Robert Bellesme in 1101 the crown kept this important border castle in its own hands throughout the middle ages.

<sup>150</sup> *Itin.* ii. 92.

<sup>151</sup> *Castles of England*, ii. 63. The 'immense Romano-British camp' of which Mr. Clark speaks (*M. M. A.* i. 73) is some distance to the east.

<sup>152</sup> Montferrand, Mountjoy, Monthaut (Mold), Belvoir, Beaumont, Beaudesert, Rougement, Egremont are instances in point.

<sup>153</sup> 'Ipse comes construxit castrum Muntgumeri vocatum, ad quod adjacent 52 hidae et dimidia, quas tenuerunt Sennar, Oslac, Azor de rege Edwardo quietas ab omni geldo ad venandum' (*D. B.* i. 254).

<sup>154</sup> 200*l.* was spent in 1223; 300*l.* in 1224; 100*l.* and again 200*l.* in 1225; 210*l.* in 1226; 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* in 1229, 'ad castrum de Muntgumery claudendum'; again 100*l.* in 1229 (*Close Rolls*, i. 568 b; ii. 12 b, 45, 117, 155, 174).

<sup>155</sup> *Montgomery Collections*, x. 66.

<sup>156</sup> *Close Rolls*, i. 558 b.

<sup>157</sup> Clark, *M. M. A.* ii. 311. He mentions, however, the foundations of a rectangular building in the first ward.

As the citation from Domesday Book shows, the manor was a hunting-ground at which three owners joined in King Edward's time; it was uncultivated, and appears to have continued so after the building of the castle, as after the enumeration of the lands it contained comes the entry *Wastae sunt et fuerunt*. Probably it was purely a military post in King William's time.

26. NORWICH.—We find from Domesday Book that no less than 113 houses were destroyed for the site of this castle,<sup>158</sup> a certain proof that the castle was new. It is highly probable that the castle at Norwich was outside the primitive defences of the town, at any rate in part. Norwich was built partly on a peninsula formed by a double bend of the river Wensum, partly in a district lying south-west of this peninsula and defended by a ridge of rising ground running in a north-easterly direction. The castle was placed on the end of this ridge, and all the oldest part of the town, including the most ancient churches, lies to the east of it.<sup>159</sup> In the conjectural map of Norwich in 1100, given in Woodward's *History of Norwich Castle*,<sup>160</sup> the street called Burg Street divides the Old Burg on the east from the New Burg on the west; this street runs along a ridge which traverses the neck of the peninsula from south-west to north-east, and on the northern end of this ridge the castle stands.<sup>161</sup> There can be little doubt that this street marks the line of the *burh* or enclosing bank by which the primitive town of Norwich was defended. A clear proof of this lies in the fact that the castle of Norwich was anciently not in the jurisdiction of the city, but in that of the county; the citizens had no authority over the houses lying beyond the castle ditches until it was expressly granted to them by Edward III.<sup>162</sup> The medieval walls of Norwich, vastly extending the borders of the city, were built at a much later period.<sup>163</sup>

The motte of Norwich Castle, according to recent investigations, is entirely artificial; <sup>164</sup> it was originally square, and had 'a pro-

<sup>158</sup> 'In illa terra de qua Herold habebat socam sunt 15 burgenses et 17 mansurae vastae, quae sunt in occupatione castelli; et in burgo 190 mansurae vacuae in hoc quod erat in soca regis et comitis, et 81 in occupatione castelli' (D. B. ii. 116). This shows that the castle and its ditches occupied ground partly within and partly without the ancient *burh*.

<sup>159</sup> Harrod's *Gleanings among Castles*, p. 142.

<sup>160</sup> The authorities from which this map is compiled are not given.

<sup>161</sup> The new borough at Norwich was the quarter inhabited by the Normans (D. B. ii. 118). 'Franci de Norwich: in novo burgo 36 burgenses et 6 Angliei.' Mr. Hudson says that Maneroft Leet corresponds to the new burgh added to Norwich at the Conquest. See his map in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xlvii.

<sup>162</sup> Harrod's *Gleanings among Castles*, p. 137.

<sup>163</sup> It would appear from the 'Fundationis Historia' of Norwich Priory that the first extension of the walls of Norwich was made in 37 Henry III, when the monks received 'licentiam includendi eandem villam cum fossis,' and by doing this they enclosed the lands of other fees. See *Monasticon Angl.* iv. 13.

<sup>164</sup> See *Archaeol. Journ.* xlvii. 445.

digious large and deep ditch' around it.<sup>165</sup> The fancy of the antiquary Wilkins<sup>166</sup> that the motte was the centre of two concentric outworks has been completely disproved by Mr. Harrod, who shows that the original castle was a motte with one of the ordinary half-moon baileys attached.<sup>167</sup> The ground covered by this castle would be three or four acres; another ward, called the Castle Meadow, probably added at a later date, brings it up to about six acres. The magnificent keep which now stands on the motte is undoubtedly a work of the twelfth century.<sup>168</sup> The castle which Emma, the wife of Earl Ralf Guader, defended against the Conqueror after the celebrated bride-ale of Norwich was in all probability a wooden structure; for as late as the year 1172 the bailey was still defended by a wooden stockade and wooden towers,<sup>169</sup> and even in 1225 the stockade had not been replaced by a stone wall.<sup>170</sup>

Norwich was a royal castle, and consequently always in the hands of the sheriff; it was never the property of the Bigods.<sup>171</sup> As the fable that extensive lands belonging to the monastery of Ely were held on the tenure of castle guard in Norwich *before the Conquest* is repeated by all the local historians,<sup>172</sup> it is worth while to note that the charters of Henry I setting the convent free from this service make no allusion to any such ancient date for it,<sup>173</sup> and that the tenure of castle guard is completely unknown to the Anglo-Saxon laws.

The value of Norwich had greatly risen since the Conquest.<sup>174</sup>

27. OKEHAMPTON.—Baldwin de Molis, sheriff of Devon, held the manor of Okehampton at the time of the Survey and had a castle there.<sup>175</sup> Mr. Worth, in a careful paper on this castle, says: 'The Castle Hill stands on the east point of a spur of high land, and is cut off from it by a deep notch cut through the solid slate rock. On the crest of the hill thus isolated stand the ruins of a keep, on a mound which may be partly artificial in height, as it certainly

<sup>165</sup> Kirkpatrick's *Notes of Norwich Castle*, written about 1725. He says the angles of the hill have now been spoilt (p. 240).

<sup>166</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xii. It is to be regretted that Wilkins's fancy plan is hung up in the museum of Norwich Castle, as though it were authoritative.

<sup>167</sup> See his plan in *Gleanings among Castles*.

<sup>168</sup> Mr. C. H. Hartshorne thought it was built between 1120 and 1135 (*Archæol. Journ.* xlvi. 260).

<sup>169</sup> Pipe Rolls, 19 Henry II, p. 117. 'In reparacione pontis lapidei et palicii et 3 bretascarum in eodem castello, 20 l. 4 s. 8 d.'

<sup>170</sup> Close Rolls, ii. 22. Order that the *palicium* of Norwich Castle, which has fallen down and is threatened with ruin, be repaired.

<sup>171</sup> Kirkpatrick, *Notes on Norwich Castle*.

<sup>172</sup> Except Kirkpatrick, who shows a judicious scepticism on the subject (p. 248).

<sup>173</sup> *Mon. Angl.* i. 482.

<sup>174</sup> D. B. ii. 117.

<sup>175</sup> 'Ipse Baldwinus vicecomes tenet de rege Ochementone, et ibi sedet castellum (D. B. 105 b, 2).

is in form.<sup>176</sup> Mr. Worth was convinced that the lower part of the keep walls was Norman, and Norman that might well be of Baldwin's time. If this view is correct, and if the motte is partly artificial, it is an exceptional instance of an early Norman stone keep on a motte which is not wholly natural. Judgments, however, as to the age of a building formed from masonry alone are always more or less uncertain,<sup>177</sup> and the analogy of other castles makes it very unlikely that a stone keep was built here in the earliest Norman times. The castle was only a small one, its whole area covering scarcely two acres. The bailey is oval in shape.

Okehampton Castle appears to have continued always in private hands, and therefore there is little to be learned about it from the public records. The value of Okehampton manor had increased since the Conquest from 8*l.* to 10*l.* As there is no *burgus* mentioned T. R. E., but four *burgenses* and a market T. R. W., Baldwin, the sheriff, must have built a borough as well as a castle. Otherwise it was a small manor of thirty ploughs, with no soke.

28. OSWESTRY.—Mr. Eyton's identification of the castle of Louvre, in the manor of Meresberie, Shropshire, with Oswestry seems to be decisive.<sup>178</sup> The name simply is L'Œuvre, *The Work*, a name very frequently given to castles in the early Norman period. Domesday Book says that Rainald de Bailleul built a castle at this place.<sup>179</sup> He had married the widow of Warin, sheriff of Shropshire, who died in 1085. The castle afterwards passed into the hands of the Fitzalans, great lords marchers on the Welsh border. As the Welsh annals give the credit of building the castle to Madoc ap Meredith, into whose hands it fell during the reign of Stephen, it is not impossible that some of the masonry still existing on the motte, which consists of large cobbles bedded in very thick mortar, may be his work, and probably the first stone work in the castle. A sketch made in the eighteenth century, however, which is the only drawing of the castle preserved, seems to show architecture of the Perpendicular period.<sup>180</sup> But probably the keep alone was of masonry in the twelfth century, as in 1166, when the castle was in royal custody, the repair of the stockade is referred to in the Pipe Rolls.<sup>181</sup> No plan has been preserved of Oswestry Castle,

<sup>176</sup> *Report of Devon Association*, 1895, p. 124.

<sup>177</sup> The Normans were not without expedients for obviating the difficulty of planting masonry safely on made ground. See Rochester, *post*.

<sup>178</sup> Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vii.

<sup>179</sup> 'Ibi fecit Rainaldus castellum Luvre' (D. B. i. 253 b). Rainaldus was an under-tenant of Earl Roger.

<sup>180</sup> This sketch is reproduced in Mr. Parry-Jones's *Story of Oswestry Castle*. Leland says: 'Extat turris in castro nomine Madoci' (*Itin.* v. 38).

<sup>181</sup> 'In operatione palicii de Blancmuster 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*' (xii. 124). Oswestry was known as Blancmoustier in Norman times.

so that it is impossible to recover the shape or area of the bailey, which is now built over. The manor of Meresberie had been unoccupied (*wasta*) in the time of King Edward, but it yielded 40s. at the time of the Survey. Eyton gives reasons for thinking that the town of Oswestry was founded by the Normans.

29. PEAK.—The Survey simply calls this castle the castle of William Peverel.<sup>182</sup> Two Saxons had formerly held the land. There is no motte nor even any earth banks at Peak Castle, and in so stony a country it was easier to build a wall than to rear an earthen and timber vallum. It is therefore possible that the wall which now surrounds Peak Castle may be, at least in part, the work of William Peverel. The south curtain still contains some of the herring-bone work which was so often used in early Norman times. There is also some herring-bone work in the basement story of the keep, but the keep itself is undoubtedly the work of Henry II.<sup>183</sup> It is not ditched round, but the almost impregnable position which it occupied rendered very little fortification necessary. The shape of the bailey is a quadrant; its area scarcely exceeds an acre and a quarter.

The value of the manor had risen since the Conquest, and William Peverel had doubled the number of ploughs in the demesne. The castle only remained in the hands of the Peverels for two generations, and was then forfeited to the crown. The manor was only a small one, and the site of the castle was probably chosen for its natural advantages and for the facility of hunting in the Peak Forest.

30. PENWORTHAM.—‘King Edward held Peneverdant. There are two carucates of land there, and they used to pay tenpence. Now there is a castle there, and there are two ploughs in the demesne, and six burghers and three radmans and eight villeins and four cowerds. Amongst them all they have four ploughs. There is half a fishery there. There is wood and hawks’ aeries, as in King Edward’s time. It is worth 3*l.*’<sup>184</sup> The very great rise in

<sup>182</sup> ‘Terram castelli Willelmi Peverel tenerunt Gerneburn et Hunding’ (D. B. i. 276 a, 2).

<sup>183</sup> See a paper by Mr. C. H. Hartshorne in *Archaeol. Journ.* v. 207. Mr. Hartshorne states that there is not only much herring-bone work in the crypt, but stones which appear to have been used in a former building, so that it is possible that there may have been an earlier stone keep built by William Peverel, though one would have expected it to last more than 100 years. But the architecture of the present keep shows that it cannot be earlier than Henry II’s time, and the entries in the two following reigns are only sufficient for repairs, so it cannot be later. The Pipe Rolls show that Henry II spent 350*l.* on Peak Castle, a sum scarcely adequate for a stone keep. But there is some reason to think that the cost of castles was occasionally defrayed in part from sources which do not appear in the Pipe Rolls.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Rex E. tenuit Peneverdant. Ibi 2 carucatae terrae et reddebant 10 denarios. Modo est ibi castellum, et 2 carucae sunt in dominio, et 6 burgenses et 3 radmans et 8

value in this manor shows that something important has happened since the Norman Conquest. That something is the building of a castle. The *modo* of Domesday always expresses a contrast with King Edward's time, and clearly tells us here that Penwortham Castle was new.<sup>185</sup> It lay in the extensive lands between the Ribble and the Mersey, which were part of the Conqueror's gift to Roger the Poitevin, third son of Earl Roger de Montgomeri.<sup>186</sup> Since Penwortham is mentioned as demesne, and no under-tenant is spoken of, we may perhaps assume that this castle, which was the head of a barony, was built by Roger himself.<sup>187</sup> Further mentions of the castle are very scanty, but it can be traced till the reign of Edward III.<sup>188</sup> Down to that time the earls of Chester, as representatives of Roger de Lacy, to whom the barony had been transferred in John's reign, held their manorial courts at Penwortham. At a later period, though we have not been able to trace when, the manor of Penwortham passed into the hands of the monks of Evesham, to whom the church had already been granted.<sup>189</sup> It is probably because the castle thus passed into the hands of the church that it never developed into a great medieval pile of stone. The seat of the barony was transferred elsewhere, and probably the timbers of the castle were used in the monastic buildings of Penwortham Priory.<sup>190</sup>

The excavations which took place here in 1856 proved conclusively that there were no stone foundations on the Castle Hill at Penwortham.<sup>191</sup> These excavations revealed the interesting fact that the Norman had thrown up his motte on the site of an earlier

villani et 4 bovarii. Inter omnes habent 4 carucas. Ibi dimidia piscaria. Silva et airae accipitrum sicut T. R. E. Valent 3 libras' (D. B. i. 270).

<sup>185</sup> We need not resort to any fanciful British origins of the name Peneverdant, as it is clearly the effort of a Norman scribe to write the unpronounceable Saxon name Penwortham.

<sup>186</sup> See *ante*, p. 226.

<sup>187</sup> Roger the Poitevin forfeited his lands in 1102, and they then became the property of Roger de Busli, a great Yorkshire landholder, to whom he had already granted the hundred of Blackburn in fee. The name Busli, in Lancashire, took the form Bussell, and a Warin Bussell, who lived towards the end of the Conqueror's reign, granted the church at Penwortham to the monks of Evesham.

<sup>188</sup> Penwortham was then again a royal manor, held by Isabella, the king's mother, and her seneschal of Penwortham is mentioned (Hulton's *Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham*, Cheetham Society, vol. iii.)

<sup>189</sup> Mr. Hulton's book throws no light on this point. A charter in the *Monasticon* (iii. 419) makes Richard Bussell, son of Warin Bussell, grant the court of Penwortham to the abbot of Evesham 'as freely as my father had it, or I myself.' We cannot reconcile this with the fact that the court was undoubtedly in the hands of the feudal lord in the days of Henry III. See, for example, Close Rolls, ii. 93 b. The confirmation charter of Hugh Bussell, grandson of Richard, makes no mention of the *curia*.

<sup>190</sup> This happened at other places, as at Meaux Abbey (*Chron. de Melsa*, i. 105).

<sup>191</sup> *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. ix. 1856-7, paper on 'The Castle Hill of Penwortham,' by the Rev. W. Thornber, and Hardwick's *History of Preston*, pp. 103-11.

British or Romano-British hut, without even being aware of it, in all probability, since the ruins of the hut were buried five feet deep and covered by a grass-grown surface, on which the Norman had laid a rude pavement of boulders before piling his motte.<sup>192</sup> Among the objects found in the excavations was a Norman prick spur,<sup>193</sup> a conclusive proof of the Norman origin of the motte. No remains appear to have been found of the Norman wooden keep; but this may be accounted for by the theory suggested above.

Penwortham is a double motte, the artificial hill rising on the back of a natural hill which has been isolated from its continuing ridge by an artificial ditch cut through it. The double hill rises out of a bailey court which is rudely square, but whose shape is determined by the ground, which forms a high headland running out into the Ribble. The whole area is less than three acres. There was a ferry at this point in Norman times. The castle defends the mouth of the Ribble and overlooks the town of Preston.

Penwortham was certainly not the *caput* of a large soke in Saxon times, as it was only a berewick of Blackburn, in which hundred it lay. It was the Norman who first made it the seat of a barony.

ELLA S. ARMITAGE.

<sup>192</sup> In a paper published in the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1900, on 'Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman Castles,' the present writer was misled into the statement that this hut was the remains of the cellar of the Norman bretasche. A subsequent study of Mr. Hardwick's more lucid account of the excavations showed that this was an error. There were two pavements of boulders, one on the natural surface of the hill on which the hut had been built, the other five feet above it and twelve feet below the present surface. The hut appeared to have been circular, with wattled walls and a thatched roof. Several objects were found in the remains, which were pronounced to be Roman or Romano-British. The upper pavement would probably be the flooring of a Norman keep.

<sup>193</sup> Mr. Roach Smith pronounced this spur to be Norman. As its evidence is so important, it is to be regretted that its position was not more accurately observed. It was found in the lowest stratum of the remains, but Mr. Hardwick says: 'As it was not observed until thrown to the surface, a possibility remained that it might have fallen from the level of the upper boulder pavement, 5 feet higher.' We may regard this possibility as a certainty, unless we are to suppose that the Normans built the hut as well as the motte, and then abandoned it for so long that it became buried and overgrown with grass.

## *Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion'*

### PART II.—THE 'LIFE' OF HIMSELF.

THE composition of the 'History' was suddenly stopped by the outbreak of the second civil war. On 26 June 1648 Hyde left Jersey, at the urgent summons of Lord Jermyn, to join Prince Charles in Holland. He had on 8 March 1648 completed the seventh book of the 'History,' and portions of books viii. and ix. were also written during his residence in Jersey. Twenty years elapsed between the interruption of the 'History' and the commencement of Hyde's account of his own life. On 30 Nov. 1667 he fled a second time from England, and after various wanderings and vicissitudes established himself at Montpellier about the beginning of July 1668. The 'Life' is dated, on the opening page of the first book, '23 July 1668,' and was completed as far as the Restoration on 1 August 1670. Its progress was delayed by other literary labours, of which the most important was a vindication of himself from the charge of high treason drawn up by the house of commons in 1667. It is dated at the commencement 24 July 1668, and is printed in the collection of Clarendon's *Tracts* published in 1727,<sup>1</sup> and in abridged form in sections 1243-1351 of the 'Continuation' of his 'Life.' 'He thought,' he tells us, 'he was indebted for his own reputation, and for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himself from those aspersions and reproaches which the malice of his enemies had cast upon him in the parliament.' He styles this vindication 'a plain, particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with.' When finished it was to be transcribed and sent to his sons in England, not only that they might be convinced of his innocence themselves, but also that they might use it 'to convince other men who were willing to be undeceived.' The manner of doing this, in order not to embarrass the king by the revelation of awkward secrets, was left to their discretion.<sup>2</sup> Having thus provided for the defence of his memory, Clarendon took up again the narrative of his own life, which was

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 1-88.

<sup>2</sup> 'Continuation' of 'Life,' section 1243; *A Collection of several Tracts of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 1727*, p. 376.



written primarily for the information of his children, and not, like the vindication, designed for eventual publicity.<sup>3</sup>

Clarendon's personal share in public events naturally fills the most prominent place in the narrative of his life, but there are many digressions on the characters of his friends and on the situation of public affairs at particular moments in his career. An analysis of the first part of the 'Life' will show the nature of his scheme. Clarendon begins by an account of his family, of his education at Oxford, and his admission at the Inner Temple. Then he introduces an account of the death of the duke of Buckingham, of the state of public affairs at his death, and of the characters of those ministers who 'had the principal management of public affairs in church and state' after Buckingham's death. Returning after this digression to his personal history he relates his two marriages and the death of his father, describes his own manner of living, and explains what kind of company and conversation he found pleasure in. He then sketches the characters of his friends and winds up by drawing his own. A second digression narrates the king's visit to Scotland in 1633, Laud's appointment as archbishop, the state of the church at the time, and Laud's further appointment as commissioner of the treasury, which brought Hyde into personal contact with him. Accounts of the Scottish rebellion and of the short parliament follow, and Mr. Hyde's part in the parliamentary proceedings is given in great detail. The 'Life' also gives a very complete account of Hyde's activity during the first session of the long parliament, dwelling upon his industrious labours on committees, his energy in reforming legal abuses, and his zeal in the defence of the church. It records conversations with friends and opponents, tells what ominous words Pym, Fiennes, or Marten dropped in familiar talk, why Essex would accept no compromise about Strafford's punishment, why the Scots hated Mr. Hyde and for what reason the northern members loved him. We see Mr. Hyde persuading the city merchants to lend money to pay off the armies, overthrowing the council of the north, obstructing the Root and Branch Bill, and defending the rights of the bishops against his friend Falkland. He relates in detail the different steps which led him to enter the king's service, and how he rose from being a confidential and unofficial adviser to be a privy councillor and chancellor of the exchequer. The meagre and fragmentary narrative actually printed as his 'Life' of himself gives a very imperfect idea of the full and lively autobiography which he originally wrote; for though much of interest remains behind, most

<sup>3</sup> 'Life,' ed. 1857, i. 85. Of the 'Continuation' of the 'Life' he says in like manner: 'It cannot be presumed to be intended for a public view, or for more than the information of his children of the true source and grounds from whence their father's misfortunes proceeded' ('Continuation,' section 1; cf. *Essays*, p. 376).

of the best things have been extracted, torn away from the context, and inserted in the *History of the Rebellion*.

As Hyde proceeded in the story of his career his pen ran away with him, and he enlarged more and more upon public affairs. He began to think it a pity that what he had written should never be read beyond the narrow circle of his family and his friends. In apologising for one of his digressions on public affairs he says—

The memorials and extracts are so large and particular of all these proceedings in the notes and papers of the person whose life is the end of this discourse that even unawares many things are inserted not so immediately applicable to his own person, which possibly may hereafter, in some other method, be communicated to the world.<sup>4</sup>

Yet he never contemplated the integral publication of his manuscript, and while the idea that some portions of it might yet be published hereafter encouraged him to be more discursive than if he had been writing solely for his family, the fact that he was primarily writing for them induced him to write with freedom. His children, he was confident, would take care that nothing was published which for reasons of state it would be desirable to keep secret.<sup>5</sup> In the 'Life,' therefore, he reveals the hidden causes of events with a frankness he had not ventured to exhibit in his earlier work. For instance, speaking of the negotiations between the king and the parliament in the spring of 1643, he says—

All the transactions of that treaty, having been long since published, and being only fit to be digested into the history of that time, are to be omitted here. Only what passed in secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwise be known, since at this time no other man is living who was privy to that negotiation but the chancellor of the exchequer, will have a proper place in this discourse.<sup>6</sup>

For the same reason 'in this discourse which is never to see the light, and so can reflect upon nobody's character with prejudice,' Clarendon feels at liberty to criticise persons with greater boldness. He does not hesitate now to blame any, even the most sacred persons. In the original 'History' when he felt bound to express his disapproval of some unwise act of the king's he did it timidly and apologetically. 'Here I cannot but let myself loose to say,' and 'here I cannot but again take the liberty to say,' are two of the expressions by which he prefaces his strictures.<sup>7</sup> 'As if,' comments Warburton, 'he were speaking against his duty when he censured the crown,' or rather because he destined what he was writing for the perusal of the king himself.

<sup>4</sup> 'Life,' i. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Clarendon's will runs as follows: 'I give and bequeath to my said sons all my papers and writings of what kind soever, and leave them entirely to their disposal, as they shall be advised either by suppressing or publishing, by the advice of my lord archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Life,' iii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 6, 150.

In 1669 the situation had altered. As Clarendon was no longer writing for the king's eye, his former reticence was unnecessary. He could be outspoken without fear of giving offence. Moreover experience and his own treatment had opened his eyes to the faults of the masters he had served. In the character which he gives of Charles I he concludes by saying that 'he was without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy,' and blames him as being 'more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit.' The reason was that though he 'had an excellent understanding he was not confident enough of it, which made him oftentimes change his opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of a man that did not judge so well as himself.'<sup>8</sup> Similarly in the exordium to book ix. of the *History of the Rebellion*, written in 1671, Clarendon, discussing the question how far the king was responsible for his own misfortunes, observes—

The most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded from the modesty of his own nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe that others discerned better who were much inferior to him in those faculties, and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful men whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his service.<sup>9</sup>

One such unskilful counsellor was Lord Digby. In the original 'History' Clarendon had blamed the impeachment of the five members in vague and general terms. Charles, he said,

had very few to give him counsel and none that would avow it. . . . In this restraint the king, considering rather what was just than what was expedient, without communicating it to any of his council, and so not sufficiently weighing the circumstances and way of doing it as well as the matter itself, resolved to impeach the leaders of the opposition.<sup>10</sup>

In the 'Life' Clarendon repeatedly blames this design in much stronger terms, paints its fatal effects on the king's position, and complains that he had not only broken his promise to his three advisers in the house of commons, but also had abandoned the policy he had recently promised them to pursue. Clarendon describes himself, Falkland, and Colepepper, as

so much displeased and dejected that they were inclined never more to take upon them the care of anything to be transacted in the house, finding

<sup>8</sup> *Rebellion*, xi. 241, 243, a passage inserted from the 'Life,' written in 1670.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 3. This infirmity, remarks Clarendon in another passage, was not peculiar to Charles I., but was inherited by his children. 'It was the unhappy fate of that family that they trusted naturally to the judgments of those who were as much inferior to them in understanding as they were in quality, before their own, which were very good.' Speaking of his own administration of affairs from 1660 to 1667, he says: 'That which gave him most trouble . . . was that unfixedness and irresolution of judgment which was natural to all his (the king's) family of the male line' ('Continuation,' sections 861, 928; cf. 336).

<sup>10</sup> *Rebellion*, iv. 149, note— a passage from the manuscript of the 'History.'

already that they could not avoid being looked upon as the authors of those counsels to which they were so absolutely strangers and which they so perfectly detested.<sup>11</sup>

The cause of this, he explains, was 'the unquiet and volatile spirit of the lord Digby' which had 'prevailed with the king, contrary to his resolution,' and after describing Digby's character he adds: 'The king was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily amazed when they were entered upon.'<sup>12</sup>

In the same way Hyde complains that the king in the spring of 1642 followed the advice of Colepepper and neglected to take counsel with his two friends. In opposition to the policy suggested by them, Charles, after parting from the queen, went to York, intending to get Hull into his hands:

the design upon Hull being the sole advice of Sir John Colepeper, which he owned not to his two companions, well knowing that their opinion being that the queen being gone the king should either return to London or remain at Hampton Court, or at such a distance, and positively refuse to consent to any other unwarrantable demands.<sup>13</sup>

The king's natural irresolution prevented him from consistently adhering to the policy which his regular advisers had engaged him to pursue, and their counsels were always liable to be overruled by the predominating influence of the queen.

The king's affection to the queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passions to the greatest height, insomuch as he saw with her eyes and determined by her judgment; and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know he was swayed by her, which was not good for either of them. . . . When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs (from which she had been carefully restrained by the duke of Buckingham whilst he lived) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them; in which her passions were always strong. . . . she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things and disposing all things. . . . And she so far concurred with the king's inclination that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power than that all the world should take notice that she was the entire mistress of it; which in truth (with what other unhappy circumstances whatsoever concurred in the mischief) was the foundation upon which the first and utmost prejudices to the king and his government were raised and prosecuted. . . .'

<sup>11</sup> *Rebellion*, iv. 146, 158, 191.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 129, 146. Compare Mr. Gardiner's estimate of the influence of Digby on Charles during the later years of the war (*Great Civil War*, ii. 253, 284).

<sup>13</sup> 'Life,' ii. 17, 30; *Rebellion*, v. 88.

When Henrietta Maria left England in February 1642

his majesty made a solemn promise to her at parting that he would receive no person into any favour and trust, who had disserved him, without her privity and consent, and that as she had undergone so many reproaches and calumnies at the entrance into the war so he would never make any peace but by her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her.

His majesty, adds Clarendon, 'was too religious an observer of this promise.'<sup>14</sup> The removal of the earls of Essex and Holland from their posts as chamberlain and groom of the stole was effected in pursuance of the king's promise to the queen. That act was most prejudicial in its consequences, for it threw them both into the arms of the popular party, and freed Essex from an obligation which would have prevented him from accepting the command of the parliamentary army. Without Essex it would have been impossible for the parliament to raise an army.<sup>15</sup> To the same promise was due the king's fatal rejection of the secret overtures made to him at the time of the treaty of Oxford, overtures which, according to the view of Clarendon, might, if accepted, have led either to a peace with the parliament or at least to a serious division among its supporters.<sup>16</sup> It was also the queen's importunity which had prevailed with the king in February 1642 to assent to the bill excluding the bishops from the house of lords.<sup>17</sup>

A fault of the same kind in the king was his too great fondness for his nephews. Hyde had not in his earlier narrative hesitated to point out the faults of Rupert and Maurice; he now dwells on their defects in more detail, and censures Charles himself for granting them too much authority. 'The king always loved his family immoderately and with notable partiality, and was willing to believe that their high qualities could not be without all those qualities and qualifications which were equal to it, if they had an opportunity to manifest those endowments.'<sup>18</sup> Hence the appointment of Maurice to be lieutenant-general of the western army under the marquis of Hertford,

which nobody believed would produce any good effect, there being no two men of more contrary natures and dispositions. The prince had never sacrificed to the graces, nor conversed amongst men of quality, but had most used the company of ordinary and inferior men, with whom he loved to be very familiar. He was not qualified with parts of nature, and less with any acquired; and towards men of the best condition, with whom he might very well have justified a familiarity, he maintained at

<sup>14</sup> 'Life,' iii. 14-7.

<sup>15</sup> *Rebellion*, v. 31-5.

<sup>16</sup> 'Life,' iii. 7-13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 17-20. For other instances of the influence of the queen and its consequences see *Rebellion*, vii. 182, 242. Hyde finally came to a breach with the queen on the question of Prince Charles going to France (*ibid.* x. 5-49).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 86, note.

least the full state of his birth and understood very little more of the war than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion.<sup>19</sup>

So too when Rupert was made lieutenant-general of the horse a clause was inserted in his commission exempting him from receiving orders from anybody but the king himself, which practically separated the horse from any dependence on the general.

The king was so indulgent to him that he took his advice on all things relating to the army, and so upon consideration of their march and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince Rupert's advice, and rejected the opinion of the general. . . . The uneasiness of the prince's nature, and the little education he had with courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the lords, who were likewise discouraged from applying themselves to him, whilst some officers of the horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it, believing their credit would be the greater with the prince, and desired that no other person should have any credit with the king. So the war was scarcely begun when there appeared such faction and designs in the army, which wise men looked upon as a very evil presage; and the inconveniences which flowed from thence gave the king great trouble in a short time after.<sup>20</sup>

It remains now to notice one characteristic of the *History of the Rebellion* in which the information of the future historian is plainly the object of the writer. Nothing delighted Clarendon's first readers more than the personal portraits with which his work is so freely interspersed. 'I cannot but let you know,' writes Evelyn to Pepys, 'the incredible satisfaction I have taken in reading my late Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* . . . I acknowledge myself transported with all the parts of this excellent history.' He praises the 'masculine style,' the preface, 'so like that of the noble Polybius, leading us by the courts, avenues, and porches into the fabric.' But above all he admires the characters,

so just and tempered without the least ingredient of passion or tincture of revenge, yet with such natural and lively touches as show his lordship well knew not only the persons' outsides but their very interiors, whilst yet he treats the most obnoxious, who deserved the severest rebuke, with a becoming generosity and freedom, even where the ill-conduct of those of that pretended loyal party, as well as of the most flagitious, might have justified the worst that could be said of their miscarriages and demerits.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 'Life.' Compare with this the account of Maurice's appointment in the 'History' (*Rebellion*, vii. 94). See also *ibid.* pp. 144, 155, 156, 192, 290, 296, on the mistake made in appointing Maurice to command the western army, and the errors committed by him. These passages also belong to the earlier narration.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 78; cf. vi. 90, on the relations of Rupert and Lindsey; vi. 126 note, on the origin of the hostility between Rupert and Wilmot; viii. 168, on Rupert's appointment in general. These three passages are from the 'Life.' See also vii. 279 (from the 'History') and ix. 30, 68.

<sup>21</sup> 20 Jan. 1702-3. Correspondence at the end of Lord Braybrooke's edition of

Hyde himself tells us that one of the motives which induced him to take up his pen was lest 'the memory of those few who, out of duty and conscience, have opposed and resisted the torrent that hath overwhelmed them may lose the recompense due to their virtue, and having undergone the injuries and reproaches of this may not find a vindication in a better age.'<sup>22</sup> 'I take it,' he wrote to Dr. Stewart, when asking for particulars about the life of Laud, 'to be no less the true end of history to derive the eminency and virtue of those persons who lived in those times of which he writes faithfully to posterity than the counsels which were taken and the actions which were done.'<sup>23</sup>

Another reason for the introduction of these personal sketches was afforded by Hyde's conception of the origin of the rebellion. Not observing the share which general causes had in producing it, and declining to look far back for its source, he often overestimated the influence of individuals and the importance of personal causes. May—far inferior in all the qualities of an historian—endeavoured to present the rebellion as a result of the great religious revolution of the preceding century. Hyde announced at the very outset of his work that he sought to make his readers

discern the minds of men prepared, of some to do, and of others to suffer, all that since happened: the pride of this man, and the popularity of that; the levity of one, and the morosity of another . . . the spirit of craft and subtlety in some, and the rude and unpolished integrity of others . . . like so many atoms contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us.<sup>24</sup>

It is scarcely a paradox to say that his vivid presentment of the actors sprang in part from his imperfect comprehension of the drama itself.

The large experience of public affairs which the next twenty years brought to Hyde made no change in his way of regarding the past. His conception of the historic importance of personal as opposed to general causes remained unaltered. On the other hand his interest in character increased, and time, which blurred and distorted his recollections of events, left his impressions of men as strong and clear as if he had seen them yesterday; for he nurtured his memory of them and exercised it, so as to keep it fresh and strong. He tells us that he never took more pleasure in anything than in frequently mentioning and naming those persons

Pepys. Horace Walpole also compares Clarendon to Polybius, but greatly to his disadvantage (*Letters*, ed. Wright, iii. 184).

<sup>22</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 328. Again in introducing his character of Falkland he observes: 'If the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history . . .' (*Rebellion*, vii. 217)

<sup>24</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 4.

who were then his friends, or of his most familiar conversation, and remembering their particular virtues and faculties.<sup>25</sup> When he was rich and powerful he filled Clarendon House with portraits of illustrious Englishmen of every time, but above all those 'of his own time and acquaintance.' Evelyn, who describes the collection, mentions amongst them the great duke of Buckingham, the brave Montrose, the magnificent earl of Carlisle, Lord Treasurer Weston, Hamilton, Digby, Falkland, and many more who played their part in the scenes which live in Clarendon's pages.<sup>26</sup> In his solitary and monotonous exile, when Clarendon could no longer see their faces looking down on him from his walls, he recalled their characters to his mind and sketched their portraits with his pen.

The *History of the Rebellion* as published contains a small number of characters derived from the original 'History,' written in 1646-8, and a very large number from the 'Life,' written between 1668 and 1670. It is worth while to compare the two narratives in detail, in order to make this plain. In the earlier narrative there are short sketches of the characters of the king's ministers and servants, as, for instance, of Noy, Finch, Laud, Strafford, Cottington, and Hamilton. There are more elaborate accounts of the leaders of the opposition, of Hampden, Pym, and the earl of Northumberland.<sup>27</sup> After every battle there usually occur notices of the chief persons slain on the royalist side. Thus in the sixth book there are characters of the earl of Northampton and Sidney Godolphin, of the earl of Lindsey, Lord Aubigny, and others. After Lansdowne fight come a few sentences on Sir Bevil Greenville and Major Sheldon; after the storming of Bristol Grandison, Slanning, and Trevannion are commemorated; after the first battle of Newbury follow sketches of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the incomparable portrait of Falkland.<sup>28</sup> Falkland is drawn on such a scale that his character seems rather a separate composition inserted in the 'History' than an integral part of the work itself. Of it Hyde himself remarks in a letter to his friend Dr. John Earles—

I told you long since that when I came to speak of the unhappy battle of Newbury I would enlarge upon the memory of our dear friend that perished there, to which I conceive myself obliged not more by the rights of friendship than of history, which ought to transmit the virtues of excellent persons to posterity, and I am therefore careful to do justice to every man who hath fallen in the quarrel, on which side soever, as you will find by what I have said of Mr. Hampden himself. I am now past that point; and being quickened by your most elegant and poetical com-

<sup>25</sup> 'Life,' i. 25.

<sup>26</sup> *Diary*, iii. 443. See also Ellis, *Historical Inquiries respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon*, 1827, pp. 28-46.

<sup>27</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 157, 158; ii. 100-106, iii. 204, 228; vii. 82, 409.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 90, 251, 283; vii. 109, 132, 215.



memoration of him, and from hints there thinking it necessary to say somewhat for his vindication in such particulars as may possibly have made impression in good men, it may be I have insisted longer upon the argument than may be agreeable to the rules to be observed in such a work, though it be not much longer than Livy is in recollecting the virtues of one of the Scipios after his death. I wish it were with you, that you might read it; for if you thought it impropportionable for the place where it is I could be willingly diverted to make it a piece by itself and enlarge it into the whole size of his 'Life;' and in that way it would be sooner communicated to the world. And you know Tacitus published his *Life of Julius Agricola* before either of his *Annals* or his *History*.<sup>29</sup>

In Clarendon's second exile, when he set to work to write his autobiography, he developed and amplified the personal element in the story of his times. Many contemporaries whose character he had sketched in a line or two in the original 'History' are drawn at full length in the 'Life.' In the 'History,' for instance, Lenthal, when chosen speaker, had been briefly described as 'a lawyer of good practice and no ill affections,' but a very weak man, and unequal to such a task.' In the 'Life' this is represented by fourteen lines, in which Lenthal is much more severely handled, and accused of timorousness and avarice.<sup>30</sup> In the 'History' Clarendon had devoted eighteen or twenty lines to a catalogue of the popular leaders in the two houses, saying, 'It will not be amiss to take a view of the persons by whose arts and interests the rest were disposed.' In the 'Life' he inserts the long description of their characters, which now fills eleven sections of the *History of the Rebellion*.<sup>31</sup> Just in the same way in his account of Edgehill in the 'Life' Clarendon added long characters of the notable persons slain instead of confining himself to commemorating them more briefly.<sup>32</sup>

Besides these the 'Life' contains characters of a number of persons who were not even briefly described in the 'History.' 'We will take a survey of that great person the duke of Buckingham,' says Clarendon, just after relating his own recovery from small-pox; and thereupon follows a digression on Buckingham's character, on the Spanish marriage treaty, and on the duke's assassination by Felton.<sup>33</sup> The author tells us that he lamented Buckingham's death at the time, 'and endeavoured to vindicate him from some libels and reproaches which were vented after his death.'<sup>34</sup> The death of that omnipotent favourite and the personal changes which

<sup>29</sup> 14 Dec. 1647; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 386; cf. *ibid.* ii. 350.

<sup>30</sup> *Rebellion*, iii. 2, and Dr. Macray's note to iii. 1.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 24-35, and Dr. Macray's note to iii. 55.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 89-93, and notes to 88 and 93.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* i. 13-93.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* i. 94. Clarendon refers to the account of Buckingham printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (ed. 1685, p. 85), entitled *The Difference and Disparity between the Estate and Condition of George, Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Essex*.

resulted afford opportunity for another digression. We are given, therefore, 'a prospect of the constitution of the court after that bright star was shot out of the horizon, who were the chief ministers that had the principal management of affairs in church and state; and how equal their faculties and qualifications were for those high transactions.' Then follow characters of Coventry, Portland, and others, and in the same way the mention of the king's journey to Scotland gives occasion for another digression on the characters of the two archbishops, Abbott and Laud.<sup>35</sup> To conclude, throughout the first book of the published *History of the Rebellion* the portraits of persons are taken from the 'Life,' just as the dissertations on politics are from the 'History.'

At several other points in his autobiography Clarendon halts to insert digressions upon the characters of his friends or acquaintances. The men he knew during his early life in London, whether men of letters, such as Ben Jonson, Selden, Cotton, Carew, and May, or divines, such as Chillingworth, Hales, and Sheldon, are one after another depicted, and there is an account of the early life of Falkland, which supplements that which had been already written on the occasion of his death.<sup>36</sup> When Hyde has occasion to mention his own appointment as chancellor of the exchequer he makes it an excuse for another series of experiments in character-painting.

We shall set down the state of the court and the state of the kingdom at this time, the names of those privy councillors who attended the king or were in his service, and the names of those who were likewise of the council, but stayed and acted with the parliament against the king.

Portraits of twelve royalists and nine parliamentarians follow.<sup>37</sup>

It is evident that the taste for analysing and depicting character had grown upon Clarendon since the days when he wrote the original 'History.' He now inserted characters not merely when the incidents of the narration demanded but whenever he could find a pretext for indulging his predilection for that particular kind of composition. Comparing the characters in the 'Life' with those in the 'History,' those written later are more elaborate and more epigrammatic than the earlier ones; there is more striving after literary effect visible. They are ornaments introduced to diversify and decorate the plain, straightforward story of events. One curious proof of the attraction which character-drawing possessed for Clarendon is afforded by the fact that he wrote several independent pieces of the kind, which are not included in either the 'History' or the 'Life.' At Montpellier in April 1669, just after he had completed the first part of his own autobiography, he suspended the progress of that work in order to put together three biographical sketches of the

<sup>35</sup> *Rebellion*, i. 95-146, 185-215.

<sup>36</sup> 'Life,' i. 26-60.

<sup>37</sup> *Rebellion*, vi. 382-411.

earl of Bristol, Lord Berkeley, and Lord Arlington. All three were his enemies. Bristol had impeached him in 1663, though without success, and Arlington had been the chief agent in his overthrow in 1667. Berkeley had once been his friend, but had become an enemy when his demand for the mastership of the court of wards was opposed by Hyde. Clarendon sat down to dissect the characters of his enemies as an agreeable literary exercise, and apparently without any other object than the gratification of his feelings and the trial of his skill. Apparently he had no idea of publishing any of these productions, for although a small part of one of them was inserted in the *History of the Rebellion*,<sup>38</sup> and a few phrases from another in the 'Continuation' of the 'Life,' the bitterest epigrams they contained were left to slumber amongst his manuscripts.<sup>39</sup>

Having completed our examination of the chief characteristics of the 'Life' as compared with the 'History,' it is necessary to consider the relative trustworthiness of the two narratives from which the *History of the Rebellion* is derived. In order to determine the trustworthiness of the 'Life' we must inquire first what the conditions were under which it was written. Clarendon was born on 18 Feb. 1608-9, and the first page of his autobiography is dated 23 July 1668. He was, therefore, nearly sixty years of age when he began to write it, and his memory of past events was impaired not merely by the lapse of time but by the failing health of which he often complains. In Jersey when he was writing his 'History' he had around him some of the men whose acts he set out to relate, and he was in constant correspondence with others. And, quite apart from what he might learn in familiar intercourse with his friends, he had a certain amount of documentary evidence to help his memory, though much less than he desired or needed. In his second exile at Montpellier and Moulins he had none of these aids. Clarendon had accumulated a great collection of papers which are of permanent value to the historian of the age in which he lived, but he had brought none of them with him to France. His flight had been unpremeditated and unprepared. Confident in his own integrity he had no thought of refusing to face the accusations brought against him in parliament, and disregarded many hints that it would be best for him to leave England of his own accord. On 29 Nov. 1667 Charles II, who had already through different emissaries suggested that the accused minister should withdraw himself beyond the seas, paid a visit to the duke of York, and told him bluntly to 'advise the chancellor to be gone.' Upon this the duke

<sup>38</sup> *Rebellion*, x. 13-20.

<sup>39</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, p. 111; 'Supplement,' pp. li-lxxxi. The account of Digby fills 23 pages folio, that of Berkeley 7, that of Bennett 3½. The original is the Clarendon MS. 112. Digby's character is dated at the end April 1669; the others are undated.

sent the bishop of Winchester to Clarendon with the message 'that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone.' Clarendon embarked for Calais the same night, and, in the hurry of the sudden departure, neither thought of encumbering himself with his papers, nor had time to select from the mass he left behind.

During the first few months of his exile Clarendon did not feel the loss of his papers. He was too ill to write anything, and he was driven from place to place, uncertain whether he would be allowed to remain in France, or in what part of the country he would be permitted to pass his banishment. As soon as his health grew better he betook himself again to the literary occupations which had been the solace of his earlier exile. He wrote home for papers, but those which were sent him were, as he tells us, not the papers he wanted.

When . . . I began to discern some hope of health and repose I thought of preparing some diet for my mind that might recover it to the sobriety and method of thinking which, after any notable distraction, is a preparative not easily made. And in order thereunto I writ to one of you to transmit me a case of papers, in which there was some rough drafts and imperfect conceptions upon several arguments, which I had a purpose to polish when I should find myself in such a place as I might confidently reside in ; and I was in no such place till I came hither to Montpelier. . . . Now I begun to find myself vacant for my own recollections, God having restored me to a good degree of health, and thought to examine those papers which I had sent to you for, and which you had sent to me in a trunk, that till then I had not looked into ; but I found that I had either mistaken my directions, or you in the execution of them, for the case you sent me was not that which I desired, but another which contained many loose papers, which I wondered how they were got together, nor can to this day ever call to mind that I did ever put them there ; but I conclude that they might by chance be all before me, and that being suddenly called away, or some persons coming suddenly in upon me, I might put them all together into that *porte-feuille* in which they were sent to me.<sup>40</sup>

Among these papers were a series of meditations on the Psalms, begun at Jersey, 26 Dec. 1647, taken up again at Madrid, 13 Feb. 1650, and at Antwerp, 16 July 1651. These he now resumed and continued, setting aside a certain portion of each day for this pious duty.

In sending for papers, however, Clarendon had in his mind a definite practical purpose, which he now had to carry out deprived of their assistance. His immediate aim was to vindicate himself from the charges upon which the house of commons had based their impeachment of high treason against him, and this answer was intended to be published to the world at a convenient season. He undertook this task, as he complains, under the gravest disadvantages.

<sup>40</sup> Clarendon's *Tracts*, p. 373, Preface to *Meditations on the Psalms*.

In order to this so necessary vindication of my integrity and honour I can only take notice of the printed paper of my charge, all other correspondence and communication being so strictly inhibited to all kinds of men to hold any commerce with me, except my children and menial servants, who have only liberty to write to me of my own domestic affairs, and the letters they write being to be first communicated to one of the secretaries of state.<sup>41</sup>

Under precisely the same difficulties Clarendon began to write the account of his own life, which, as we have seen, was meant to be a private vindication for the benefit of his own children. He commenced the 'Life' on 23 July 1668 and the 'Vindication' on 24 July. He concluded the latter with the words: 'I have now, according as my memory hath been able to supply (for I have not any paper or note by me for assistance), answered every particular charge against me.' The 'Life' took a much longer time to complete, but, like the 'Vindication,' it was written entirely from memory, and in more than one passage in the work he complains of the absence of his papers.

By November 1669 Clarendon had completed the third part of the 'Life,' which closed with his parting from the king in March 1645.<sup>42</sup> He had now to relate what occurred during his attendance on Prince Charles in the west as one of the council entrusted with the direction of the prince. Part iv. of the 'Life' was designed to contain an account of affairs in the west during the rest of 1645, and of the reasons which led the prince to take refuge in Scilly, to remove from Scilly to Jersey, and finally to embark for France. But Clarendon felt at once the want of the detailed narrative which he had drawn up in Jersey in June 1646 for the purpose of vindicating the prince's councillors. Till he should succeed in obtaining that narrative he was obliged to content himself with setting down the heads of his intended story, and sketching an outline which he hoped one day to be able to fill in. 'A very particular memorial of all material affairs in the west,' he tells us, 'is contained in papers orderly and methodically set down, which papers and relations are not now at hand, but are safe and will easily be found.' He concludes his summary by saying: 'All these particulars are so exactly remembered in those papers, remaining in a cabinet easy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a method, and contain enough to be inserted in the fourth part of this relation.'<sup>43</sup> So again, a few months later, when Clarendon

<sup>41</sup> Clarendon's *Tracts*, p. 2; cf. 'Continuation' of the 'Life,' section 1209.

<sup>42</sup> Part i. was written between 23 July 1668 and 27 March 1669; part ii. was finished 24 July 1669, part iii. 6 Nov. 1669. The fourth part, which mainly consists of heads, is dated at the end 9 Nov. 1669, and closes with the prince's embarkation for France. The whole 'Life' down to the Restoration was completed on 1 Aug. 1670. The 'Continuation,' dealing with the reign of Charles II, was not begun till 8 June 1672.

<sup>43</sup> 'Life,' ed. 1857, i. 200-1, 204.

undertook to describe his share in events during the year 1649, he mentioned once more the documents left behind in England.

All that passed at the Hague, both with the states and the Scots, is more particularly contained in papers and memorials which will be found in the hair cabinet,<sup>44</sup> out of which anything that is material may be added or altered; as also the names of all the ministers at that time in Madrid are in a paper book that stands in the shop.<sup>45</sup>

Even without these statements it would be easy to prove from internal evidence that Clarendon wrote the 'Life' without the assistance of his papers.<sup>46</sup> He had not, we at once perceive, Sir Edward Walker's narrative of the campaign of 1644. In that narrative there are long, detailed, and accurate accounts of the battle of Cropredy Bridge and of Colonel Gage's relief of Basing. In the 'Life' Clarendon inserted accounts of both these events, which are not only inaccurate but differ in many details from Walker's version. It is clear that he was not then in possession of the narrative in question.<sup>47</sup> A comparison of the 'History' and the 'Life' proves in the same way that Clarendon had not the earlier work before his eyes when he wrote the later; for the original 'History' is throughout much more accurate than the 'Life,' because it was written when the events related were much fresher in the author's memory, and because in the one case he had some documentary assistance and in the other none. Facts which are wrongly stated in the 'Life' had been in very many cases correctly stated in the original 'History.' For instance, in the 'Life' Clarendon says that Charles I set up his standard at Nottingham on 25 August 1642, whereas in the 'History' he had said 22 August, which was the correct date. There is the same discrepancy in Clarendon's two versions of several important episodes. In the original 'History' Clarendon gives a comparatively brief account of the short parliament of 1640; in the 'Life' there is a very much longer one, which in the text of the *History of the Rebellion* was finally substituted

<sup>44</sup> Note to manuscript of 'Life,' p. 401; quoted by Dr. Macray, *Rebellion*, xii. 99, note. A list of manuscripts and papers belonging to Lord Hyde, which had been at Cornbury House and were removed thence to Cassiobury, begins with 'a brown hair trunk containing the manuscript Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, in his own handwriting.' Perhaps this was Clarendon's 'hair cabinet' (Lewis, *Portraits from the Clarendon Gallery*, Introd. p. 76, note).

<sup>45</sup> The paper book referred to is no doubt the *Journal of the Embassy to Spain*, by William Edgeman, Clarendon's secretary there, which is now Clarendon MS. 137.

<sup>46</sup> As soon as the *Clarendon State Papers* were published careful readers were struck by the discrepancies between the facts they contained and the facts stated in the *History of the Rebellion*. 'Pray,' wrote Walpole to Gray, 'turn to the new *State Papers*, from which, it is said, he composed his *History*. You will find they are the papers from which he did not compose his *History*' (*Letters*, ed. Wright, v. 83).

<sup>47</sup> The passages of the 'Life' referred to were for the first time printed by Dr. Macray as notes to sections 73 and 123 of book viii. of the *History of the Rebellion*. The accounts of those events given in sections 63-70 and 123-30 of the text of the same book were written after consulting Walker.

for the earlier version. This second narrative is full of errors. Mr. Gardiner criticises it as follows:—

Clarendon's account of this session is really worthless. . . . His account of the parliament is so inaccurate that I dare not trust his narrative of the debate. His memory only served to show the figure of Vane as frustrating an agreement which but for Vane's delinquencies would have been brought about by himself. . . . By entirely omitting the question of the military charges Clarendon reduces the whole affair to a personal question.<sup>48</sup>

Now, as Ranke has pointed out, the original narrative was much more accurate than the later one. It blamed Vane more than was fair for the dissolution, but made his share in the result less important. It stated the point at issue in the debate on the king's message more clearly, and gave the date of the debate more accurately. Ranke rightly concludes that the later narrative was composed without the earlier one being consulted, and probably composed merely from memory without any external assistance.<sup>49</sup>

To take another instance, in the 'Life' Clarendon describes Strafford as present in the house of lords when Pym brought up the impeachment, and says that Strafford obtained leave to make a speech in his defence, giving the substance of the speech. Now we know from the contemporary evidence of Baillie and D'Ewes that the earl was not in the house, but had to be sent for, and that he tried to speak, but was not allowed to do so. In the original 'History' the facts are correctly stated: we are told that the earl came into the house just after the messenger of the commons retired, was commanded to withdraw, brought to the bar, and committed.<sup>50</sup>

In the same way the two narratives of the 'Grand Remonstrance' disagree. That printed in the text of the *History of the Rebellion* is taken from the 'Life.' It is full of errors and misstatements, which Mr. Forster in his monograph on the 'Grand Remonstrance' points out at great length and with great acrimony. The narrative of the original 'History' was briefer, less detailed, and more accurate. For instance, in the later version it is said that the 'Remonstrance' was carried by only nine votes, while in the earlier version it is correctly stated that the number was eleven.<sup>51</sup> In the later version Clarendon says that it was Hampden who moved that the 'Remonstrance' should be printed; in the earlier he mentions the motion, but not the mover; in reality it was moved by an obscure member named Peard.<sup>52</sup> One more instance will suffice. In the account of 'The Incident' standing in the published *History of the Rebellion* Clarendon describes Montrose as 'frankly undertaking' to assassi-

<sup>48</sup> *History of England*, ix. 113.

<sup>49</sup> Ranke, *History of England* (Engl. transl.), vi. 11.

<sup>50</sup> *Rebellion*, iii. 11, and Dr. Macray's note to iii. 1.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 52, and Dr. Macray's note to iv. 74.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 52.

nate Hamilton and Argyle. This charge has caused some searchings of heart amongst the biographers of Montrose. But the passage in which the charge is made comes from the 'Life,' and in the account of the same episode given in the original 'History' no charge was made.<sup>53</sup> There can be no doubt that the charge is absolutely groundless. Mr. Gardiner comments upon the matter as follows:—

The story as told by Clarendon originally is a plain, straightforward narrative, fitting in very well with what we know of the matter from other sources. Twenty years later Clarendon substituted another story, and told how Montrose offered to commit murder. Such a change would be of value if he had access to fresh evidence. But, as all that he knew must have been derived either from Charles or Montrose, there can have been no fresh evidence. My explanation would be that he had a vague recollection of hearing that Crawford had offered to kill Hamilton and Argyle, and that, with his usual habit of blundering, he substituted Montrose for Crawford.<sup>54</sup>

All these examples, which might be multiplied if it were necessary, prove conclusively that the 'Life' is much less trustworthy than the original 'History.'<sup>55</sup> In estimating, therefore, the credibility of any statement made in the *History of the Rebellion*, the first thing needed is to inquire whether the passage in question is derived from the 'Life' or the 'History.' Whenever there are two accounts of the same event they should be carefully compared, and the presumption is always in favour of the earlier version. There are, however, many cases in which such a comparison is not possible; incidents are related in the 'Life' which are omitted in the 'History,' and the earlier narrative ends in March 1644, while the later one is continued down to 1660. In dealing with those parts of the 'Life' for which no parallel version exists it is always necessary to bear in mind the inexactness of Clarendon's memory, and the fact that he wrote the 'Life' without the aid of documents. This consideration vindicates his honesty. Had he written the 'Life' with the original 'History' before him, it would not have been possible to explain the discrepancies except by supposing that he wished to misrepresent what really happened, or sought to exaggerate his share in events by consciously writing what he knew to be untrue. As it is, the misstatements and errors which an examination of the 'Life' reveals are plainly due to a failing memory, a memory that was confused, inexact, and imaginative.

C. H. FIRTH.

<sup>53</sup> *Rebellion*, iv. 20, and Dr. Macray's note to iv. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Gardiner, *History of England*, x. 26.

<sup>55</sup> 'Have you read my lord Clarendon's "Life"? ' writes Horace Walpole to George Montagu in July 1759, when it first appeared. 'I am enchanted with it; 'tis very incorrect, but I think more entertaining than his "History." It makes me quite out of humour with other memoirs.' In another letter Walpole criticises it more in detail (*Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Wright, iii. 238, 273).



## *Lord William Bentinck and Murat*

AMONG the minor personages of the Napoleonic period few have been more neglected, or, when remembered, more attacked, than Lord William Bentinck. His qualities and his successes were not of the brilliant character that earns popular appreciation; his defects were openly avowed; he served a tory ministry, though by convictions a whig; and he was set problems of the greatest difficulty to solve. Here are reasons enough for the more than unhandsome treatment he has received. Yet a sober review of his work can leave no other conclusion than that he was a statesman of the greatest qualities of head and heart, and that where he only partly failed most men would have failed completely. He was sent out to the Mediterranean in the year 1811 to take command of the British forces in Sicily, and to act as diplomatic representative at the court of King Ferdinand. He remained the representative of Great Britain in Sicily until the fall of Napoleon, and his mission was marked by three chief incidents. The first of these was his famous quarrel with Queen Mary Caroline, leading to the establishment of a new Sicilian constitution and the driving of the queen from the island. The second was his unsuccessful expedition to Catalonia in 1813 to effect a diversion for Wellington. The third was his negotiation with Joachim Murat, king of Naples, in 1813-4. It is with this last incident alone that the present article is concerned.

Before coming to an account of this matter, however, it will be best to state that two books published in 1902 deal with Lord William Bentinck. One of these, *La Sicilia durante l'occupazione Inglese*, by Signor Bianco, is chiefly concerned with the Sicilian constitutional question, but also contains matter that throws light on Bentinck's motives in his dealings with Murat and Italy. The other, *Le Prince Eugène et Murat*, by M. Weil,<sup>1</sup> is an important work of erudition, which takes up in close detail for the first time every step of the negotiations, and concludes that Bentinck displayed in his dealings with Murat not only ineptitude but bad faith. As no account of these matters save that of M. Weil has any

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, vol. xviii. p. 597.

pretension to completeness or accuracy, it must be to a great extent in following his footsteps that a clearer view of the subject can be gained. The basis of this narrative will be the Record Office papers utilised by M. Weil, and others he has either overlooked or thought it unnecessary to quote.

In the early weeks of 1813 Joachim Murat, king of Naples, arrived in his capital from Poland, one of the few survivors of the *grande armée*. His relations with Napoleon had been strained for some years; more than once he had been threatened with the confiscation of his crown; he was tired of war, and thought the military supremacy of France lost with her army in the snows of Russia. Very soon after his return to Naples he exchanged views with the Austrian minister at his court. The emperor Francis and Count Metternich were projecting intervention with a view to mediation and peace. They were anxious to secure support, and gave Joachim to understand that they were prepared to treat with him on the basis of his retaining his present possessions. During the spring of 1813 the king of Naples, who considered Austria now the decisive military factor on the continent, pushed these negotiations on the one hand, while on the other he declined to move his troops north or to join the army in Germany, as Napoleon wished him to do. But if Austria might be accounted the decisive military factor on the continent, there was another power, Great Britain, whose goodwill it was even more essential that the king of Naples should secure. Her troops helped Ferdinand, the dispossessed king of the throne now occupied by Murat, to maintain himself in the island of Sicily; her fleets controlled the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. A man of great character and ability, Lord William Bentinck represented her interests at Palermo in the double capacity of general-in-chief and diplomatic agent.

The five years of Joachim's reign had been marked by continuous hostilities with the Anglo-Sicilians, and now that all French troops were being hurried into Germany, leaving only the native army to defend his kingdom, it was evident that the king had a great difficulty to face. At the best his army might suffice to protect Naples and keep in check Bentinck's Anglo-Sicilians, supported by a British fleet. Accordingly, when Joachim had ascertained that Count Metternich and the emperor of Austria were not unfavourably disposed towards him, he decided to sound the views of Great Britain as to whether that power might adopt a similar attitude. The result proved a complete disappointment. Bentinck proceeded from Sicily to the little island of Ponza, near Naples, where he met the secret agents of the Neapolitan government (May-June 1813), but the only conditions he was willing to grant, without referring back to London, were hard ones; they

were based on two essential facts—that the British government was allied to Ferdinand, who had not renounced his rights to the throne of Naples, and that Bentinck considered Joachim's position extremely weak and precarious. He demanded that the Neapolitan army should immediately co-operate with those of the allies in an attack on northern Italy, and that Joachim should surrender the throne of Naples to Ferdinand; in return for this a territorial equivalent was to be provided, and there was to be no actual transfer of the regal authority by Joachim until this compensation was found.<sup>2</sup> These terms did not suit Murat; he replied evasively, yet without definitely breaking off negotiations, probably hoping that Austrian influence might obtain better conditions from the British cabinet. Bentinck meanwhile, carrying out previous instructions, crossed to Spain with a considerable expedition intended to effect a diversion for Wellington, but he foresaw already that the negotiations would be resumed, as they were in the following winter. On his report of what had occurred to Lord Castlereagh the British foreign secretary approved the course taken, and authorised Bentinck to conclude an arrangement on the basis he had proposed. That policy was consistently adhered to by both Castlereagh and Bentinck, as is shown by the instructions given by the foreign secretary on sending Lord Aberdeen as ambassador to Vienna (6 Aug. 1813),<sup>3</sup> and by other dispatches to be quoted presently.

Through May, June, and July, while Napoleon was steadily driving back the Russians and Prussians, winning victories at Lützen and Bautzen, Murat remained irresolute at Naples. He was secretly negotiating with Metternich, though outwardly professing fidelity to France; but French influences were acting on him. Letters came from the headquarters in Germany urging him to join his old comrades; and finally he came to one of those impetuous decisions that so often led him to disaster in the field of diplomacy, if also to triumph on the field of battle. Early in August, just as Prince Eugène was leaving Milan to assume command of the French army in the Julian Alps, a travelling carriage was swiftly conveying King Joachim across the Brenner Pass; he was hastening to Napoleon's headquarters at Dresden. The king of Naples remained with the army two months. He commanded the right wing at the battle of Dresden, with brilliant success; he afterwards assumed command of the army that opposed Schwarzenberg's march on Leipzig, and was present at the fighting about that city. During all this period his relations with Napoleon were much strained. By an extraordinary anomaly the Austrian and

<sup>2</sup> Bentinck's dispatches relating to the Ponza negotiations were published by Weil in his *Recueil de Documents Anglais sur Ponza*, now incorporated in his *Prince Eugène*, i. 6-75.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *Napoleon*, ii. 301.

Neapolitan ministers were not withdrawn from their respective posts, and the king resolutely declined to move a single soldier north from Naples, though frequently ordered to do so by the emperor. There were stormy scenes between the emperor and the king, and finally, after the crushing disaster of Leipzig, Murat abandoned the army. His return to Naples was the flight of an escaping prisoner; his arrival in his capital, in the first week of November, was a complete surprise to all.

No sooner was Joachim Murat safely out of the clutches of his terrible brother-in-law than he showed unmistakable signs that he had decided to assert an independent line of policy. The Austrian minister, Count Mier, who was still at Naples, soon obtained definite proposals for the conclusion of an Austro-Neapolitan alliance.<sup>4</sup> But there was a consideration only less powerful than the conservation of his throne that swayed Murat in a contrary direction to that represented by his proposals to Austria. The king's ambitions happened to coincide with a natural policy that appeared the only one that could bring back prestige and some measure of success to Napoleon. The whole of the Italian peninsula, for the first time since the days of Rome, was under the same master, the same system of government. In the kingdom of Italy, the French departments, and the kingdom of Naples, the military, judicial, and administrative systems were practically identical. Natives of all parts of the peninsula were fighting under the same flag; but one word pronounced by Napoleon would have created Italy a nation, would have revived his failing fortune with an accession of strength based on public opinion, and would have placed a new enemy at Austria's door.

There had been for some years in Italy a small but active, intelligent, intriguing party with nationalist tendencies. Its members hoped for the eventual unification of the peninsula under an independent government framed on the French model. This party was strongest at Naples, where it included most of the native officials. The king was on good terms with its most conservative and able members, such men as Zurlo, minister of the interior, Ricciardi, and others. From the time of Joachim's return from Russia in the early part of 1813, the idea of Italian independence and unity assumed a concrete shape in his mind. It hinged principally on military considerations that may be reduced to two propositions: the 30,000 useful troops that Murat could send over the Po were sufficient to turn the scale as between the armies attacking and defending Italy; the uniting of the forces of the northern provinces and of Naples under Murat's command, the declaration that they were fighting for the unity and indepen-

<sup>4</sup> M. Weil has well established that the Ollendorf interview, hitherto accepted as fact, is purely imaginary.

dence of Italy, would result in a movement of public opinion that would infuse spirit into the national army and enable it to roll back the tide of Austrian invasion.

On his return to his capital Joachim at once decided that he would send no more Neapolitan troops to reinforce the emperor. He constantly asserted that he was willing to march to the Po with 30,000 men at his back, and hinted that if they were to be employed in support of the viceroy's army, it would be necessary that he should have supreme command. Even after he joined the imperial headquarters at Dresden he could not be persuaded to order reinforcements north to assist Prince Eugène in the defence of Venetia against the Austrians. Now that he had once more left the army, and had deliberately embarked on an independent policy, he still thought the best hope for himself, for Italy, and even for Napoleon, was the proclamation of Italian unity and independence under his rule. During November and December his letters to Napoleon, recently brought to light by the researches of Baron Lumbroso and M. Weil, urged that policy as the only cure for a nearly impossible position. They also clearly conveyed the fact that if Napoleon would not adopt that policy, then Murat would be obliged to save his crown by coming to terms with the allies. But Napoleon viewed the possibility of his insubordinate lieutenant's aggrandisement, just at the moment when his own fortune was failing, with jealous dislike. It was not in his nature to make concessions, and he made none.

King Joachim was thus simultaneously making proposals to Austria for an alliance and pressingly entreating Napoleon to accept the conditions on which he was prepared to co-operate with him. In either eventuality his army would be required on the Po, and its advance was quietly begun. The French departments, formerly the States of the Church, had been drained of troops, and the Neapolitans were everywhere received as allies by the emperor's functionaries. At the same time as he pressed his negotiations with the court of Vienna, Murat had felt the necessity of once more attempting to arrive at an understanding with Great Britain. It was, in fact, the weak point of his policy, leaving questions of political morality on one side, that it was not based on a clear recognition of the fact that he could not safely detach himself from France until he had secured the friendship of the great power whose fleets and armies were at the very gates of his capital. He should either have negotiated with the British cabinet in the first place or have made the vital condition of his treaty with Austria that that power should obtain the recognition by Great Britain of his tenure of the throne of Naples. Under the exigencies of a very false and difficult position Joachim fell short of this indispensable basis of safety and suffered in consequence.

Shortly after the king's return from Leipzig a Neapolitan agent, Schinina by name, was sent to Sicily to open negotiations with Bentinck. The two met at Syracuse on 12 Dec. Schinina asked Bentinck to sign an armistice, on the ground that a treaty of alliance was about to be concluded between Austria and Naples, and that Joachim could not move his troops north in support of the Austrians unless assured that he had no attack to fear from the Anglo-Sicilians. As evidence of the Austrian attitude he produced dispatches showing that on 7 Oct. Metternich had offered Murat recognition at the price of an alliance. But Bentinck was not satisfied as to the sincerity of these overtures, and pointed to the fact that since the date of Metternich's proposals the king of Naples had taken part in the battle of Leipzig. He could see no reason to assume that Metternich would be prepared to repeat an offer made before an event of such magnitude, and on that ground declined to negotiate. This was a pretext, though not a bad one. Bentinck's real motives for refusing to negotiate were probably somewhat mixed; he appears, for one thing, to have been jealous of Austrian influence. He wanted Italy to become free and England to help her on the way to freedom; he thought the most effective military weapon against Napoleon would be a national insurrection similar to that which had enabled the British arms to win such signal triumphs in Spain. Perhaps he even dreamed of becoming the Wellington of Italy. These views were somewhat insecurely founded, but Bentinck made no mistake when he considered Murat's position at Naples very precarious, and it is difficult to see that he committed an error of judgment in declining to enter into negotiations of which the first result would have been to enable Murat to move 30,000 men to the valley of the Po. M. Weil believes this to have been extremely bad diplomacy, and is entitled to his opinion; but he goes further and clearly suggests that this was a virtual disobedience of orders on the part of Bentinck, for he had received instructions from Lord Castlereagh authorising him to conclude an armistice.<sup>5</sup> This suggestion is unwarranted. The dispatches of Castlereagh had reference to the Ponza negotiations in the early part of the year. How can it be said that in declining Schinina's overtures Bentinck disobeyed his instructions, when these referred back to events occurring before King Joachim left Naples for the campaign of Germany, and were merely permissive? So far from adopting such a criticism it may fairly be said that Bentinck would have been extremely imprudent had he accepted the Neapolitan proposals.

At the very moment when Bentinck was declining the

<sup>5</sup> Weil, iii. 233.

overtures of the king of Naples the British and Austrian cabinets were formally exchanging views on the Neapolitan question. On Austria's joining the allies against Napoleon in the early part of August 1813 the British cabinet had resumed relations with that of Vienna, and had selected as ambassador Lord Aberdeen. The choice was not a good one, for Aberdeen was young and totally unversed in diplomacy. He was eager to help on with all his might the downfall of Napoleon, but failed to keep clearly in sight the distinctions between British and Austrian policy, and proved perfectly pliable in the dexterous fingers of Metternich.<sup>6</sup> Metternich, who had no treaty with the court of Palermo to hamper him, was still determined to detach Murat from Napoleon and to bring the Neapolitans to the assistance of the Austrian army now operating against Prince Eugène in northern Italy. Having received proposals for an alliance through Prince Cariati, Neapolitan minister at Vienna, and Count Mier, Austrian minister at Naples, Metternich decided, early in December, to conclude the matter on the basis of Murat's being guaranteed his throne of Naples. He consequently sounded Aberdeen as to the concurrence of his government. Now the British ambassador's instructions were that Great Britain could not consent to the alienation of King Ferdinand's rights to Naples, but that the provision of a 'liberal establishment' for Murat in central Italy by way of compensation could be entertained.<sup>7</sup> Yet Metternich succeeded in obtaining a note from him on 12 Dec., in which Aberdeen stated that he had taken cognisance of the instructions given by Metternich to Count Neipperg for negotiating an alliance with the king of Naples; that he saw nothing in these instructions contrary to the views of the British government; that he must, however, declare formally that the British government would not become party to a treaty guaranteeing Naples to Murat without providing a just compensation to the king of Sicily. To this Metternich replied that the indemnification of King Ferdinand, in case he should renounce his rights to Naples, was an essential part of the views of the Austrian court and would be provided for by the treaty it was proposed to conclude.<sup>8</sup>

It is clear that in this exchange of notes Aberdeen was in error. For the policy of Great Britain was to compensate Murat for Naples, while that of Austria, to which he assented, was to compensate Ferdinand—a very different matter. And it is further clear from dispatches and instructions already quoted that both Castlereagh and Bentinck held to the British policy unwaveringly. It will also be shown presently that neither of them was deluded into following

<sup>6</sup> Foreign Office, Austria, 102, and War Office, Sicily, 182; Aberdeen's dispatches, September to December 1813 (in part referred to by M. Weil).

<sup>7</sup> Foreign Office, Austria, 102, 6 Aug. 1813.

<sup>8</sup> Weil, iii. 227, 228.

Aberdeen's false lead. In all this there is one obvious fact to be recognised, and that is that the British ambassador to the court of Vienna was far too young and inexperienced for his extremely delicate post. To show how loose and changeable were his ideas as to the direction British policy should take in this matter, it will suffice to quote the following sentence from one of his dispatches to Castlereagh on the subject of Murat: 'The grand thing in the first instance is to precipitate his acts of hostility against Bonaparte without committing ourselves by any engagement or precise understanding.'<sup>9</sup> Having fallen into line with Metternich, Aberdeen immediately wrote to Lord William Bentinck, enclosing copies of the notes exchanged, stating that Count Neipperg would inform him of the course of his negotiations, and that Austria was anxious to conclude matters rapidly, so as to bring up the Neapolitans to assist in the operations against Prince Eugène. He added that, with these facts and his instructions from home, Bentinck should be able to conclude a convention on parallel lines with Neipperg's. This dispatch from the British representative at Frankfort to the British representative at Palermo is taken by M. Weil to amount to formal instructions to Bentinck to negotiate a treaty with Naples; Aberdeen's policy is treated by him as the policy of Great Britain. From these two gratuitous and untenable assumptions he proceeds to attack Lord William Bentinck in reiterated terms of the greatest bitterness and contempt for disobeying instructions in not negotiating a treaty with Murat. And he goes even further by accusing him of disobedience at a period when, on M. Weil's own showing, he had not received these so-called instructions. As a matter of fact Aberdeen's dispatch reached Bentinck at Palermo on 18 Jan.,<sup>10</sup> and on 3 Feb. he signed an armistice (not a treaty) at Naples.

We must now take up the thread of the narrative again at Schinina's failure to open negotiations with Bentinck on 12 Dec. While conferring with Bentinck a dispatch reached him from Mentz; in this the Austrian *chargé d'affaires* at Naples stated that he had advices from Metternich of 28 Oct. informing him that a treaty was about to be concluded between Austria and Naples, and that Lord Aberdeen had full powers to sign a treaty on behalf of Great Britain. To this Bentinck replied, with some force, that he was only confirmed in his resolve not to negotiate by the fact that Lord Aberdeen had full powers.<sup>11</sup> Austrian diplomacy was, in fact, trying to effect with Bentinck what it had succeeded in doing with Aberdeen, but had found a more wary antagonist. Bentinck was devoid of all official information, yet he suspected that misleading or partial statements were being placed before him; and his

<sup>9</sup> Foreign Office, Austria, 102, 10 Nov. 1813.

<sup>10</sup> Weil, iii. 437.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 230, 570; Mentz to Bentinck, 14 Dec. 1813.



suspicious were true. For Aberdeen's instructions were, as we have seen, that Great Britain was prepared to see Murat compensated for surrendering the throne of Naples, and Bentinck would have been tacitly admitting Murat's title to Naples and abandoning Ferdinand's claim had he entered on a negotiation for a treaty of peace. Yet M. Weil sees in this dispatch of Mentz, a dispatch that contains a perversion of the truth, *la preuve la plus indiscutable . . . de la perfidie et de la désobéissance de Bentinck*.<sup>12</sup> On receipt of this communication from Mentz Bentinck perceived clearly enough that some modification in the relations of Murat with the allies was in progress; he accordingly showed a more conciliatory front. He now began to feel his way diplomatically, but with the utmost caution. He merely informed Mentz and Gallo, the Neapolitan minister for foreign affairs, that he was anxious to co-operate so as to further the intentions of the Austrian and British cabinets, but that he was in complete ignorance as to the terms of the treaties and must wait for information. These communications he intrusted to his secretary, Mr. Graham, to whom he ostensibly gave powers to conclude a suspension of hostilities. He, however, handed him secret instructions to conclude nothing, to get all the information he could at Naples, and, if possible, to find some pretext for getting passports with which to proceed to the headquarters of the allies. There Bentinck hoped Graham would be able to get precise information or instructions from Aberdeen or Castlereagh. As Bentinck had received no official news for some two months either from England or the Adriatic, this would hardly appear so very extraordinary as M. Weil would have us think.<sup>13</sup> He also informed the Sicilian court of the overtures made and of his attitude, and was notified of its approval of the course he had adopted.

Graham sailed from Palermo on 1 Jan. 1814; only the day before Count Neipperg had arrived at Naples with full powers to sign the Austro-Neapolitan treaty of alliance. Graham, who appears to have conducted himself with diplomatic ability, learned from Neipperg that the chief reason for Austria's entering into the treaty was the non-success of Field-Marshal Hiller's operations in front of the Quadrilateral, and also heard that there was little prospect of dislodging Prince Eugène from that position without the prompt co-operation of the Neapolitans. On 8 Jan. Graham, having obtained passports, left Naples for the headquarters of the allies; on the same day Neipperg wrote to Bentinck urging him to conclude an armistice, setting out at length the military reasons that made the Neapolitan co-operation so valuable to Austria, and confidentially communicating the terms of the treaty. It provided for the joint prosecution of the war; the emperor of Austria

<sup>12</sup> Weil, iii. 230.<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 351.

guaranteed Joachim's actual possessions; the principle of an indemnity to King Ferdinand was recognised; the emperor of Austria agreed to use his best offices to obtain Ferdinand's renunciation of the throne of Naples and to facilitate the conclusion of a peace with Great Britain. There were further provisions not relevant to the question here dealt with.

It is curious, after reading the violent criticisms of the British agent's conduct that are to be found in M. Weil's book, the wearying reiteration that he was acting in flagrant disobedience to the instructions of his government, to find the text of the Austro-Neapolitan treaty producing on Bentinck exactly the same effect that it produced on Castlereagh, whose conduct M. Weil does not venture to attack. The point was simply this: that Austria was, and Great Britain was not, prepared to sacrifice Ferdinand to Joachim. How far the divergence of views between the two powers really went may be judged by the fact that Neipperg confidentially communicated to the duke di Gallo that his instructions from Metternich authorised him to give a verbal assurance that Austria would, in case of necessity, employ force to compel King Ferdinand's renunciation of his rights to Naples.<sup>14</sup> Castlereagh, who had thought it expedient to join the headquarters of the allies and to take charge of Great Britain's interests in person, wrote to Metternich informing him that the perusal of the treaty had caused him a painful impression, as it constituted an obstacle to the restoration of Ferdinand on the conclusion of a general peace. Yet he had decided to send instructions to Bentinck to conclude a convention for the cessation of hostilities. But he called Prince Metternich's attention to the fact that an understanding with the court of Palermo would have to be reached before there could be any question of terminating the state of war between Great Britain and Naples.<sup>15</sup> This warning of Castlereagh is most important as marking the British position. An armistice—that is, a temporary cessation of hostilities—might be concluded as a concession or matter of expediency; but a permanent peace must be based on the satisfaction of King Ferdinand's claims. Bentinck thought even worse of the treaty than Castlereagh, from whom he was still waiting for instructions. In a dispatch of which M. Weil gives a very inaccurate text<sup>16</sup> Bentinck declared the Austro-Neapolitan treaty impolitic, inopportune, and useless, and returned to his argument that from the point of view both of Great Britain and Italy it would be far better to act in opposition to Murat and provoke a national rising against the French.

Neipperg's letter asking Bentinck to sign an armistice with the king of Naples proved ineffective for the moment. The British agent declared that until he heard from Aberdeen or Castlereagh

<sup>14</sup> Weil, iii. 618.

<sup>15</sup> Castlereagh, *Correspondence*, ix. 196, 27 Jan. 1814.

<sup>16</sup> See below, p. 279.

he would not commit himself. On receipt of this unsatisfactory reply Neipperg forwarded to Palermo Aberdeen's dispatch of 12 Dec., which he had so far withheld; this reached Bentinck on 18 Jan. But the Austro-Neapolitan treaty was one he did not approve, and he probably viewed Aberdeen's diplomacy with no great confidence. Besides this he felt that precise instructions from the British foreign secretary, either through Graham or some other source, must now be well on their way. He at all events decided to wait, while announcing that he would cross to Naples and negotiate. This conduct M. Weil thinks highly discreditable. Bentinck now had received what M. Weil persists in calling the instructions of his government, but what was really a mere advice from the British representative at the Austrian court. Any other diplomatist would have straightway proceeded to Naples, he says, instead of which Bentinck persisted in his obstinate disobedience. What is the real fact? Bentinck looked for instructions to Castlereagh, not to Aberdeen. The latter certainly did agree with the Austro-Neapolitan treaty; he announced its terms with satisfaction to Castlereagh a few days before the latter joined the headquarters of the allies. But the latter did not share Aberdeen's views; he addressed the note already quoted to Metternich, and Bentinck took the same position, only more strongly. It is not fair to blame Bentinck, isolated in Sicily and for many weeks cut off from all certain knowledge of what was proceeding, for choosing a dilatory course. On the contrary, he showed the wariness, perspicacity, and insight of a statesman, by holding back until he knew with certainty what course British policy would take at this very difficult turning-point, and by resolutely keeping his government free from dangerous complications both with the court of Palermo and with that of Naples.

Castlereagh, to whose fine judgment and diplomatic skill at this critical period history has done scant justice, wisely decided that the only course now open was to make the best of a bad bargain. He did not approve of the Austro-Neapolitan treaty, yet the vital object was the concentration of all available military forces against Napoleon. He therefore decided to subordinate the question of Naples, and, as we have already seen, to offer an armistice, though not a treaty of peace. M. Weil quotes Castlereagh's dispatch to Metternich, in which he declares that the state of war between Great Britain and Naples must continue, subject to an armistice (27 Jan.), and also his instructions to Bentinck (22 Jan., from Bâle), and yet in the face of these documents accuses Bentinck of disobedience and obstinacy for not being prepared to discuss a *treaty of peace* with the Neapolitan negotiators.<sup>17</sup> The British agent only offered an armistice, and had he done more

<sup>17</sup> Weil, iii. 515.

would have deserved to be dismissed. Proceeding to Naples from Palermo on 30 Jan., Bentinck concluded the armistice on 3 Feb. It provided for the cessation of hostilities, the opening of commerce, and three months' notice of the resumption of hostile operations. The signature of this convention marks the close of the first period of the negotiations between Bentinck and Murat, a period during which it is confidently asserted that the British agent showed fine diplomatic judgment and carried out the policy of the British cabinet.<sup>18</sup>

A second period now opens, in which it will not be possible to speak of Bentinck's conduct with such unqualified praise. The great question in the early weeks of 1814 was the military one. In France the genius of Napoleon nearly sufficed to check the tide of invasion. In Italy the viceroy, Prince Eugène, had fought a successful defensive battle on the line of the Mincio, and had arrested the forward movement of the Austrians under Marshal Bellegarde (8 Feb. 1814). The king of Naples had marched his army to the neighbourhood of Bologna. It was now decided that Bentinck should support the military operations against France by attacking Genoa. To arrive at this result he decided to move a body of some 14,000 or 15,000 Anglo-Sicilians from Messina and Palermo to northern Italy. He hoped to land at Leghorn, to take possession of Tuscany, whence he would draw his supplies, and from this base to advance along the Riviera di Levante. An exchange of views as to the military situation took place between Bentinck and Neipperg, and the latter agreed to the proposed plan of operations. But by the time the Anglo-Sicilians were prepared to take their part in the campaign Tuscany was in the occupation of the Neapolitans, and this proved a difficulty that nearly led to a rupture between Murat and Bentinck. The British agent failed to adapt himself to the new situation created by the Austro-Neapolitan alliance and the Anglo-Neapolitan armistice. If the British government was prepared to grant an armistice to Murat, such a concession could only have one meaning—that his military co-operation against Prince Eugène was urgently required. It was, therefore, clearly the duty of the representative of that government to avoid all causes of friction with the king of Naples. But Bentinck was not an amiable man; he had diplomatic instinct, the tact of large things,

<sup>18</sup> One subsidiary point need not be discussed here, what may be referred to as the *Rêve d'un Voyageur* incident. M. Weil has nothing new to offer on the subject, and is apparently unacquainted with the interesting documents recently published by Signor Bianco (*Sicilia e l'occupazione Inglese*). It will suffice to say, for the present purpose, that Bentinck had a personal policy aiming at the preservation of the liberal institutions he had fostered in Sicily; he hoped that if Ferdinand recovered Naples he would be willing to admit a virtual British protectorate over Sicily that would maintain parliamentary institutions in the island. That hope had arisen from a suggestion first thrown out by Queen Mary Caroline, and since adopted by Bentinck and some of the liberal leaders in Sicily. This matter is also referred to in the manuscript memoirs of Queen Mary Caroline.

but not of small ones. He clung firmly to his opinions, and had rigid, sometimes peculiar ideas; he had not the faculty of rapidly seizing the changing aspects of a situation and adapting himself to them. Castlereagh was now quite clear that the point of first importance in Italy was to get the Neapolitans in action and force Prince Eugène back from the Quadrilateral to the Alps, but Bentinck still kept foremost the fact that Murat was in reality an enemy who must expect no concessions. Castlereagh had decided to let discussion with Murat go for the present, but Bentinck could not realise the first importance of the operations against the Quadrilateral, and still vaguely clung to a hope that his cherished scheme of an Italian national movement might be evolved from the circumstances of the times.

The earliest indication of his mistaken position was given on the embarkation of the first division of his army at Palermo. On this occasion the hereditary prince addressed a proclamation to the Sicilian soldiers taking part in the expedition, in which he exhorted them to do their duty and asked them to remember that the king had never renounced his rights to the throne of Naples. This was certainly true, but, as the expedition was under the command of Lord William Bentinck, in whose hands the hereditary prince was a mere puppet, its effect was that of a British threat against Murat. However correct the theory of the proclamation might be, there can be no question that it was extremely ill-timed, and that it was from every point of view an inexcusable mistake.

For Bentinck's conduct on his arrival in Tuscany there is some excuse to be made, though it was clearly enough ill-judged. He left Palermo on 28 Feb. and reached Leghorn on 8 March. By the 12th his first division was landed. Having issued a proclamation calling on the people of Italy to rise and win their national independence, he decided to occupy the time while his transports were returning to Sicily for the second division in visiting the headquarters of King Joachim and Marshal Bellegarde, to settle various military and political questions. He arrived at Reggio, where Murat was quartered, on the night of 15 March. What was the position as it then presented itself to the British agent? Tuscany was nearly entirely under the control of the Neapolitan civil and military officials. The Papal States, the Marches, and a great part of Romagna had likewise been occupied, so that Joachim was in actual possession of rather more than one half of the Italian peninsula. His officials were everywhere proclaiming the approaching independence of Italy under the king of Naples. Nothing could be more vexatious to Bentinck than this; nothing could strengthen him more in the opinion that the policy of the Austro-Neapolitan treaty of alliance was a wrong one. But facts even more striking confirmed his view that the only rational

course was to treat Murat as an enemy. For two months the Neapolitan army had remained inactive in Romagna, and Prince Eugène was still skilfully foiling his opponents on the line of the Mincio. Joachim had persistently declined to act until he had received the ratification of his treaty with Austria. This did not reach him until 3 March. He had during all this time been in uninterrupted communication with Prince Eugène and the French camp, and was evidently meditating treachery. Marshal Bellegarde hardly hoped for the Neapolitans' assistance and feared they might at any moment fall on his flank as enemies. From the few Austrian officers he met on his arrival at Reggio Bentinck heard that they looked on the king of Naples as a traitor who was only awaiting a turn of fortune in favour of France to sell them to the enemy. He learned that ten days earlier the viceroy had released some Neapolitan soldiers who had been taken prisoners; that although the Neapolitans had got into action after the arrival of the Austrian ratification the king had permitted a French division, surrounded at Reggio, to make its escape. Bentinck now completely lost sight of the fact that Murat's treasonable intent was a matter of subordinate interest, providing his troops could be actually got into action on the viceroy's exposed flank. He assumed a dictatorial tone; his tactlessness led him so far that he wore the Sicilian cockade in his hat, and avoided using the expressions 'sire' and 'majesty' when addressing the king. He demanded the immediate abandonment of Tuscany and the energetic prosecution of the campaign by Murat; he reminded him that the treaty he had secured from Austria was founded on his armed co-operation, failing which it had neither value nor force; he went so far as to threaten an immediate attack on Naples if his demands were not complied with.

The roughness of Bentinck's declarations was not entirely a matter of temper or bad manners. Bentinck was far too able to be judged in such superficial fashion; he was certainly constitutionally deficient in urbanity, but the attitude he assumed represented more than that. He considered Joachim a weak man in a weak position, and, basing his calculations on that estimate, he thought a show of brutal strength would conquer all opposition and enable him to dictate terms; but he was mistaken.<sup>19</sup> His galling behaviour and threatening declarations, coming after the proclamation to the Sicilian troops, were taken to mean uncompromising hostility. Murat, who ever since he had received the ratification of his treaty had been seriously prosecuting military operations, now thought he had nothing to hope for. He determined therefore to retain Tuscany, to renew his negotiations with Prince Eugène and the emperor on the basis of Napoleon's ceding

<sup>19</sup> War Office, Sicily, 182, Bentinck to Bathurst, 27 Feb. 1814.

him all Italy south of the Po, and stopped the advance of his troops. Having failed to obtain satisfaction at Reggio, Bentinck proceeded to Verona, where Bellegarde had fixed his headquarters. There he discussed matters with the Austrian commander and the British officer on his staff, Sir Robert Wilson, who was as distinguished for his charm of manner as Bentinck was for his bluntness. In every quarter opinion was against Bentinck. It was not very material to the Austrians whether the Neapolitans or the British momentarily controlled Tuscany; what they wanted in the first place was that Murat should be persuaded by some means or other to march his army on Piacenza. That done, the line of the Mincio must fall, and Prince Eugène must retreat to the Alps. The Austrian view was entirely supported by Sir Robert Wilson at Verona, and Castlereagh wrote despatches from France to Bentinck enjoining on him a conciliatory attitude towards Murat and the subordination of his operations to Bellegarde's.

Bentinck was profoundly displeased at the situation; he was angered at finding that Prince Eugène with his small army of conscripts could successfully hold Lombardy against the much larger forces of the allies. He ascribed the failure to the adoption of the Austrian policy, instead of that on which he had set his heart. Yet the unanimity of opinion against him, the representations of Bellegarde and Wilson, the tenor of his instructions, all warned him that he had gone very far. He appears to have realised that he was no longer acting in the spirit of his instructions, and on returning to the Neapolitan headquarters, now at Bologna, he took Wilson with him. All felt that an understanding of some sort must be come to. Murat now put forward a new proposal: he offered to evacuate Tuscany if Great Britain would sign peace; this was immediately rejected by Wilson.<sup>20</sup> On 2 April a note was drawn up by Bentinck and presented to Gallo. In this document are clear indications that the British agent felt that he must abandon the position he had taken up at Reggio, though it can hardly be described as conciliatory. He formally declared that Great Britain approved the Austro-Neapolitan treaty and that the signature of a treaty of peace was declined merely out of consideration for the just claims of the allied Sicilian government. He invited the Neapolitan government to consider the question of compensation to King Ferdinand with a view to

<sup>20</sup> M. Weil states within the space of one paragraph: (1) that Bentinck in declining to open negotiations for a treaty of peace was deliberately aiming at a rupture with Murat (of this there is not one scrap of evidence); and (2) that the king's proposal to evacuate Tuscany in return for a treaty of peace exasperated Bentinck. But if Bentinck was aiming at a rupture, as M. Weil declares, he ought, on the contrary, to have been delighted, and not exasperated, at Murat's offer, for his instructions and the whole course of British policy gave him no choice but to decline it (iv. 457).

arriving at a settlement. But in addition to these official views Bentinck stated a personal opinion. He complained that the Neapolitan government had not participated in the military operations, and that suspicious negotiations had taken place with the French camp; he also protested against the apparent project of permanent occupation of the territory overrun by the Neapolitan army. He concluded by recommending, not demanding, the cession of part of Tuscany to facilitate the British operations, a prompt co-operation with the Austrians, and the renunciation of all projects of political aggrandisement.<sup>21</sup> This *grossière et insolente* communication, as it is described by M. Weil, was dealt with skilfully. Gallo merely addressed a polite note to Bentinck, in which he stated that he could not accept his views, as he found them in disaccord with those of Lord Castlereagh as transmitted by the Neapolitan minister at the headquarters of the allies, Prince Cariati. Under these circumstances he would continue negotiations through the intermediary of the latter.

Bentinck's efforts had failed, and there was nothing left for him to do but to return to his army and accomplish what was possible. A few days later came the news of the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau; it found the Anglo-Sicilian army in possession of Genoa and Spezzia, the king of Naples under the walls of Piacenza, the Austrians still facing the viceroy on the Mincio.<sup>22</sup>

R. M. JOHNSTON.

#### NOTE.

A serious blot on M. Weil's book, which invalidates his judgments and cannot be passed over, is his chronic inaccuracy. He must be judged by the highest standard of accuracy, for he has devoted no less than ten years to research, and his book is nearly entirely founded on unpublished military and diplomatic dispatches. The inaccuracies of a trifling or typographical character are extraordinarily numerous; it may be that they are fewest in the first volume, most numerous in the third. A few examples must be given as a matter of fairness. Thus in the account of the engagement fought at Caldiero three spellings of the name of that

<sup>21</sup> Weil, iv. 460.

<sup>22</sup> A trifling incident that took place after the termination of hostilities illustrates the distortion of M. Weil's views on the subject of Lord William Bentinck. King Joachim, as a matter of regal courtesy, offered the Grand Cross of the Order of the Two Sicilies to Marshal Bellegarde, and sent his own sword to Lord William Bentinck. Bellegarde declined the Order; Bentinck, though loth to accept the sword, as he explained to Castlereagh, thought it his public duty to take it, and wrote to Joachim a perfectly proper letter of acknowledgment, of which the first words were, 'Sire, the sword of a great captain is the most flattering gift that can be offered to a soldier.' M. Weil compares Bellegarde's conduct with Bentinck's in this matter, and concludes in favour of Bellegarde (iv. 569, note). He further gravely assures us that every word of Bentinck's letter to the king cost the writer a 'shriek of fury.' This is not good sense, not even good rhetoric. It only confirms the opinion that M. Weil has completely failed to grasp the character and the conduct of the English statesman.



place are given, 'Caldier,' 'Caldiero,' and 'Calderoin;' this is the more confusing as there happens to be a village named Calderino within a few miles of Caldiero (vol. iii.) In Hiller's army orders of 12 Oct. 1813 (ii. 274) the march of Fenner's and of Eckhardt's divisions on Trieste is absurdly impossible, and should be on a point in the upper valley of the Adige. The British prisoners of 1808 were taken at Capri, not at Capua (iii. 195). But small slips, even when so numerous as they are in this case, are less important than the incorrect quotation of documents. In some cases, perhaps one in thirty, M. Weil does not give a reference at all; more often his reference lacks precision, as 'Foreign Office, 98,' for 'Foreign Office, Sicily, 98;' with scarcely an exception he fails to indicate typographically where passages have been omitted. But for the purpose of this article the texts of documents as given by M. Weil have been tested for verbal accuracy at two points only with the following results: In the first case (iii. 112), that of a dispatch from Murat to Colletta, which is strangely described as *presque inédite* (the fact being that it was published in 1861), a comparison of M. Weil's text with the original to which he refers discloses twelve errors in transcription; of these most are trivial, and there is only one serious omission, of nine words. The second case is far worse. The same dispatch is here given twice (iii. 325 and iii. 413). It is important to note that in this case we are dealing with a translation from a dispatch of Bentinck to Castlereagh, written in English from Palermo on 14 July 1814. Here is the text as given at the two pages. In both cases it is in inverted commas and without indication of omissions:—

'J'ai toujours craint de voir Neipperg se laisser jouer par la cour de Naples. Les conditions de ce traité sont à la fois impolitiques, inopportunes et inutiles.

'Il n'y a aucun fond à faire sur Murat.

'Et le traité ne nous crée pas seulement un rival, il peut rendre Murat maître de l'Italie. Quand on aura rejeté le vice-roi sur les Alpes, les Italiens graviteront certainement de son côté,

'Les conditions de ce traité sont impolitiques, inopportunes et inutiles. Murat, j'en suis sûr, se serait contenté d'un équivalent pour Naples. De toute façon il est inadmissible qu'il ait jamais rêvé d'obtenir plus que Naples.

'Il n'y a aucun fond à faire sur Murat. Il convient donc de lui donner le moins possible. Le traité ne crée pas seulement un rival à l'Autriche, il rend Murat maître de l'Italie. Quand on aura rejeté le vice-roi au delà des Alpes pour qui son armée d'Italie et d'Italiens prendra-t-elle parti? Les Italiens n'aiment pas les Autrichiens. La preuve en est dans la résistance que le vice-roi leur oppose avec des Italiens.

'Ils préfèrent donc Murat à l'Autriche. Il est devenu prince

tandis que, si la protection et l'assistance de l'Angleterre s'étendaient sur eux, cette grande force se serait, sans aucun doute, tournée de notre côté. On aurait alors provoqué un grand mouvement national, semblable à celui qui a soulevé l'Espagne et l'Allemagne, un grand mouvement en faveur de l'indépendance, et ce grand peuple, au lieu d'être l'instrument d'un tyran militaire ou de quelque autre personnage, au lieu d'être le triste esclave de quelques misérables petits princes, serait devenu une formidable barrière dressée aussi bien contre la France que contre l'Autriche. La paix et le bonheur du monde aurait eu un puissant appui de plus.

‘ Je crains fort que l’heure soit passée.

‘ Sans compter qu’il est lamentable de voir de hautes récompenses accordées à un homme dont la vie entière n’a été qu’un crime, qui a été le complice le plus actif et le plus intime des forfaits de Bonaparte, et qui n’a trahi son bienfaiteur que sous la contrainte de la nécessité, le traité qu’on veut conclure avec lui est une scandaleuse violation de tous les grands principes de justice publique et privée.’<sup>23</sup>

The inevitable conclusion is that in at least one case what is set before us as the actual text of Bentinck is nothing better than a very loose paraphrase. But a paraphrase is not documentary evidence, as a comparison of M. Weil’s two versions of this dispatch will show; for in at least two places one text gives a precisely contradictory statement to the other (see the passages given above beginning, *Le traité ne crée pas seulement un rival*, and *L’Italie sous Murat*).

<sup>23</sup> This dispatch has served as text for an English magazine article, quoted with approval by M. Weil. It may be that he has in one case translated from this article, in the other from the text itself. That, however, would be an explanation but not an excuse. The present article is unfortunately written many hundreds of miles from the Record Office, otherwise this chain of errors would have been traced more fully than is actually possible. It must be added that the dispatch quoted is only examined with a view to testing M. Weil’s historical methods.

italien et s’est déclaré le champion de l’indépendance italienne. L’intervention de l’Angleterre

aurait pu amener,

comme en Espagne et en Allemagne, un soulèvement national et donner l’indépendance au pays.

L’Italie sous Murat sera une menace constante pour la France et pour l’Autriche, un véritable danger pour la paix du monde.

‘ Il est trop tard maintenant.

‘ Mais c’est chose lamentable de voir accorder de pareilles faveurs à un homme dont toute la vie n’a été qu’un crime, qui a été l’intime et actif complice de Bonaparte

et qui ne trahit son bienfaiteur que par ambition et sous la contrainte de la nécessité.’

## *Notes and Documents*

### *Chorthonicum.*

IN a Latin and Old High German vocabulary of names of countries, written early in the ninth century, there occur the following glosses: 'Gallia, *uualho lant* ; Chorthonicum, *auh uualho lant.*' The latest editor, Professor Steinmeyer,<sup>1</sup> rejects a suggestion of Wackernagel that *Chorthonicum* means the neighbourhood of Cortona, and concludes that it must be a synonym of *Gallia*. In this I think he is right; but when he goes on to say, *Ich suche darin den Namen Burgund*, I find it impossible to follow him. The conjecture of Pott<sup>2</sup> that *Chorthonicum* is a derivative of the ethnic name which appears in Irish as *Cruithne*, the designation of the people commonly known as Picts, is highly interesting, and has been accepted by Professor Windisch<sup>3</sup> and some other Celtic scholars. If the form *Chorthonicum* stood alone there would, I believe, be no phonological difficulty in the way of the acceptance of this explanation. But I think it can be shown that this curious name for Gaul occurs in at least two other instances, and in a form which renders the connexion with *Cruithne* quite inadmissible. The first of these instances belongs to the eighth century. In the *Hodoeporicon Sancti Willibaldi*, cap. viii.,<sup>4</sup> the narrator, having said that the pilgrims from England rested a few days at Rouen (*Rotum*), continues as follows:

Et sic inante Gorthonicum gradatim ex parte peragrantes supervenerunt. Cumque pergentes venissent ad urbem, que vocatur Luca . . .

From the heading given to the chapter in most of the manuscripts it appears that Gorthonicum was at an early period taken to be the name of a city; but, while admitting that the Latin is not very lucid, I think the most natural interpretation is that the name means either Gaul as a whole or some considerable portion of Gaul. The other passage to which I refer is from Sulpicius Severus, who wrote in Gaul about the end of the fourth century. In his *Dialogues*,

<sup>1</sup> *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, iii. 610.

<sup>2</sup> *Wurzelwörterbuch*, p. 899.

<sup>3</sup> Art. 'Keltische Sprachen,' in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*.

<sup>4</sup> *Orient latin*, i. 253. The work was written by a nun of Heidenheim about A.D. 785; Willibald's journey was taken about 720.

i. xxvi., a Gaul, a disciple of St. Martin, is represented as expressing himself, in conversation with an Aquitanian, in these words :

Sed dum cogito, me hominem Gallum inter Aquitanos verba facturum, vereor ne offendat vestras nimium urbanas aures sermo rusticior ; audietis me tamen ut Gurdonicum [*v.l.* Gorthonicum] hominem, nihil eum fuco aut cothurno loquentem.

Professor A. Roberts, in his translation of Sulpicius, follows Du Cange in supposing *Gurdonicus* to be equivalent to the medieval Latin *gurdis*, stupid or clownish. However in De Vit's *Onomasticon* the adjective is, no doubt rightly, given as an ethnic or local designation, though its meaning is said to be unknown. In the light of the two passages previously quoted it seems clear that the word means Gaulish. It appears, then, that *Chorthonicum* is a mere German misspelling of a name for Gaul, *Gorthonicum* or *Gurdonicum*, which was more or less current in Latin from the fourth to the ninth century. That the name properly began with G and not with C seems certain ; the form with C is late and foreign, while that with G is early and native. If this conclusion be accepted the hypothesis of Pott ceases to be tenable.

The etymology of *Gorthonicum* or *Gurdonicum* is a problem which I am not able to solve. As the word seems to have been rather a literary affectation than a genuine popular name it may conceivably have originated as a derisive appellation (as if 'Stupidland,' from *gurdis*, on the analogy of *Vasconicum*). On the other hand it may be noted that there are many places in France called *Gourdon* ; and some admired Gaulish writer of Latin may have happened to use the adjectival derivative of this name in a context which led his imitators to misinterpret his meaning as 'Gaulish.'<sup>5</sup>

HENRY BRADLEY.

### *Sulung and Hide.*

THE *sulung* is one of those peculiarities of Kentish terminology and custom which have for a long time excited the curiosity of scholars without yielding the secret of their origin and exact meaning ; in this sense it deserves to rank with 'gavelkind,' the denial of villainage, the strange wergelds and other traits of

<sup>5</sup> Holder's *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* gives 'Gordonis Castrum, Gordonicum' as the ancient name of the town of Sancerre, but without any quotation or reference. Holder has ignored the *Chorthonicum* of the ninth-century vocabulary, and the *Gorthonicum* of the *Hodoeporicon S. Willibaldi*. However he does give *Gurdonicus* (printed with a capital G as a proper name), but he supplies no explanation, and gives the quotation from Sulpicius not only with insufficient context but disfigured by a textual blunder (*audiemus* for *audietis*) which destroys the sense. [*Gordmis* or *Gurdonis C.* occurs more than once at the site indicated in A. Longnon's *Atlas Historique de la France*.—Ed. E. H. R.]

Kentish particularism. While in common practice, as we know from Bede, the Old English land books, Domesday, and other sources, land was parcelled out and estimated in *hides* or *hiwiscs*, as the typical holdings of households or families, Kentish documents, which, in point of antiquity, authority, and number, are very well represented in our collections of ancient charters, keep a special reckoning in *sulungs* (*solins*) or *aratra*, with subdivisions termed *yokes* (*iuga*), at the ratio of four yokes to the *sulung*.<sup>1</sup> Every now and then hides are spoken of on Kentish soil, but the documents in which these occasional mentions occur are either not free from suspicion or may be supposed to employ terms foreign to ordinary Kentish nomenclature.<sup>2</sup> And when Bede carries his computations of *familiae* into Kent<sup>3</sup> we hardly know whether he meant Kentish ploughlands, which he did not consider in this case needful to distinguish from ordinary household lands, or whether his estimate is based on the common instead of the Kentish standard, or whether even, by disregarding the difference between the two modes of computation, he may not have committed a blunder which has ever since led his readers into misapprehension. Such uncertainty is the more provoking as not a little hangs on a correct solution of this technical problem. To mention but a couple of points—it would be material to know whether the compilers of Domesday, when they used the *solins* by the side of the hide and of the carucate, had all the time the same or nearly the same fiscal unit of 120 geld acres before their mind<sup>4</sup> or dealt with three different standards. And again, when we come to analyse the numbers of hides bestowed with such astounding profusion by Bede, and by the Tribal Hidage, on Old English districts in general and on Kent in particular,<sup>5</sup> would it not be important to make sure whether, large or small, these household lands really corresponded to matter-of-fact estimates on the basis of local knowledge, or, on the contrary, they were more in the nature

<sup>1</sup> For examples of the use of *yoke* and *yoklet* see Thorpe, *Dipl.* p. 476; Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 407.

<sup>2</sup> The record of the suit between Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwoenthryth of Southminster, decided at the council of Clovesho, A.D. 825 (*Cod. Dipl.* 230), may be quoted as an instance. The contention turned chiefly on the possession of estates in Middlesex, but the abbess is made to surrender among other land, 'in provincia Cantiae triginta manentium terram ubi dicitur æt Cumbe.' These are hides to match the hides of Harrow, Geddington, &c. Cf. *Cod. Dipl.* 364, 377. Werhard's will (*Cod. Dipl.* 230), to which Professor Maitland refers, is certainly misdated, as it mentions Archbishop Wulfred, who died in 832, though professing to have been drawn up in 830 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 557. See Birch, *Cartul. Sax.* i. 559, note 2). Besides it enumerates hides in Otford, Graveney, &c., in numbers which it would be very difficult to reconcile with the modest Domesday entries of *solins*. Comp. *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25; cf. Plummer's note to this passage, vol. ii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 360, 395, 400, 485.

<sup>5</sup> Corbett, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., xiv. 187 ff.

of guesses made by central authority on a very slender foundation of facts? <sup>6</sup> As, indeed, some definite relation must have existed between the two sets of terms, between the *hiwisc* or *hide* and the *sulung*, one cannot but wish to get hold of the clue to the reductions which must have occurred not unfrequently in cases where hides and sulungs had, as it were, to meet on the ground or in the thoughts of people who had to speak of them. I should like to call attention to a definite clue which has for a long while been within reach of students, and the use of which might have considerably simplified our speculations on the subject.

The testimony of the Christchurch, Canterbury, charter, c. 1278, published in facsimile in the Ordnance Survey collection (i. 6), and printed by Kemble (*Cod. Dipl.* 199), Earle (*Land Charters*, p. 89), and Birch (*Cartul. Saxonicum*, i. 476), leaves nothing to be desired as to clearness. The charter is an original deed of exchange of A.D. 812 between King Cenwulf of Mercia and Archbishop Wulfred. The fact that the Mercian king had to deal with the archbishop of Canterbury in regard to Kentish estates must have given occasion to an attempt to estimate the land both according to the common and to the Kentish standards. The archbishop is said to hand over to the king a piece of land: *hoc est duorum manentium in loco ubi Sueord hlinca vocitantur iuxta distributionem suarum utique terrarum ritu Cantiae an sulung dictum. Seu in alio loco mediam partem unius in alio loco mediam partem unius mansiunculae, id est an ioclet, ubi ecgheanglond appellatur.* One sulung of Kentish computation is made to correspond exactly to two *manentes*—that is, to two hides of the usual ‘land distribution,’—and the fourth part of the sulung, the *yoklet*, is accordingly entered as an equivalent to one half of a *mansiuncula*, one half of a hide or *hiwisc*—of a household land, as we should say. The property which the archbishop gets in exchange from the king lies near Faversham, and is appreciated on the same standards. It is a *terrae particula duorum manentium, id est an sulung ubi ab incolis grafonea vocitatur.* And to it is added *in partibus australi in regione onliminum et in loco ubi ab indigenis ab occidente Kasingburnan appellatur demediam partem unius mansiunculae, id est an ioclet.* Thus the fact that in the beginning of the ninth century the sulung was held to be an equivalent of two hides does not seem to admit of any doubt.<sup>7</sup>

Nor is it likely that the relation was much modified later on.

<sup>6</sup> Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, pp. 507 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In a charter of Eadred, A.D. 949, *Cod. Dipl.* 425 (Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 185), the possessions of the monastery of Reculver are estimated ‘*bisdenis senisque cassatis*’ in the Latin text, and at ‘25 *sulunga* and an *sulung*’ in the English description of boundaries. But in this case we have only an attempt to apply the ordinary Latin term ‘*cassata*’ to the sulung, and not an elaborate reduction, as in *Cod. Dipl.* 199.

If there is strong evidence as to the continuity of the hide through the land books to Domesday and later, there is not less reason to assume a similar continuity as to sulungs; and at no particular period do we get indications of a radical change in the Kentish ways of reckoning.<sup>8</sup> On the contrary, the relation established by our charter fits in excellently with evidence coming from the late period of feudalism. In the 'Black Book' of St. Augustine (early thirteenth century) we find the sulungs, though parcelled out in a great number of gavelkind tenements, almost always made up of exactly 200 acres each.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view the Domesday equation between 450 acres and two and a half sulungs will appear peculiar enough to be noticed (450 instead of 500 real acres are rated as two sulungs and a half), but not exorbitant or impossible.<sup>10</sup> It seems also that the passages in Domesday, like those where 40 acres and 42 acres are added to half-sulungs, receive a natural explanation if we take the 40 and the 42 acres to be less than 50, which would go to the yoke.<sup>11</sup>

Altogether the equation in Cenwulf's deed seems well worth noting, if only for the sake of realising the original opposition between the ancient terms for household land and plough land, which have been perhaps too rashly supposed to have always borne the same meaning. Nor does it seem improbable that Bede and the Tribal Hidage bring data from lists in which the number of sulungs was doubled when included in the computation by hides,<sup>12</sup> and that the Domesday estimate of the taxable capacity of Kent,<sup>13</sup> though still privileged, may turn out not to be so outrageously out of proportion with real facts as it would be if expressed in larger units. It may seem strange at first sight that the holding emphatically termed ploughland in Kent should turn out to be so

<sup>8</sup> The question as to the exemptions from taxation or the beneficial taxation which distorted to a great extent the relation between real holdings and fiscal holdings is, of course, an entirely distinct one. But it may be said that in regard to subdivisions the field sulung and the geld sulung must have been constructed on the same principle.

<sup>9</sup> Cotton MS. Faustina, A, i. ff. 46: 'Redditus de Chistelet . . . quelibet sulunga habet 200 acras . . . Quelibet acra istarum sulingarum dat curie unum ovum in Cena Domini, exceptis 50 acris apud Chelde. Summa ovorum 1050.' (There are 5½ sulungs in Chistelet.) Cf. 15: In thaneto sunt 45 sullung 150 acre . . . de unoquoque sulung pro horsaver 16 d. et de 150 acris 12 d. Ipsi idem arant pro auerether . . . de unaquaue sullung 1 acram et de 150 acris 3 virgatas.'

<sup>10</sup> D. B. i. 2; cf. Elton, *Tenures of Kent*, p. 133. The half added to the 400 acres can only have been the half of a hundred. It is not likely that Domesday should have mentioned such a small quantity as half an acre by the side of the round 400 acres.

<sup>11</sup> D. B. i. 9d, 12.

<sup>12</sup> The Tribal Hidage assigns 15,000 hides to Kent, which would correspond to 7,500 sulungs. It is remarkable that the number of hundreds in Kent with Surrey, which was probably included in it, was seventy-four. See Corbett, *ubi supra*, pp. 212, 213.

<sup>13</sup> In Domesday Kent is rated at 1,224 sulungs (*Domesday and Beyond*, p. 400).

exceedingly large, both in the absolute and in the relative sense of the word. There it stands, however, and its very size may lead to interesting reflexions, which, however, it would be beside the purpose to develop on this occasion.

PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

### *The Exchequer at Westminster.*

IN the two editions of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* published in the eighteenth century the following passage occurs:—

In termino eodem pro incausto totius anni ad utrumque scaccarium duo solidi debentur, quos sibi de antiquo iure vindicat sacrista maioris ecclesie Westmonasterii.<sup>1</sup>

In the recent edition of the same treatise by Messrs. Hughes, Crump, and Johnson,<sup>2</sup> the word *Wintonie* has been substituted for *Westmonasterii*. This is an emendation which ought not to be accepted without careful consideration. The new edition is based on three texts, the 'Red Book of the Exchequer,' the 'Black Book of the Exchequer,' and a manuscript<sup>3</sup> in the Cotton collection at the British Museum. In two of these copies the word *Westmonasterii* occurs in the above passage; in the third, the 'Black Book,' *Westmonasterium* has been written in defiance of grammar. The editors infer that the manuscript from which the 'Black Book' text was copied had not the word in full, but probably read *W*. But the mistake is, in any event, a careless one, and it is quite impossible to say what gave rise to it. Moreover it would be unusual for the name of a place to be represented by a single letter in a manuscript of a treatise such as the *Dialogus*. Nor is the inference of the editors one which receives any support from their history of the text. In their view the texts in the 'Red Book' and the 'Black Book' were copied from a common original. Yet the 'Red Book' has *Westmonasterii*, and this makes it very improbable that the word was represented in the common original only by an initial. *Westmonasterii* is also the reading of their third text from the Cotton manuscript. But we are expressly told that the common original of the 'Red Book' and the 'Black Book' texts was not the original of the Cotton text. Thus in the latter we have an admittedly independent authority in support of the old reading, *Westmonasterii*.

Two justifications are put forward for the emendation.<sup>4</sup> The first is that Westminster Abbey was not a *maior ecclesia* in the sense of either mother or cathedral church, and that the author

<sup>1</sup> T. Madox, *History of the Antiquities of the Exchequer*, 2nd edition, ii. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *De necessariis Observantiis Scaccarii Dialogus*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton MS., Cleopatra, A, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *De necessariis Observantiis*, p. 170.



shows that he was aware of this technical sense in another passage where he uses the term correctly.

Sunt tamen quedam foreste de quibus decime constitutorum censuum ecclesiis maioribus, solvuntur, sicut de Wiltescira et de Hantescira ecclesie Saresberiensis; de Norhantescira vero Lincolnensis.<sup>5</sup>

At the date of the *Dialogus*, however, there were two churches and two churches only, Salisbury and Lincoln, which were receiving tithes of the fixed rents of forests,<sup>6</sup> so that the fact that its author applies the words *maiores ecclesie* to these two cathedrals is not sufficient to show that he always used them in the sense of a cathedral or mother church. It may also be doubted, having regard to the context, whether the words *ecclesiis maioribus* are not used rather of the class of churches to whom such tithes were paid than of the particular churches to whom they were payable at the date of the *Dialogus*. If they were used of the class, then they include the church of Tewkesbury, which, like that of Westminster, was a Benedictine abbey; for the monks of Tewkesbury a few years earlier had received tithes from the fixed rents of the forest of Malvern. But indeed there is no evidence that the words *maior ecclesia* in the twelfth century necessarily bore the sense of a cathedral or mother church in such a way as to exclude Westminster Abbey. William Fitzstephen says in his *Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury*—

Sunt etiam quod ad Christiane fidei cultum pertinet tum in Lundonia tum in suburbio tredecim maiores ecclesie conventuum preter minores parochianas centum viginti sex.<sup>7</sup>

If William Fitzstephen could speak of thirteen *maiores ecclesie conventuum* in contrast with one hundred and twenty-six *minores parochiane*, there could be no objection to the author of the *Dialogus* describing Westminster Abbey as a *maior ecclesia*.

The second alleged justification for the substitution in the new edition of the word *Wintonie* for *Westmonasterii* is that the two shillings for ink are stated to have been claimed by the sacrist as of ancient right, and that, as before the date of the *Dialogus* the exchequer usually sat at Winchester, the claim could only have been made by the sacrist of that church. But the words *de antiquo iure* are of vague significance, and a claim which is based on ancient right often finds its true origin in somewhat modern user. Nor can it be regarded as an established historical fact that in the reign of Henry II the exchequer usually sat at Winchester. There were, in any case, sessions at Westminster early in that reign, and a few such sessions would be quite sufficient for the person who at first provided the ink by arrangement to claim to provide it as of

<sup>5</sup> *De necessariis Observantiis*, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> C. J. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Series), iii. 2.

right at subsequent sessions. We seek, therefore, to ascertain the facts relating to the supply of ink for the exchequer in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Unfortunately, with the exception of the Pipe Rolls and Chancellors' Rolls, the records of the exchequer of the reign of Henry III are in such a state of confusion, and so greatly need rearrangement, that it is impossible to draw from them as much information as might have been hoped. The records now known as Exchequer Liberate Rolls show that in that reign a sum of forty pence was paid half-yearly for ink, but the name of the person to whom it was paid is not mentioned. Madox has printed in his *History of the Exchequer*<sup>8</sup> an entry from a record, from which we learn that the payment was made as early as the year 9 Henry III. The Issue Rolls of 4 Edward I discover that it was the sacrist of Westminster who then received this half-yearly sum of forty pence for ink used in the exchequer. A few years later, however, it was the precentor who received it, and he was still receiving it in the year 18 Edward III,<sup>9</sup> but in 25 Edward III again we find the sacrist resuming his privilege.<sup>10</sup> Towards the end of the reign of Edward III the sacrist provided the ink not only for the two exchequers, but also for the office of privy seal.<sup>11</sup> His remuneration nevertheless remained unchanged.

The facts which I have recited seem to me to justify the retention of the old reading *Westmonasterii*. The change from the sacrist to the precentor and from the precentor to the sacrist again need occasion no surprise. It was a matter which concerned the monastery and not the exchequer. Both the sacrist and the precentor required ink, the former for writing his accounts, the latter for preparing his service books. There were various arrangements in different monasteries with respect to such small matters; but it may be noticed that in the abbey of Evesham it was the duty of the precentor to find the ink for all the writers of the monastery.<sup>12</sup> The history of the internal government of Westminster Abbey remains to be written.

G. J. TURNER.

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*The Date of Composition of William of Newburgh's  
History.*

In the preface to the first volume of his edition of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* Mr. R. Howlett gave nine reasons from which he drew the following conclusion:—

These circumstances, taken in connexion, seem to indicate that the

<sup>8</sup> Vol. ii. p. 311.

<sup>9</sup> Issue Roll, Pells, no. 193 (Easter, 18 Ed. III), memb. 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* no. 205 (Easter, 25 Ed. III, July, 'Liveries').

<sup>11</sup> F. Devon, *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, pp. 209, 470.

<sup>12</sup> W. D. Macray, *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* (Rolls Series), p. 210.

present work was begun in or before 1196, and that shortly after May 1198 William of Newburgh went to his rest, leaving his work unrevised.

A recent study of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, undertaken with special regard to the question of its date, has led me to form a different opinion, based on evidence contained in the book itself.

I will deal with the direct evidence under six heads.

I. The 'Epistola praefationalis et apologetica' prefixed to William's history in all the manuscripts is addressed to Ernald, abbot of Rievaulx. This letter was evidently written not, like most prefaces or dedicatory epistles, after the conclusion of the work which it introduces, but before that work was begun; it seems, in fact, to have been written in answer to a letter in which Ernald had urged William to undertake that work (*Litteras sanctitatis vestrae suscepti quibus mihi studium et operam rerum memorabilium . . . conscribendarum dignatur ingerere . . . Itaque . . . opus iniunctum aggrediar*). Ernald, abbot of Melrose, was elected abbot of Rievaulx on Thursday, 2 March 1189, and resigned in 1199.<sup>1</sup> The day and month of his resignation are not stated, but the entry is placed between that of Richard I's death and that of John's coronation.

II. In lib. i. 15 William mentions Roger, abbot of Byland, *qui adhuc superstes est, in senectute uberi, administrationis suae annis circiter quinquaginta et septem expletis*. The 'Fundatio Domus Bellalandae'<sup>2</sup> states that Gerold, abbot of Byland,

profectus est ad capitulum generale Savigneiense A.D. MCXLII circa festum S. Johannis Baptistae . . . et . . . obiit in reditu de capitulo Savygneii vi kalendas Marcii . . . Eo anno successit ei dompnus Rogerus. . . . Praefuit autem abbas R. in officio pastoralis Bellalandae . . . per quinquaginta quatuor annos et amplius a die ordinationis suae usque ad decrepitam aetatem, et tunc cessit officio suo. . . . Vixit autem dictus R. abbas post cessionem suam in domo Bellelandae una nobiscum fere iii annos, et tunc quievit in Domino.

Thus Abbot Gerold died 24 Feb. 1143; Roger succeeded him in the same year, resigned in 1197, and died at the close of 1199 or early in 1200. Of course, if William's words are to be taken literally, as having been written before Roger's resignation, it follows either that William has made Roger's tenure of office too long by three years or that the writer of the 'Fundatio Bellalandae' has written *quinquaginta quatuor et amplius* when he meant, or should have meant, *quinquaginta septem*. As, however, Roger continued to live in his old abbey after his resignation, William's phrase may very well mean simply that when it was written 'about fifty-seven years' had elapsed since Roger was elected to the abbacy. This would harmonise with the dates given in the 'Fun-

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Melrose*, a. 1189 and 1199.

<sup>2</sup> *Monast. Angl.* v. 350-4.

datio,'<sup>3</sup> and indicate that the passage was written shortly before Roger's death, at the end of 1199 or early in 1200.

III. In lib. iii. 7 William writes: *Sicque Britones, qui diu fabulosum dicuntur expectasse Arturum, nunc sibi cum multa spe nutriunt verum.* Arthur of Brittany was captured by John on 1 August 1201, and kept in prison till c. April 1203, when he finally disappeared.

IV. In lib. iv. 26 William relates how Philip Augustus obtained from the bishops of Beauvais and Chartres a divorce from his queen, and proceeds: *Et Beluacensis quidem postea Dei iudicio traditus in manus regis Anglorum, eundem satis idoneum expertus est in severitate ultionis Dei ministrum. Carnotensis vero . . . Dei adhuc patientia sustinet.* The bishop of Beauvais fell into Richard's hands in May 1196;<sup>4</sup> Bishop Reginald of Chartres died 8 Dec. 1217.<sup>5</sup>

V. In lib. v. 29 is recorded the death of William of Longchamp, bishop of Ely. Longchamp died 31 Jan. or 1 Feb. 1197.<sup>6</sup>

VI. William of Newburgh's work, in all the manuscripts, comes to an abrupt end with an account of a 'bloody shower' at Château-Gaillard (lib. v. 34). The date of this event is given by Ralph de Diceto (ii. 162) as 8 May 1198.

We thus get the following dates:—

(i.) William's history, *in its present form*, was begun not earlier than March 1189, and not later than the end of 1199.

(ii.) Lib. i. 15 was written towards the end of 1199 or early in 1200.

(iii.) Lib. iii. 7 was written before the middle of 1203; more probably before September 1201.

(iv.) Lib. iv. 26 was written not earlier than the summer of 1196 and not later than the spring of 1218.

(v.) Lib. v. 29 was written not earlier than February 1197.

(vi.) Lib. v. 34 was written not earlier than May 1198.

I will now turn to indirect evidence.

I. Cave's statement<sup>7</sup> that, 'as some will have it,' William died

<sup>3</sup> A sentence in the 'Fundatio' immediately preceding its mention of Roger's death may at the first glance raise a doubt as to the soundness of its chronology: 'Nos vero frater Philippus . . . abbas Bellelandae et proximus dicti Rogeri successor, haec scripsimus in anno Domini M.C. nonagesimo octavo, scilicet abbatizationis nostrae secundo, et post transitum Alredi abbatis de Ryevalle anno tricesimo.' The difficulty here is, however, only superficial. Abbot Philip's next sentence tells of Roger's death; it is followed by only one more sentence, which concludes his work. He doubtless added these two sentences after Roger's death (*i.e.* in 1199 or 1200) as a wind-up to the history which he had written, as he says, in 1198, the year to which all his other chronological indications point, save one; and the discrepancy involved in that one—his reference to the death of Aelred of Rievaulx—may easily have been due to an accidental omission of 'secundo' after 'tricesimo.'

<sup>4</sup> R. Howden, iv. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, vol. viii. col. 1156.

<sup>6</sup> R. Diceto, ii. 150; Gerv. Cant. i. 543.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Litt.* n. 1195.

in 1208 is of no evidential value. We know, however, that William was born in 1136 ('Proemium'). Now, a man born in 1136 might, of course, be still living, not only at the latest date which can be assigned to lib. iv. 26, viz. 1217-8, but even some years later still. But it is not very likely either that William would be still working at his history at the age of eighty-one, or that, if he really had it in hand for seventeen years and more (and we have seen that it was begun not later than the end of 1199), he would not, at least, have brought it up to what seems the natural termination for the fifth book—the death of Richard I.

II. Some indirect light may be thrown on the question of date by William's attitude towards two of the historical personages of whom he treats. One of these is Arthur of Brittany. There are several indications that William felt a particular interest in Arthur, and that this interest was connected with his views as to the stories and prophecies about the Breton hero-king Arthur which he handles so severely in his preface. William's mental attitude towards delusive prophecies in general—*i.e.* prophecies which are fulfilled in some sense other than that which their words naturally convey—may be gathered from lib. v. 6.<sup>8</sup> He seems to have regarded them as, to a certain extent, genuine anticipations of futurity, but as being of diabolic origin and therefore deceptive. Among predictions of this kind he evidently ranked the prophecies ascribed to Merlin concerning King Arthur's return; and in speaking of the boy Arthur he uses some expressions which, when taken in connexion with a passage in his preface, indicate that he regarded these delusive prophecies about the mythical Arthur as being fulfilled, in a sense other than that which their words literally implied and in which the 'foolish Bretons' understood them, in the person of the actual one.

Sicque Britones, qui diu fabulosum dicuntur expectasse Arturum, nunc sibi cum multa spe nutriunt verum, iuxta opinionem quorundam, grandibus illis et famosis de Arturo fabulis prophetatum (lib. iii. 7). Turbatio Britonum, qui puerulum sibi Arturum sub magno huius nominis omine nutriebant (lib. v. 18).<sup>9</sup> Notandum, quod eundem Arturum postea refert [Gaufredus] in bello letaliter vulneratum, regno disposito, ad curanda

<sup>8</sup> One of the prophecies dealt with in this chapter relates to the death of Stephen, seneschal of Anjou under Richard. The prediction was made during Richard's captivity, and had been fulfilled when the chapter was written. Among other things Stephen was to retain his office till his death; and so, says William, he did. The *Chronicle of Meaux Abbey*, i. 289-90, states that Robert of Turnham—about whom it is likely to be well informed—was seneschal of Anjou in 1197; if this statement and William's are both correct, therefore, Stephen must have died not later than that year; he must at any rate, if William's statement is correct, have been dead before 27 Dec. 1199, for at that date the seneschal of Anjou was William des Roches (*Rot. Chart.* i. 34).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also the references to Arthur in lib. iv. 14 and lib. v. 30.

vulnera sua abiisse in illam quam Britannicae fingunt fabulae insulam Avallonis; propter metum Britonum non audens eum dicere mortuum quem adhuc vere bruti Britones expectant venturum ('Prooemium').

It is difficult to determine how much or how little political meaning lies veiled in these passages. On the one hand it may very well be argued that William would not have laid so much stress upon young Arthur's position as (in some sense) the substitute for his mythical namesake unless he had, at the time of writing, regarded Arthur's ultimate succession to something far greater than the Breton duchy as at least still possible—in other words, that he would not have written thus after all hope of Arthur's ousting John from the heritage of the Angevins had been extinguished in 1203. On the other hand I venture to think that William's words do not necessarily imply that he himself had any more expectation of a real fulfilment of the prophecy in the person of the new Arthur than in that of the ancient one. It seems to me possible that the mere fact of the name Arthur being once again borne by a ruler of the Bretons was a fulfilment sufficient to satisfy William's own theory of the origin and nature of the prophecy; and if this were so, his interest in the matter, as bearing upon the questions dealt with in his preface, need not have been in any way affected by Arthur's fate, and therefore does not give any additional clue to the date of the passages relating to Arthur.<sup>10</sup>

III. Another personage concerning whom William uses very remarkable language is John Lackland. William twice calls John *hostis naturae* (lib. iv. 34 and 40). This may be thought a startling description of John to have been written before his accession to the throne or during the first two or three years of his reign, and its application to him in those earlier days may appear more likely to have been made retrospectively by one who had seen something of the later developments of his character, if not in his excesses during the interdict, at least in his treatment of his young orphan nephew. Another explanation, however, seems to me possible, for the following reasons:

(1) With the first passage in which William uses the phrase—*Nec Iohannes, ex regni ambitu hostis naturae effectus, illis diebus [1193] a fratris infestatione quievit* (lib. iv. 34)—I would compare a passage in lib. v. 5, *Eodem tempore [1194] Iohannes . . . contra fratrem militabat regi Francorum, a quo scilicet dum frater in Alemannia teneretur abstractus erat atque illectus, ut ruptis naturae legibus fraternis hostibus iungeretur*. These two passages, taken together, seem to me to indicate that William specially connected John's 'hostility to nature,' or preternatural wickedness, with his

<sup>10</sup> The clue in lib. iii. 7 is, of course, quite different; it lies in the words *nunc nutrium*.

conduct towards Richard ; and from the words which I have not italicised in the first passage I should certainly gather that in William's opinion John had become ' a monster ' before his accession to the throne, since it was his ' longing for the kingdom ' which ' made ' him such.

(2) The foregoing remarks are not intended as a plea to minimise the force or limit the scope of the words *hostis naturae* as applied by William to John. In the other place where William uses them—*Quod ubi innotuit regi Francorum et hosti naturae Iohanni* (lib. iv. 40)—the turn of the phrase seems to me distinctly to imply that it is meant as an epithet summing up John's character—' that monster John.' Still the particular occasion on which the epithet is used is here again, as in the former case, a display of John's disloyalty and ingratitude towards Richard. To us who know how for seventeen years after Richard's death John went on piling outrage upon outrage the epithet reads almost like an epitaph. But were not those outrages, after all, merely repeated manifestations of a character which, to a thoughtful and clear-sighted onlooker, such as William of Newburgh, was already sufficiently indicated by John's earlier career? To me, nothing in John's later life is more ' monstrous ' than his desertion of his father. The circumstances of that desertion, and the previous relations between the father and his youngest son, place it in a wholly different category from the open rebellion of Richard, or even of young Henry and Geoffrey, and reveal a lack of natural feeling, a depth of duplicity, and a far-seeing selfishness, appalling in a lad of twenty-one. *Ex ambitu regni hostis naturae effectus* was true of John already in 1189. It was proved true, more publicly, over and over again, by his persistent ingratitude and treachery towards the most generous and forgiving of brothers ; and we must remember that John's unscrupulous efforts to satisfy his ' longing for the kingdom ' may, in one aspect, very well have seemed to William even less excusable under Richard than under Henry, for this reason : whatever schemes Henry may have entertained for John's succession were—as John himself evidently saw—wholly impracticable, and John's interest, therefore, in 1189 really lay with Henry's victorious opponents ; but throughout the whole of Richard's reign John practically held the position of acknowledged heir to the crown, except for the one moment in 1190 when Richard in his treaty with Tancred designated Arthur as his heir ; and that exception, we may gather from lib. iv. 14, was unknown to William of Newburgh.

IV. William's chapter ' *De moribus Regis Henrici* ' (lib. iii. 26) closes with a suggestive parallel.

Ingrati homines . . . proprii mala principis assidue carpebant ; bona vero nec audire sustinebant ; quibus uti sequentis temporis sola vexatio

iam dedit intellectum. Quippe praesentium malorum experientia bonorum eius induxit memoriam. . . . Salomonem quoque . . . populo minus placuisse, verba illa ad filium eius satis insinuant, *Pater tuus aggravavit iugum nostrum*. . . . Porro quod idem filius conquerenti populo, puerili levitate comminando respondit . . . quod, inquam, ab illo leviter dictum est, ad tempora nostra non leviter redundat; et tamen populus insipiens cum minori nunc querela scorpionibus caeditur quam ante annos aliquot flagellis caedebatur.

It seems hardly conceivable that this comparison with Rehoboam can be pointed at Richard. No other writer of the time gives a hint of anything in Richard's government of England which could justify its application to him; most assuredly no hint of such a thing is to be found in any other part of the extant work of William himself. The wording of the passage is remarkable. The English Rehoboam is not named; we are left free to assume, if we choose, that he was, like his prototype, the immediate successor of his father, but we are not told that such was the case; the period of his rule, and the space of time which had elapsed between the close of the reign which is contrasted with his and the date of William's criticism upon him, are veiled in what seems like intentional vagueness—*tempora nostra, nunc, ante annos aliquot*. In short, so far as its mere wording is concerned, the passage may be applied to John as well as to Richard. And the sense of it applies to John far better, at least at one period of his reign. *Populus insipiens cum minori nunc querela scorpionibus caeditur quam ante annos aliquot flagellis caedebatur* might be said truly enough during the years between the death of Hubert Walter and the coming of Stephen Langton, when the nation which had grumbled at the stern, yet equal, justice of Henry II and of Hubert Walter 'kept silence' beneath the wanton tyranny of a king who 'neither feared God nor regarded man.' Our ascertained chronological data, indeed, tend to indicate (though they do not actually prove) that William's work was left unfinished before that evil time had come. Yet this passage is, I think, not absolutely irreconcilable with what seems the natural deduction from them. John's government in his later years was, no doubt, far more oppressive than in his earlier years; but we need look no further than the pipe roll of 1200-01 to see that, in the matter of taxation and monetary exactions at least, his rule was from its very outset a chastisement with scorpions instead of whips in comparison with the rule, not only of Henry, but even of Richard.

V. The whole character of William's work precludes the idea of his having had it in hand for any great length of time. William's history, as it has come down to us, is obviously a first draft—such an admirable piece of literature cannot be called a *rough* draft—which the author left both unfinished and unrevised. That it is



unfinished appears sufficiently from its abrupt termination at a point which cannot possibly have been deliberately chosen for the conclusion of a work so excellent in literary form. That it is unrevised is shown by a number of indications, most of which are collected in Mr. Howlett's preface, and which need not be recapitulated here. But further, the whole form and structure of the book shows it to be a first draft in the strictest sense; not a product of research and premeditation, nor based on a collection of notes taken at various times and copied out with an intention of gradually putting them into order and shape, but a sketch made, so to say, straight off, with the materials which the author found ready to his hand in the treasure house of his own knowledge, aided, for the earlier times of English history, by some few books in the convent library, and illuminated, for the entire period with which he dealt, by the innate quality of his own mind and intellect.

The evidence as a whole, then, points (although not precluding a possibility of some few slightly later touches) to the spring of 1199 and the autumn of 1201 as the limits of time within which William's history, as we now have it, was composed. One passage indeed, there is which does not at first view seem to fit readily into these limits; but the discrepancy which it appears to involve may well be only apparent and not real. This passage occurs in lib. iv. 36, where William, after relating the expulsion of the monks from Coventry by their bishop, Hugh of Nonant, proceeds thus:—

Monachi usque in hunc diem pro revocanda . . . frustra laborasse noscuntur sententia. Nondum enim ulla detestandi operis provenit correctio; sed monachis pro toleranda inopia late dispersis, bona eorum ab eodem episcopo in praebendis divisa seculares clerici, ipso autore, possident.

Of the restoration of the monks to Coventry there are five seemingly independent accounts—by Ralph de Diceto, Roger of Howden, Jocelyn of Brakeland, Gervase of Canterbury, and Roger of Wendover. Ralph, Howden, and Gervase state that it was performed by Archbishop Hubert in January 1198; Ralph gives the day as 18 Jan.,<sup>11</sup> Gervase as 11 Jan.; and in three manuscripts of

<sup>11</sup> 'MCXCVIII. Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus clericos quos Hugo Cestrensis episcopus, eiectis monachis, apud Coventreiam collocaverat, summi pontificis auctoritate munitis amovit, monachos reintroducens ibidem xv<sup>to</sup> kalendas Februarii' (R. Diceto, ii. 159). 'Nonus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliae. Anno gratiae millesimo centesimo nonagesimo octavo, qui est annus nonus regni Ricardi regis Angliae, fuit idem rex Angliae in Normannia apud Rothomagum die Natalis Domini, quae quinta feria evenit. Eodem die Natalis dominus Hubertus archiepiscopus et iusticiarius fuit in Gwallia apud Hereford. . . . Deinde venit idem archiepiscopus ad Coventre, et per mandatum Coelestini summi pontificis introduxit monachos in ecclesiam eiusdem villae cathedralem' (Rog. Howden, iv. 35). 'MCXCVIII.—II. [*i.e.* second year of 'ciclus decennovalis'; see Gervase's heading to A.D. 1197, i. 543].

Howden there is inserted an undated letter purporting to be addressed by Pope Celestine III—who died 8 Jan. 1198—to ‘the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Lincoln, and the abbot of St. Edmunds,’ bidding them effect the restoration.<sup>12</sup> Jocelyn’s account,<sup>13</sup> which is dateless, runs as follows:—

Facta est commissio domini pape H. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et domino Lincolnensi, et S. abbati S. Aedmundi, de reformacione Conventrensie ecclesie et de monachis restituendis, sine cause recognicione. Convocatis ergo partibus apud Oxneford, receperunt iudices literas prelatorias a domino rege, ut negocium illud poneretur in respectum. Archiepiscopo et episcopo dissimulantibus et tacentibus et quasi clericorum favorem venantibus, solus abbas aperte loquebatur, monachus pro monachis de Conventria, eorum causam publice fovens et defendens. Et eo procurante, eo tenus processum est illa die, quod quedam simplex saisina facta fuit uni ex monachis de Conventria cum uno libro. Set dilata fuit corporalis institutio ad tempus, ut sic saltem petitioni domini regis satisfaceret abbas; vero illo tempore quatuordecim monachos de Conventria, qui ibi convenerant, recepit in hospitio suo, et sedentibus monachis ad mensam, ex una parte domus, et ex alia parte magistris scholarum, qui summoniti fuerant, laudabatur abbas magnanimus et magnificus in expensis, nec unquam videbatur in vita sua magis letus quam tunc temporis fuit, pro reverentia monastici ordinis reformandi. Instante festo S. Hilarii, perrexit abbas cum magna hilaritate Conventreiam, nec victus labore nec expensis, et dicebat quod si oporteret eum feretrio equitatorio portari, non remaneret. Veniente eo Conventreiam, et quinque diebus expectante archiepiscopum, omnes monachos prenomi- natos cum servientibus eorum honorifice secum tenuit, donec creatus fuit novus prior, et monachi sollemniter introducti essent. *Qui habet aures audiendi, audiat factum memoriale.*

Roger of Wendover,<sup>14</sup> under the year 1198, after recording the death of Hugh of Nonant, relates how a Coventry monk, being at Rome and hearing of that event, forthwith presented to ‘the newly elected pope, Innocent,’ a petition which resulted in the ‘immediate’ issue of a papal mandate to Archbishop Hubert for the convent’s restoration, and Hubert restored them accordingly on 18 Jan. In the *Regesta* of Innocent III there is a letter almost identical with the one attributed by Roger of Howden to Celestine, save that it is addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Lincoln

Instituit archiepiscopus Cantuariensis ex mandato Coelestini papae monachos in monasterium Coventrense iii<sup>o</sup> idus Ianuarii, expulitque clericos seculares quos Hugo de Nonant episcopus Cestrensis . . . ante annos viii violenter eiecerat’ (Gerv. Cant. i. 550). These three writers, we know, began the year at Christmas. The Christmas Day of 1197 in our reckoning—1198 in theirs—was, as Roger says, a Thursday. Both Roger and Gervase record the death of Pope Celestine in the same year (‘eodem anno . . . mense Ianuarii, vi<sup>o</sup> idus eiusdem mensis,’ R. Howden, iv. 41; ‘obiit eodem mense Ianuarii,’ Gerv. Cant. *l.c.*) Gervase has previously (i. 460) recorded the expulsion of the monks on 9 Oct. 1189.

<sup>12</sup> R. Howden, iv. 35–7.

<sup>13</sup> Camden Society’s edition, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 126–8, ed. Coxe.

and Worcester, and the abbot of Tewkesbury, and is dated *Romae, iii nonas Iunii*. It is entered in Innocent's register under his first year.<sup>15</sup> This letter implies that the restoration of the monks, so far from having been fully accomplished in January 1198, was still uncompleted in the June of that year. The story of the Coventry monks' restoration, as told by these various authorities, thus remains obscure, and in one account the obscurity seems to be intentional. The different versions of the matter are conflicting on the face of them, and we are evidently not in possession of all the facts which might enable us to reconcile them. More than one possible explanation might be suggested which would be quite compatible with William's words if they were written in 1199. The only alternative theory—that William wrote lib. iv. 36 before and apart from the rest of his history—is capable of no plausible explanation at all, and is too unnatural and improbable to be entertained in face of the evidence which combines to indicate 1199–1201 as the date of the composition of William's whole work.

KATE NORGATE.

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*A Lincolnshire Manor without a Demesne Farm.*

IN his kind review of my edition of the *Court Rolls of the Manor of Ingoldmells*<sup>1</sup> Professor Maitland encourages me to complete my investigation, and try to establish one good instance of a considerable manor without a demesne farm and labour services from the villeins as early as 1291. When the review appeared I had already published in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*<sup>2</sup> the account rolls of the manor of Ingoldmells for the years 1295–6, 1346–7, 1421–2, 1484–5; but, as this publication is not widely known, I venture to submit here a few further remarks on the subject. I had stated that 'during the time the rolls cover there was no demesne farm at Ingoldmells,' and I rely chiefly upon the account rolls to prove this. The earliest account rolls are for the year 1295–6, in which there is no mention at all of any profits from a demesne farm, or of any labour services from villeins, and this is the same on all the account rolls I have found. This evidence is, I admit, negative, but when we consider the facts of the case it becomes very strong. The account rolls for the different duchy manors in a particular year are all bound up together, and on the

<sup>15</sup> Innoc. III, *Epp.* lib. 1, no. cexlv.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, xviii. 780 (October 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vii. pp. 157, 167, 203: quoting Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 1, no. 1; Duchy of Lancaster, Various Accounts,  $\frac{32}{17}$ , f. 25; Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 243, no. 3913; and Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 248, no. 3970.

Lincolnshire manors are rendered by the same steward. I have recently examined the rolls<sup>3</sup> for a somewhat later year, and find that my recollection of them is correct. Roger de Cobeldyk, of a well-known Lincolnshire family, is the steward for the manors of Bolingbroke, Greetham, Ingoldmells, &c. At Bolingbroke and Greetham he and the grave render an account of corn sold, of wages of carters and shepherds, of ale and mutton given to bondmen mowing the demesne meadow, of works ploughing, &c.; and there is an account of the corn in the granges of those manors. At Ingoldmells not a word is said about a grange, or any account rendered of corn or stock sold, nor is there any mention of carters or shepherds or of labour services. Moreover in 1484-5 under 'farm of demesne lands' at Ingoldmells we have an account of what the demesne lands were, and find that there were 12½ acres of meadow, the South and North Warrens, and the issues of the herbage called Catesacre; so that there was nothing but what we find mentioned on the court rolls and earlier account rolls. And since the manor was purchased in 1657 the demesne lands have consisted solely of a small quantity of land representing the warrens and out-marsh. Hence I have been led to the confident conclusion that there has been no demesne farm at Ingoldmells since 1291, and I cannot conceive it possible that there can have been labour services exacted when on the court rolls, which form so comparatively continuous a series, as well as upon the few remaining account rolls, there is no allusion to them at all.

On this question of labour service I can strengthen my case by reference to a survey of the estates of the Bayeux barony<sup>4</sup> in 1288. There we find that at Thoresway, Grymoldby, Calcethorpe, Linwood, South Witham, Stainby, and Elsthorpe, places situated in quite different parts of the county of Lincoln, the lands in villeinage (*in villenagio* or *in bondagio*) were put at a full rent (*ad altam firmam*), and at Stewton 'the pleas and perquisites of court were not extended, because there were no suitors except tenants at will and for a term of life.' In all these places there were in demesne arable lands of considerable extent, and no doubt a demesne farm, but the bond land had already in 1288 been let out to the tenants at a rent representing the full value; and the lord cultivated his demesne land himself with hired labour, or let it out to tenants at will or for lives, of whom we have frequent mention.

W. O. MASSINGBERD.

<sup>3</sup> Duchy of Lancaster, Ministers' Accounts, bundle 1, no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Chancery Inquis. post mortem, 16 Edw. I, no. 39.

*Some Letters of Toby and James Bonnell.*

## V.

## IRISH AFFAIRS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

*James Bonnell to the Rev. Mr. John Strype at Low Leighton.*

Dublin: 21 Jan. 1688-9.

Dear Cousin,—Many thanks for your last kind letter, which came very welcome to me, as well for the account it brought me of yourself as for the state of public matters. God be praised, we have hitherto continued in safety, but seem now at the period of it: Lord Deputy having declared that upon the first hearing of any forces to be shipped hither before his majesty's pleasure is known he will give up this place and country to his soldiers and burn and destroy all before him; the ground is a persuasion they have that our king will unite the Roman catholic princes abroad, and that the French are already successful against Holland; so that they may hope for relief. Had they no probability of carrying it, we believe they would not be desperate, but the vain hopes of this may ruin us; but if there be ground for it this country seems not reducible, for they will make it incapable for any army to subsist in but their own; the greatest men of our party do now give out, and seek to save themselves and their families. My place stays me as yet while any business can be done. All our commissioners are in my circumstances, and how well we may be able to get off, if need be, God knows. I thank God I can commit myself to his providence, who has hitherto taken care of me, and am not afraid of his will, which I came into the world to fulfil; but this poor country seems to need the prayers of all good people, and I wish our own may be so earnest as the occasion calls for. The state of our church now, which you inquire after, is all in the same condition with the rest of the kingdom. Otherwise the revenues of four vacant bishoprics are *in custodiam* for the king. The private livings had their custodians dissolved last term by the judges, it being against law; so the bishops who prosecuted them have collated to them. This fairness we had by the present law. Since the late revolution we have been somewhat at a loss to vindicate the loyalty of the English bishops to our countrymen here, where you may be sure we are twitted sufficiently, though we dare not censure them ourselves; but the declaration at Yield Hall seemed surprising to us without ordering inquiry to be made after the king, and addresses or petitions sent to him not to leave the administration. I have made some attempt in answer to your inquiry about the college; for a present taste I send you inclosed speech of Archbishop Loftus, the first provost, which concerns you no further than that Lord Burleigh recommended Travers<sup>1</sup> to be provost, of whom you will see how the archbishop speaks to his face. But Lord B. made amends after in sending Temple<sup>2</sup> (the ancestor of Sir William Temple), who has written a book wherein are

<sup>1</sup> Walter Travers, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 1595-8.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Temple, 1565-1627, fourth provost of Trinity College, Dublin, to which post he was appointed in 1609—not, of course, by Lord Burleigh. He was not the immediate successor of Travers, Henry Alvey having held the office from 1601 to 1609.

some things relating to Burleigh's service to the college, particularly an additional endowment in Connaught; but I have not yet got the book.

28 Jan.—I lost the opportunity of sending this according to the date. God be praised, we are yet in quiet, but people run away with all the disorder imaginable, fearing the issue of English forces. The protestants in the army have all laid down, resolving not to fight against their religion, nor against their king. We seem to wish that the army had done so in England, rather than deserted, and do not see how any Englishman can oppose the government here, where the king's commission abides in full force. One of our bishops lately went over (Dr. Morton, bishop of Kildare<sup>3</sup> and dean of Christ Church, our chapel royal, a nephew of Bishop Laud, a very honest gentleman); he promised to send us word on what foot the English bishops satisfied themselves. We suppose he is gone for preferment, having considerable friends. Lord deputy has in a manner refused our other bishops here leave to go to England, promising to protect them and their friends. Indeed, he needs their stay, for it will considerably quiet the people, and this will be of advantage to him if hereafter he be forced to make terms with the prince, which will depend on his hopes of succours from France. A French marquis arrived here yesterday with a message from the king, but what it imports we do not hear; however the Irish are much agog upon it. They tell us the king has sent to lord deputy to protect his protestant subjects here equally with the rest.

Our churchmen were drawing up some things relating to the reforming or establishing our church here, if ever we should have a parliament; but in this, I believe, they will follow the model of England, especially as to establishing the dissenters with us. Reordination seems to stick hardest, and it seems to me that something ought to be yielded on both sides; on ours, that as many of them as have been classically ordained should undergo some kind of episcopal confirmation, or formal authorising only; on theirs, that all of their sort should henceforth be episcopally ordained, some of their own number assisting if they please. But these are little notions which you and I might chat over the fire, not worth writing at such a distance.

*James Bonnell to the Rev. Mr. John Strype at Low Leighton, Essex.*

Dublin: 5 Aug. 1690.

Dear Cousin,—I bless God for this liberty once more of saluting you and my friends. We have waited for it in many fears and dangers, but it has pleased God to secure us and give us more favour with our enemies than we could have hoped for; and that even in the last extremity, when we expected nothing but their wrecking their utmost spleen upon us. The particulars of this I have already sent, and desired might be communicated to you, which I hope you have seen; so that I shall not need to repeat anything of it, but entertain you with such things that I have not there mentioned. The history of the protestants' sufferings in this country, and other remarkable passages since the beginning of our troubles, you will shortly receive in public, drawn up by a sufficient hand, and will make my present account of those things needless. As to myself,

<sup>3</sup> William Moreton, dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 1677–81; bishop of Kildare, 1681–1705; bishop of Meath, 1705–15.

my condition, I bless God, has been very satisfactory and easy. I was sensible plainly that it was for my good that God had continued me here, which quieted me under the resolution I had taken to stay, and made me willing to share with my fellow sufferers in the event of things. Whatsoever my mother or I had was in the hands of protestants who were ruined; in this respect I should not have been without my share of suffering, if that cause had fallen. At first we thought that King James would have been more indifferent to protestants, but latterwards we could foresee nothing but our total ruin if he prevailed. He seemed really to be good in his own nature, but was so very easy that hardly anything could be called his own, and so very weak that he could not judge what was fit to espouse; but when he had espoused a thing he was exceeding opiniative in it, and thought he was no king unless he could have his will: he enjoyed it here very absolutely, but in some things the Irish sat so hard on him that they gave him at last an utter aversion to them, which seems to be the reason that he was so willing to quit this country. The protestant clergy were generally too hasty in leaving us in the beginning of these troubles; and if one might reflect so largely, this kingdom was very ill supplied: the source of it was in the university (or college) here, which for the most part filled this church. Its nearness to this town, and want of good government for many years past, has made the divines and officers of the army so much of a piece that there has been little but their gowns to difference them. Of the college itself I am unwilling to give so bad a character as I have heard from its own members, who reflected on the justness of the judgment that it was made the first instance of desolation in this place. The clergy that stayed here were for the most part men of resolution and conscience. There were several congregations of dissenting ministers in this place, but the ministers forsook them so entirely that for some while I think they had not one in orders among them. The parliament, provoked by the fierceness of some of our clergy who had left this place, who had been severe upon their Roman catholic parishioners for their dues, took away the corporation's maintenance; but the protestants still contributed both to their ministers and poor, as they were wont to do, when obliged by law, even to the dissenters, with whom we lived with the greatest amicableness. The Quakers at first took civil offices under King James, and were looked upon by us and by the Roman catholics as the same with them; but latterwards, when they saw how things were like to go, they sided more with us. However even to the last they were favoured in all things by the government, and truly we looked upon it to be a reward from God to them for the peaceableness of their behaviour in all times. The three prayers that were made in England upon the prince of Orange's invasion we continued here in our church service a great while, and I looked upon it to be a great providence that furnished us with them, as well as that which continued to us the use of them so long after they had been laid aside in England, for we could not appoint any prayers for ourselves, nor any public days of humiliation, but what would have been looked upon as disaffection to the government. And it was remarkable that in all this time King James appointed no such day. Nor do I know any one step he made towards reforming of any public vice, though the Irish in

general, his army and court, and particularly those which followed him out of England through France, were excessively wicked. The dissenters kept a monthly fast, in which they had the advantage of us. I hope observation of Fridays among good people of our church in private, with our ordinary offices in public, which were duly frequented here twice a day in most churches (and which week-day prayers I reckon to be the stay of our church against the dissenters), did some way make amends. As King James grew more inveterate against the protestants so our people grew weary of the second of the three additional prayers, which was wholly for him; and because this could not be left out alone without offence in most places the first was also left out and the last only used. I confess I was troubled at the leaving out of the first, and that it boded not well, and feared it was done as much out of remissness of devotion as out of exception to the second prayer, in which, for my own part, I could have joined heartily. The only difficulty was of praying against King James's enemies, which yet we did as peremptorily in the litany and in the ordinary prayer for the king. There was no question while God continued him over us it was our duty to pray for him, as the only power of God which we could recognise. For though we depended on England by law, yet we were not under the power of England, and so long the matter was indisputable whom we ought to be subject to and to pray for, had King James used us never so ill. At the same time I could not but secretly wish success to King William, though I chose rather to forbear wishing, and leave it to God to work his will, and in praying against King James's enemies I thought it sufficient for me to understand those that were unjustly such. Till Christmas last our ministers prayed for *their royal highnesses the prince, the princesses*, and all the royal family. It was represented to the king by the prince we meant the prince of Orange, whereupon they were ordered to pray for *his royal highness the prince of Wales, the princesses, &c.*, which was observed till the great turn. There remained in this kingdom seven bishops<sup>4</sup>—the primate,<sup>5</sup> who is superannuated; the bishop of Meath,<sup>6</sup> a person of considerable learning, quality, piety, and temper, excellently qualified for a governor of the church; the bishop of Limerick,<sup>7</sup> of good family, a fine gentleman, and a serious and good man. These three remained in this town: the bishop of Waterford,<sup>8</sup> very aged, residing at Water-

<sup>4</sup> Bonnell refers only to six of these bishops by title. The seventh was John Roan, bishop of Kildare, 1675–92.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Boyle held the Irish primacy from 1678 to 1702. Owing to his great age he was for the last fourteen years of his life incapable of attending to the duties of his office. Boyle was the last ecclesiastic in whom the office of lord chancellor was united with the primacy.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, 1681–97, was perhaps the most eminent and certainly the most active of the Irish bishops during the Revolution. His speech in the parliament of James II on 4 June 1689 is printed in King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, app. no. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Simon Digby, bishop of Limerick, 1679–92, was afterwards translated to Elphin, and died in 1720.

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Gore, bishop of Waterford, 1666–91. It is stated in Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae* that Bishop Gore, 'having met with excessive personal violence from some "Irish ruffians" in 1689, retired to Wales, where he died in 1690 or 1691 at the age of 80 years.'



ford; the bishop of Ossory,<sup>9</sup> residing at Kilkenny, aged also; the bishop of Cork,<sup>10</sup> residing at Cork, an eminent man . . . hot in his temper, but of excellent endowments of mind, and of great learning; zealous heretofore in the doctrine of non-resistance, of which he wrote the history, but does not turn non-resistance (I dare say) to the powers *de jure* into resistance to those *de facto*. Four of these—Meath, Limerick, Ossory, and Cork—were in our parliament, and swayed things there as well as they could, and where they could not, entered their protests. Cork is yet under the enemy's power, and God knows I doubt all their condition who are so is at present very hard. Ossory alone, of all our Irish clergy, has scrupled praying for King William, and absents from his church upon that score, but is not violent in his sentiments. Of our clergy Dr. King<sup>11</sup> has been very eminent—minister of a principal parish church, and made dean of St. Patrick's about Christmas 1688, chosen by the chapter just before the bishop and most of them went away. A man of a sound head and great resolution, of all men he had most need to have gone away from hence, for none had exasperated the Irish and papists to that degree he had done formerly in his sermons. They hated him mortally and knew he was their utter enemy all the late times. They kept him twenty weeks prisoner in the Castle, and would have hanged him with all their hearts if they could have a colour for it, but he had managed himself with [so] great wariness and prudence that they had nothing against him. He will now, we suppose, be bishop of Derry; is like to make an extraordinary government and to be a signal instrument of good to this church, if God designs any good for us. He oftentimes used to lament to me that he expected a great faction between the clergy that went to England and that stayed here, and that the first, being more numerous, would defeat all the good that could be proposed to be done for this church.

This day se'nnight our army came against Limerick, beat off the party that defended the ways near the town, though with some loss, and came within shot. On Sunday they passed the Shannon at a ford below the town, 2,000 that guarded it retreating without making any defence. This was a great advance, but seconded by an unhappy loss. The guns

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Otway, bishop of Ossory, 1679-92. Cotton says: 'It seems that, from some representations made to the court that our bishop did not use to pray for their majesties in the church service, King William was induced to suspend him in July 1690. But probably he was wholly able to clear himself from this charge, as we find him still continued in the see.'

<sup>10</sup> Edward Wetenhall (1636-1713), bishop of Cork, 1679-99, when he was translated to Kilmore. Wetenhall, who was the author of an anonymous tract which excited much attention when published, *The Case of the Irish Protestants in Relation to . . . Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary*, 1691, was a close friend and correspondent of James Bonnell. The bishop preached Bonnell's funeral sermon 'of the intermediate state of blessed souls.' It is printed at the end of Bonnell's *Life*.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. William King, subsequently bishop of Derry, 1691-1703, and archbishop of Dublin, 1703-29. His well-known *State of the Protestants of Ireland* is the principal authority for the condition of the Irish church at the Revolution and for the conduct of the Irish bishops. His 'Autobiography,' printed in this *Review*, xiii. 309-23, and 'Diary,' now in course of publication in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, under the editorship of Professor H. Jackson Lawlor, throw much light on the matters with which Bonnell's letter is concerned.

were ten miles behind the camp on their way to it. On Monday night, at two o'clock, Sarsfield, with a party of Irish horse, came about and surprised them, killed all the drivers and waggons, and even the women that went with them, burnt the waggons and carriages, and broke the biggest gun, as we hear. Towards morning a regiment of dragoons came that way by accident, and the Irish, having done their business, retreated. This matter we hear but rarely yet, no more than what else is done at Limerick; but the king has given orders that no quarter be given to the Irish. My most affectionate salutes to my cousin, and my prayers for your comfort in my three little cousins.

*James Bonnell to the Rev. John Strype.*

Dublin: 10 Nov. 1690.

Dear Cousin,—I begin upon a good large paper in prospect to fill it and [make] amends for being so long without thanking you for both yours, but it is upon condition [of] better leisure than I have had, else must be glad to send you it with some blank. You [may] have an idea by this that I have been in a great hurry all this time; I cannot say so; [I] have confined myself to my office for writing of letters; and those hours of the day which I [had] allowed for this purpose have been taken up. I have lived a little ticklishly in respect [of] employ hitherto, and now it is struck at for good and all. But the case is like to be so [general] that I ought not to repine at my private suffering; nor is it without a providence when I [shall] have told you all. The condition of this country since our great and happy change is such as might be expected in a country that is yet the seat of war, and that has so great an army to maintain in it without pay after it had undergone near two years' desol[ation]. The protestants have reason not to repine, whatever losses they sustain (which is indeed of all the [ ] can yield in the country; and in many places of their houses), while they are secure of their lives. The Roman catholics bear it more patiently, because they assure themselves next summer will set them [where] they were, and this they believed with the greatest confidence imaginable. Our army lies at a great distance from the Shannon, and has left a large tract of ground for the enemy, by [which] means they make inroads, plunder and burn places within thirty miles of this town, which makes [us] often alarmed with many stories of their feats, which do not prove true. We live here, God [be thanked] quietly and securely in this place, without any faction or division among us. The clergy agree [together] entirely well: no faction yet amongst them; but a great many are still on your side, so [ ] citing preferments of which none are yet disposed of, but the choosing of fit men in this case, if [God] puts it into the hearts of our governors, will be of great consequence to this place. Since the reducing of Cork (where two-thirds of the city was burnt) that bishop has closed in with the rest of our churchmen. We wondered to hear him returned by those that came from England a Jacobite, and [treated as] such by the army at the siege of that place. He indeed endeavoured to carry it fair in the late times, as it was our duty to God and ourselves to do, to be quiet under the powers he had co[n]tinued over us, but for approving of the cause we knew him and one another better than to be the sentiments of those in England. This

bishop is an exceedingly worthy man, industrious and most zealous in his station, and for the good he has now done in these late times will ever be memorable. But, poor man, it was a great discomfort to him after his great deliverance to be saluted with such stories as were told him of his censures in the world; and one aggravated token that had happened in his own town. Some while after King James's leaving this country he had directed a member of his choir not to pray for King James by name in the litany. The man being prag[mat]tical told the congregation openly of the bishop's order to him; this made so great a noise that the bishop was forced to suspend him to save all the clergy there from the fury of the garrison. He complained to me of these things in a letter, the end of which I will send you on the other side. The condition of the [province of] Connaught is better than we expected it would be, and may hold us yet more work than we imagined, especially if they received any succours from France. Lately a ship of ninety tons, sixteen guns, and three petracas, with forty men on board, well ammunitioned and victualled, bound from Galway to Scotland, and thence to France, just ready to set out, with the packet on board, was seized by fifteen protestants in the harbour of Galway, being confederates with the master and four of the ship's crew, who were protestants, in the night. A French frigate lay just by them, but they bound the Irish shipmen and captain (who were in their beds) with so little noise, and cut their cables so nimbly, that they were many leagues off by next morning, the French ship supposing that they only removed to anchor in another place. For more ready going off the next morning they put the Irish crew into their long boat, and with provisions left them to get ashore, who in two days came back safe to Galway. The ship came about the north of Ireland to Belfast. I doubt the protestants they left behind will be worse used; their condition being already, God knows, bad enough, and worse in the prospect of what they may have yet to suffer, though we hear that Sarsfield is civil to the gentlemen among them. In some parts, no doubt, it is better with them than in others, though in all bad enough. Before the king went to Limerick we had a feast day appointed every Friday, and the dissenters joined with us on the same day. It is now stopped, and a general day of thanksgiving appointed. I am very glad that any of our churchmen in England acquitted themselves so well. I assure myself that those who had tolerable good inclinations before, but were unhappily carried away with the stream of the last vain and secure age, were very much bettered by their sufferings, and improved by their being in England; all which may end in a mercy to this place. I guess who it is found fault with the bishop of Meath's speech, and talked of answering it. The bishop of Cork sent me word last winter that he heard that the same person had represented him in England as a great complier and a half-papist; and yet most of those that stayed here, especially the clergy of Munster, were no better. The bishop desired me to communicate this letter to his brethren in this place. The general's brother (who was here with us) was angry with me for this, and said he was sure it was a false report of his brother. I told him I hoped so too, and only followed my instructions. It seemed the more likely to us all, who knew so well this gentleman, who, carrying it so high before these troubles in his port and

demeanour, was the main thing insisted on by the Irish parliament when they took away all our ministers' maintenance, and said they would teach us to go afoot, as their clergy did, and not to coach it with lacqueys. However I am far from any unkindness to the gentleman, and hope these troubles may have had as good an influence upon him as I wish they may have upon myself. You wonder that things should be so bad in a certain place here under such a governor as you name to me. I find by greater judges than myself that he is not thought fit for that station. An excellent man in company, and all's told—an accomplishment as insignificant for the purpose as could be wished. I must not, however, hereby exclude him from all worth, or say that he might not adorn another station, though he is unhappy in this. Dean Harrison keeps close in the country, and seems to have a very good sense of religion. We are now alarmed at this [report] that the parliament of England are about to deal hardly with the protestants that acted under [compulsion]. Our lords justices and courts are already beginning with it, and declare that none shall be continued in employ who thus acted. This is far from the king's true interest or the nation's. There were none of them [there] (some very few excepted who are notorious and known to us all) but were cordial to the protestant cause [and made] use of their power and interest to succour their fellow protestants, and were so far from being looked upon with an ill eye for continuing their employments that they unanimously advised them and wished heartily that they [should] do so, for besides their being all to benefit them, popish officers in their places would still more have ha[rmed them], and by this means such as acted were as dear to them as they were to one another, so that this proceeding [ ] will disgust all that stayed, and may, perhaps, breed Jacobites in a country where as yet there are [none]. For my part, it will not make me one, though I am like to suffer in the common cause, the lords justices having signed a warrant for my place to an Anabaptist of this place, who came with them from England. [My] friends have pleased to make such representations of me to the lords, and the commissioners of the revenue have set forth my necessity in my place at this time especially, that there is at present some stop in it and perhaps they so wait the king's mind whether the case shall be general. As soon as ever these troubles were over I ha[d resolved] to quit it and go into orders, not that I thought I could be so serviceable to the church after so much time from my studies, and so little health now to pursue them hard, nor that I might be able to do as much good, [living] in the world as I was, but because it has been a long impression on my spirits and I could not satisfy my own mind by doing it. But my friends here diverted me from doing it then, telling me it would [look] either like disaffectedness to the present government or that I could not hold my place, which would not be so creditable a way of going into the church. I yielded, therefore, to continue in it for some time till I could be [con]firmed and fairly give up my trust; in the meantime this has happened, and I doubt not but it is God's [means] of bringing the same thing about, which I am sure will appear in the end to be best. I am now to thank you for both your kind letters, which I do heartily, having been a great reviving to me.

*Letters of the First Lord Orkney during Marlborough's Campaigns.*

THE four letters here printed were written by George Hamilton, first earl of Orkney, who served as lieutenant-general in Marlborough's army throughout the war of the Spanish succession. It is not known whether the originals exist, but copies of these four letters have been preserved at Craster Tower, in Northumberland. They came there in the following way: Lord Orkney had as neighbours, at Taplow, in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, his wife's niece, Mrs. John Craster, and her husband. Mr. Craster acted as Lord Orkney's executor on his death in 1737, and must then, if not during the earl's lifetime, have had the opportunity of obtaining copies of the most interesting of Lord Orkney's letters. The transcripts, to judge from the endorsement of the first letter, were made towards the end of Lord Orkney's life and under his superintendence. The first letter was addressed to Lord Hervey; the second and fourth to one of his brothers, possibly the duke of Hamilton. A fifth letter, also preserved at Craster, but not printed here, throws light on Lord Orkney's methods as a correspondent. It is a letter from Sir James Abercromby, the earl's aide de camp, dated 16 August 1704, and from it Lord Orkney has copied his account of Blenheim, for the most part *verbatim*, but with considerable additions.

H. H. E. CRA'STER.

## I.

[Endorsed

*Copey of my Letter to Lord Bristoll.<sup>1</sup>*

Earle of Orkney from ye Camp at Steinheim, 17<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1704.  
Account of the Battle of Blenheim.

My Lord,—I remember you desired of me in England that I would give you some times an account of what passed here. I confess I ought to have done it after an affaire at Donawerth<sup>2</sup> as well as this; but I shall now endeavour to maik amends, and give you the best and justest account I can of the greatest battle obtained the 13<sup>th</sup> at Bleintheim near Hochstate by the Duke of Marlborough over the Elector and French that has been heard of; with an army inferior to theirs, since ours consisted of but 66 battallions and 170 esquadrons, and theirs, as Marshal Tallard told me himselfe,<sup>3</sup> they had 87 battallions and 150 esquadrons.

Prince Luis of Baden, haveing marched the 9<sup>th</sup> with 22 battallions and 34 esquadrons all emperiall to beseege Ingoldstat, the Duke of Marlborough took post between the Paar and Danube, soe as either to cover the siege or be ready to joine Prince Eugene in case the Elector should pass the Danube. The 11<sup>th</sup>, upon advice from Prince Eugene

<sup>1</sup> John, Lord Hervey, created first earl of Bristol 1714.<sup>2</sup> 2 July.<sup>3</sup> In his letter to M. de Chamillart (given by Pelet in his *Mémoires militaires relatifs à la Succession d'Espagne*, iv. 562 sq., *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*) the marshal put the numbers at 78 battalions and 123 squadrons.

that the enemy had actually passed the Danube<sup>4</sup> near Dillingen, our army passed the same at two severall places, and joined the Prince, who had retired to Donawerth. The whole army marched the same day and encamped at Munster about a league and a half from the Elector, who made a movement and beat in all our out guards as if he had intended to attack us, not knowing of our junction with the Prince.

The thirteenth, having sent away all our tents and baggage, we marched in eight collumes directly to the enemy, who had no notice of it till we were in sight of their camp. Our army, about seven in the morning, begun to extend and formed in the enemy's front, who had the small river Haselaers<sup>5</sup> and marshy ground from right to left before them, which we found much worse than we expected, and was obliged to make many bridges in the very face of their army. It was nevertheless resolved to attack and to try if we could take them in flank. The enemy had above 90 piece of cannon, which began to play about nine o'clock, and galled us very much. The Prince of Savoy with his army and some brigades of ours attacked the Elector on the left.<sup>6</sup> The Lord Cutts with 20 battallions was commanded to attack the village of Blenheim on the right,<sup>6</sup> where Marshal Tallard's foot had taken post. The generall of the foot, Ingoldsby, and myselfe were in the center.

Lord Cutts began first on the right about two in the afternoon; the Prince began his attack much about the same time; and in a little time after our horse and foot under the command of the Duke of Marlborough passed in the center, where the whole body of the French horse and some battallions of foot were drawn up in battle. Our horse and foot having got over, the horse immediatly formed and charged the enemy with a great deal of vigour, but in some places were repulsed; those already past with Generall Churchill<sup>7</sup> being marched to sustain my Lord Cutts, who had met with severall repulses, tho' his men had behaved to admiration. By this time I had got over about nine battallions of foot which were left with me, and marched to sustain the horse, whom I found repulsed, calling out for foot, being pushed by the jendarmerie. I went to the head of several esquadrons and got 'em to rally and form upon my right and left, and brought up four piece of cannon, and then charged both foot and horse. The horse were put to flight, but their foot remained in battallion quarre<sup>8</sup> in the best order I ever saw, till they were cut to pieces almost in rank and file. The foot consisted of the three brigades of Robeck, Bellisle, and Debuile.<sup>9</sup> And then their whole line retired some hundreds of paces just upon the ground where they had been encamped. After this I inclined to the enemy's right and joyned Lieutenant-General Engoldsbie, who had gone over with Mr Churchill and the rest of the foot towards the village of Blenheim. Here I and Englisbie passed another little river, which divided the village of Blenheim, and came in to the right of the enemy's camp, but could not bring over the four pieces of cannon, so posted them on the other side, where they play'd on the enemy's flank in the village. I spoke then to the Prince

<sup>4</sup> On 10 Aug.

<sup>6</sup> The French left and right respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Churchill, brother of the duke of Marlborough.

<sup>8</sup> 'Bataillon carré.'

<sup>5</sup> Haselbruck.

<sup>9</sup> Robeck, Belleisle, and Beuil.

of Hesse and Lieutenant-General Lumley and Lieutenant-General Humpesh,<sup>10</sup> who agreed that, while I and Lieutenant-General Englisbie should attack the village, they would attack the enemy's line of horse that they might not flank us (which they did with success). I drew the troops immediately round the village to the Danube side, then I crossed the little ruisseau and went to M<sup>r</sup> Churchill to desire that those with my Lord Cutts might attack at the same time with me and Englisbie, which he promised should be done ; upon which we began our attack with success, and got into the village, and pushed many of their men into the Danube, where General Clarembo<sup>11</sup> was drowned. Lord Cutts made his attack at the same time, but was repulsed, and we in a little time after, tho' we kept possession of the avenues of the village, as did Brigadier Webb of a post upon the Danube side, which hindred their coming out there. After this we attacked twice and peirced to the very heart of the village, and endeavoured to possess ourselves of the church-yard which had a high stone wall round it, but were beat out again. At last, having observed that there were several houses behind which the enemy drew up and fired from, I made attack them and set the houses on fire. This we could easily perceive annoyed them very much ; and, seeing two brigades appear as if they intended to push their way through our troops,<sup>12</sup> who were very much fatigued, it came into my head to beat a parley, which they accepted of ; and immediately ther Brigadier De Nonville capitulat with me to be prisoners at deseretione and lay down their armes, provided that I should not let them be plundered, which I took caire to see religiously observed. Lieutenant-General Ingolsby at the same time capitulat with another brigade comanded by Brigadier St-Seconde, who lyed down armes in the saeme maner. After having taiken these two brigades, I inquired of Mon : De Nonville what remained in the village. Saint Second answered more than 20 battallions and 12 esquadrons of dragoons, which I owne struck me, since I had not above 7 battallions and 4 esquadrons commanded by Brigadier Ross, which were of great use to me. However I maid the best countenance I cou'd and desired the same brigadier to return allong with my aid du camp to the Marquis de Blanzak, marishall de camp, who comanded the whole (Monsieur Clarembo lieutenant general being drowned), would come out and speak with me ;<sup>13</sup> which he did ; and, after a little conversation he promised to return to me after having called a councell of the chefe officers that remained in the village. My aid de camp went with him, and went out at the other barier on the other syde to acquaint the Lord

<sup>10</sup> Hompesch.

<sup>11</sup> Clérambault.

<sup>12</sup> Sir James Abercromby gives the following account of the surrender : ' My lord i.e. Orkney) told Major-General d'Harleville that there was a great necessity to tack them immediately, for they seemed to have great numbers of men in the village ; upon which his lordship marched, being very nigh, and, seeing them in some confusion, called to them to lay down their arms, that they should have good quarters. Upon which I rode up to the royal regiment and pulled the coulours out of the ensign's hands, and was slightly wounded over the arm by him. I asked them if they did not hear what the general offered ; but his lordship was come up by this time, without giving any fire, and ordered them to lay down their arms, which they did, asking quarter.'

<sup>13</sup> Sic.

Cutts that I was capitulating with the village, and that they would not fire any more, which was noe little surprise to them who had been 5 times repulsed, and were past making ready for another attack. After a short councill held, the Marquis de Blanzack returned, and, with a good dale of difficulty, I got him to finish matters upon the same conditions the others had got. But, what I thought was the chiefe raison of his finishing with me, I told him that the Marshall was already our prisoner, and that the Duke of Marleborough (who had been everywhere from one attack to another, and had ventured his person too-too much that day) was already above a leg in pursuite of their horse, and that he sent me word that I shoud have 20 battallions to sustean me, with all our canone. This bore weight, and maide us soon finish matters; tho', to tell treuth, it was a little gasconad in me; not but what I dout not I had been <sup>14</sup> with all I said if necessity had required for .<sup>14</sup> They layd down their armes and marched out prisoners of war to the number of 27 battallions and half a battallion of bombardiers and 12 esquadrons of dragoons, the first two brigades included.<sup>15</sup>

I had the good luck not to be touched; only a horse shot under me. As for what passed on the right with Prince Eugene, we were altogether strangers; but, by what the Prince told me, he had enough to do with them, having repulsed several times, and been several times repulsed himself both horse and foot, especially the horse; but at last gained ground and forced them to retire, which they did in good order; nor did he think fit to push them too hard with his troops, who were much fatigued with the many engagements he had had.

This is the truest and exactest account I can give to my knowledge. It is perhaps the greatest and compleatest victory that has been gained this many aiges. The number of general officers and others, with the souldiers, I must leave you to the account that I believe will come by next post; but I believe I may saiffly say we have above 1200 officers and 12,000 souldiers,<sup>16</sup> so that I doe assure you I don't know what can be

<sup>14</sup> Blanks in copy.

<sup>15</sup> *I.e.* De Nonville's Régiment Royal and Saint-Second's regiment. Sir James Abercromby adds: 'About nine at night, as the French were marching out of the village, Durelle, my Lord Duke's aid de camp, came and acquainted my Lord that his grace had sent him to inform him that there was a very great body of foot in the village, and that he should lie upon his arms that night, and that he would joyn him next morning with all the foot and cannon he could get, and attack the village. My Lord told Durelle that above an hour ago he had sent his aid de camp to wish my Lord Duke joy of his being master of 27 battallions of foot and 12 esquadrons of dragoons, with all their general officers, coulours, and arms. About at eleven at night, after having disposed of the prisoners in the best method he could, my Lord retired to see for a quarter, and carried with him all their general officers, but could find no house till he got to the old camp at Munster.' Abercromby gives the following list of the captured regiments: 'The twenty-seven battallions consisted of ye brigade of Navar, Royal, Languidock, Grederswize (*i.e.* Greder), Saint-Second, Monrouts (*i.e.* Montroux). The twelve esquadrons of dragoons consisted of four regiments,—the Master de Camp General de Dragoon, Laraine (*i.e.* La Reine), Rohan, Evasée (*i.e.* Vassé), commanded by the Marquis de Hautforte.'

<sup>16</sup> The official numbers (given by Pelet, iv. 918) were 800 officers and 8,219 soldiers.



done with them. For our loss I must leave you to the secretary's account, for as yet I can hardly till. We have got above 40 pices of canon, and coulers and standerds vast numbers. I hope the effect of this battle will be great; and I confess it is intirely owing to my Lord Duke; for, I declaure, had I been to give my opinion, I had been against it, considering the ground wher they were incamped, and the strenth of the army; but I believe his Grace knew the necessity ther was of a battle.

The enemy passed the Danube the next day, and marched streight to Ulm, after breaking down the bridge att Loungene; <sup>17</sup> and, since, they have desirted both Munike and Augsburg, to which last place I believe we shall send a garisone; and likly we shall, soe soon as we can be quitte of the embaras of soe many prisoners, march streight to them to see if it be possible to chase the French out of the Empire, which I hope we shall.

May I declare I have not time to reed over my letter; so I wish you maike sense out of it, and that you will forgive me the lenth, since it was not possible for me to maike such a taile shorter. Blaim yourselfe if you are weary reading of this. It was what you desired. I wish I may have many such accounts to send you, and that I hav the hapeniss to be with you in St James's Squaire, which will be more agreable to me than ever after noe little fatigues this campagne.

I am my Lord with much treuth your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ORKNEY.

## II.

### *An Account of the Forcing the French Lines.*

From the Camp at Vlierbeck <sup>18</sup> Abbey.  
July ye 20. 1705.

Dear Brother,—I wrote to my wife by Durell, my Lord's aid de camp, who went express with the news of our having forced the lines, to send a copy of the letter to you, for I had no time to write more. There is a great stroke and with very little loss to us.

To give a short account, my Lord Duke was very much for attacking the lines, and that by surprize where he found it weakest. You cannot believe how much it was opposed by the Dutch. However all that he desired was that he might trye; and he promised that, if he saw the lines well garded, he would not opinatre <sup>19</sup> the matter. So with great difficulty he got the Dutch army to march over the Mahaine <sup>20</sup> upon our left, which they refused to do for two days, though we had twenty bridges made for communication, so it was all one as if there was no river. However this gave the enemy some umbrage. On Friday night <sup>21</sup> the Count de Noyelle, who was of our army, was commanded with ten battallions of foot, which were to march at 7 at night. Also Monsieur Sholst, <sup>22</sup> who had been at Hay <sup>23</sup> with twelve battallions of foot, was to go under his command; and then 20 squadrons of horse to follow; and then the remainder of both right and left wings of horse to follow them;

<sup>17</sup> Launigen.

<sup>18</sup> Vlierbeeck.

<sup>21</sup> 17 July.

<sup>19</sup> 'Opiniâtrer.'

<sup>22</sup> Scholts.

<sup>20</sup> Mehaigne.

<sup>23</sup> Huy.

then the two lines of foot, and, after them, Monsieur D'Overkerk's army. Count Noyelle marched at 7 at night, and the whole army followed in this order close after one another. Though we had all the best guides could be had, Count Noyell lost his way at least two hours in the night, as also the first line, which I led, and the second line also. However Noyelle, by peep of day, came near to Arsmell,<sup>24</sup> where the Jeet<sup>25</sup> runs before their line. There appeared a camp upon the right and left of the place. However he marched down to the bridge, where ye enemy had a small gaurd, which made but very little resistance. Wee got some men on the other side; but these bridges were so bad that hardly above one man could goe over abrest, and in some places one foot man and a horseman passed over together. However, though the passages were very bad, people scrambled over them strangely. My Lord sent me word to make what hast I could with the line; and, though I had lost my way, I got up before the bridges were empty of the horse. The foot that got over took up all the ditches and hedges; and the horse, endeavouring to gain ground to form on the plain<sup>26</sup> The place were wee posted was betwixt two of their camps; and that on the right was a small post of dragoons, which consisted of twelve squadrons, and retired to S<sup>t</sup> Leaw,<sup>27</sup> about a league from our right where we posted. By the time I came to the river, I could see two good lines of the enemy, very well formed, coming down upon our people, a line of foot following them. Wee were in very good condition to receive them, and wee outwinged them, and still more troops comeing over the pass. As I got over the foot guards, I saw the shock begin. Both marched very briskly to one another. Our foot, where Major-General Welderen was upon the left, marched out and came to a deep hollow way, the enemy on the other side. Noyell, with more of our foot, still gained ground to the right, and wee did the same; so that wee were in several lines stretching out always more to Tirlmont. In ye meantime our English horse began [to] receive their fire, and went in sword in hand, and pushed the enemy. In some other places wee were a little pushed, but soon recovered. Our foot went over that hollow way, gave them some good volleys, which made them retire a little. In the meanwhile our horse advanced where they had a battery of ten pieces of canon, every canon with three holes either to shoot all at once or singly. Here there was foot mixed with horse, and, after the enemy's horse were pushed, they formed a hollow square with a<sup>28</sup> brigade; but even the horse received their fire and broke in upon them. Our English dragoons, Hanover, and Hess horse were a good deal mixed and not in their proper places; however all attacked equally well. The enemy also by this time had still more troops comeing up, and wee could see a new line of foot forming and comeing behind their horse. But their horse and foot that were in their two or three first lines, being pushed, made the others think of retiring, and seeing most of our army getting over, and Monsieur Villeroy not being able to come up in time with the rest of the army, they thought their best course was to retire, which they did in pretty good order, not being very much pressed by us, for, as they retired, the ground grew

<sup>24</sup> Esemael.<sup>25</sup> Geete.<sup>26</sup> Blank in the copy.<sup>27</sup> Leau.<sup>28</sup> Blank in copy.

narrower and higher. So they filled up that ground very well with their troopes they had there; and wee, not knowing but it might come to a generall affair, endeavoured to bring our right to Tirlemont, and so forme in severall lines. But the enemy thought of nothing but marching off, and wee to well pleased with the success, as I am afraid wee have not taken ye advantage wee might have done, as I shall tell after.

There was a battallion in Tirlemont. I had orders from my Lord Duc to send Ferguson with ye first brigade to summons them to give themselves up prisoners of warr, which they did very soon. The body that was commanded by the Duc of Rauquelaire,<sup>29</sup> Marquis d'Alegre, Count de Horne, all three lieutenant-generalls, consisted of near 50 esquadrons and about 22 battallions, which they had under their command; but Alegre told me he had 30 squadrons and ten battalions to engage with, the rest not being come up. Rosse's squadron broke that where Alegre was himself, his horse shot under him, and he upon the ground, where he had many pistols fired upon him. At the same time Rosse's esquadron attacked, Lord John<sup>30</sup> came in upon his flank, and saved Alegre's life, who had ten or 12 dragoons upon him, using him very ruffly.

I neither can tell you what we have lost, nor what the enemy has lost; but I believe I have seen above 100 officers that wee have taken prisoners. The most considerable is Alegre and Horne, lieutenant-generalls, Don Andreas, captain of the Spanish guards, and a major-general, a brigade or two of the Elector's, severall commanding officers of regiments. It has fallen heaviest upon ye Elector's troops, for I see several of his standard and kettledrums.

Wee passed all our army over the great Jet that afternoon, but the Duke remained on the other side. Wee have gained a great point, but in my opinion wee have not made use of our victory; for, had we either marched towards Judoyne,<sup>31</sup> which was there and thereabouts that most of their army passed the Jet, wee had certainly cut between them and Brabant, and so obliged them to have repassed Mahaine, or made them come to a battle, which I am sure they would not have done; and thus wee had gained all Brabant at once; or, even if wee did not do that, if wee had pressed on our march to have seized upon Lovain before them, wee should have been masters of the River Dale,<sup>32</sup> and obliged them to have gone by the Bois de Soigne, and to get behind Brussels; and by that wee had been masters of Lovene, Malines, and masters to besiege Antwerp as wee pleased; but wee made not so great mast as the enemy did. I am sure I pressed the Duke of Marlborough all I could to have even marched the same night to Lovene, though it was 7 at night before wee got all through Tirlemont; or, had wee marched next day by break of day, wee had certainly cut off all their rear guards, for the Elector and Villeroy lay at the Abby de Parke, and what esquadrons and foot they had with them lay on their arms all night. Our right came as far as Rosbeck, which is within two leagues of Lovene. So, if even wee had marched before day, wee had certainly cutt off a vast number of them; but our army did not march til 7 next morning, and, when the quartermasters came near to Park, their rear was just crossing. The

<sup>29</sup> Roquelaure.<sup>30</sup> Lord John Hay.<sup>31</sup> Jodoigne.<sup>32</sup> Dyle.

right wing of horse was sent for, but all was got over before they could reach them, and their bridges over the Deuil just taken up, so that now they are incamped with Loven upon their front upon the right of their army, and their left wing toward Bethlem and Wickmale, with the Dale before them. We incamped just behind the Abby de Parke within less than canon shot of the town of Lovene. We took yesterday above 7 or 800 of their men that were stragling up.

They have sent a strong detachment to Namure,<sup>33</sup> and some they say to Charleroy; and Monsieur the Elector and Villeroy have been seen to crye; and we hear the Elector should say to Villeroy, he saw nothing they had to do, but he to go to Namure and himself to Antwerp; but it seems they pretend to defend the Deal River, though I doubt not we shall make bridges and attack them; though this, if we would have done as the French and marched, we might have been masters of it already without any hazard; but, to tell truth, the Dutch are so untoward in everything, and my Lord so pestered with them, that it is a wonder he doth not leave the army. I told General Tope<sup>34</sup> that nobody knew this country better than he, and he could advise my Lord well if he pleased; but one sees no forwardness in any of those men. The enemy had two regiments at Deest,<sup>35</sup> and have quitted it. We shall certainly send a regiment there. We have left three regiments at Tirlemont. It is a great way to bring our bread from Leige, if we don't find conveniency to get it from Tirlemont. I hope we shall, though we are not certain yet. If we had taken Lovain, we had found all the enemy's stores and wanted nothing; and, I do assure you, I think we could have done it easily, but we must not speak of what can't be helped, and, I do assure you, not of my Lord's fault.

However, to make our victory usefull, we have a new attempt to pass this river, which I hope we shall do,<sup>36</sup> though, as I am told, the Dutch are for attacking Lovain, and to make a passage this way. It's of no strength, but an army to defend it is something; but I believe my Lord thinks of making bridges somewhat higher up the Deal, and to endeavour to pass and attack their army. If it succeed as well as the lines, it won't cost much. I hope in God it will, for I think he's on our side for my part. 500 good men might [have] hindred our passage,—you know the Jet and their lines behind it. Don Andreas, you know that was in England, is dead of his wounds. *Pudding* is wounded and prisoner; he is lieutenant to ye Elector's grenadiers of horse. I hope God will continue to prosper us; and, beyond everybody's expectation, we have a glorious campaign. My Lord Marlborough in person was everywhere, and escaped very narrowly; for a squadron, where he was at the head of, gave ground a little, though soon came up again; and a fellow came to him and thought to have sabered him to the ground, and struck at him with that force, and, missing his stroke, he fell of his horse. I asked my Lord if it was soe; he sayd it was absolutely so. See what a happy man he is. I believe this pleases him as much as Hogstet<sup>37</sup> did. It is absolutely owing to him.

<sup>33</sup> 20 July.<sup>36</sup> Effected 16 August.<sup>34</sup> Dopff.<sup>35</sup> Diest, evacuated the 20th.<sup>37</sup> Höchstett, i.e. Blenheim.

## III.

*Battle of Ramillies.*

Camp at Braunchain,<sup>38</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> May 1706, 7 o'clock.

You will be extremely glad to hear we have fought a very great battle yesterday and beat the French, and I in very good health, but am hardly able to hold up my head, I am so weary and faint; for it is 48 hours I have not eat nor drank, but once or twice a glass of wine and bit of bread. I really cannot tell you any particulars yet of this battle, nor well what loss we have, nor what they have.

We could hardly fail of meeting, since we marched with a firm resolution to attack them; and I find they did the same out of their line to attack us. However, they seeing us coming up to them, they took up a very good post at the head of the Geet, and possessed themselves of several villages on their front, and a marshy ground with a little ruisseau<sup>39</sup> before them; so that, when we came to attack, it was impossible for us to extend our line, so were drawn up in several lines, one behind another, and indeed even in confusion enough, which I own gave me at first a very ill prospect of things. But, since it was so, we made our effort at a village in the centre, which they call Ramillies; and that post was attacked very furiously by chiefly stranger troops, except Churchill's and Mordaunt's regiments, who have suffered greatly. This post was at last forced and taken, and our army pierced into others by that village, where our horse and theirs had some sharp activity. My Lord Malbro' was rid over, but got other squadrons, which he led up again. Major Binglefield, holding his stirrop to give him another horse, was shot with a canon bullet which went thro' my Lord's legs; in truth there was no scarcity of 'em.

Where I was with most of the English foot, there was a morass and ruisseau before us, which they said was impossible to pass over. But however we tryd, and, after some difficulty, got over with ten or twelve battalions; and Mr Lumley brought over some squadrons of horse with very great difficulty; and I endeavoured to possess myself of a village,<sup>40</sup> which the French brought down a good part of their line to take possession of, and they were on one side of ye village, and I on the other; but they always retired as we advanced. As I was going to take possession, I had ten aid-de-camps to me to come off, for the horse could not sustain me. We had a great deal of fire at this, both musquetry and canon; and indeed I think I never had more shot about my ears; and I confess it vexed me to retire. However we did it very well and in good order, and, whenever the French pressed upon us, with the battalion of guards and my own, I was always able to make them stand and retire. Cadogan came and told me it was impossible I could be sustained by the horse if we went on then, and, since my Lord could not attack everywhere, he would make the grand attack in the centre and try to pierce there, which, I bless God, succeeded.

I don't know myself what prisoners we have; I am told several major-generalls and others of less note. Lord John Hay's dragoons and others got in upon the Regiment de Roy, which they beat intirely.

<sup>38</sup> Branchon.

<sup>39</sup> The Little Geete.

<sup>40</sup> Autre-Eglise.

There is at least 7 or 800 of 'em prisoners, and everywhere you see colours and standards, and I hear there is at least 40 pieces of canon and a great deal of their baggage. For, whenever they saw that village forced, they immediately retired with such expedition that one could hardly think it possible. We pursued them till dark night, but their horse it was impossible to get at. Their foot Mr Lumley with severall English squadrons came nigh, but without foot it was impossible to attack them. He sent to me that, if I could come up with the foot, he did not doubt but we would take eight or nine batallions of 'em that were in a body together. I marched I am sure as fast as it was possible for men to march, and ordered them to lose no time, and that I would ride up to Mr Lumley myself. I own it vexed me to see a great body of 'em going off, and not many horse with them; but, for my heart, I could not get up our foot in time; and they dispersed and got into strong ground where it was impossible to follow them.

We are just now met with the left of the army, for all night we knew nothing of one another, and Mr Lumley and I had resolved to march streight to the Dyle to their lines. But here we are endeavouring to make a camp and form in some order, for we look like a beaten army. I really fancy we shall march to morrow to the Dyle to see if it be possible to force their lines now in the consternation they are in. That is the place certainly they will make head again, for their lines are strong. I am sure, whenever we can get at 'em with any kind of reason, these troops will never stand us. They were 74 batallions, 128 squadrons, of the best troops in France with orders to attack us; we 73 battalions, 123 squadrons, so there was a pretty near equality if there had been any in ye ground. We had two young gentlemen prisoners with us all night, both men of great quality—a nephew of Marishal Luxembourg and Marishal Tallard's only son.

I am afraid the express will be gone; so, being extremely fatigued, God bless you and send us a happy meeting. I doubt these lines will be a troublesome piece of work; yet pray don't fail to send a copy to brother Hamilton and Selkirk.<sup>41</sup> I have several of your letters, but cannot answer them till I have some rest. The battle begun yesterday at 12 and ended chiefly about 5 at night, when we pierced and got the better. Tho' this be of great consequence, it is nothing like Hochstet because of the numbers taken in ye village. Maybe they have lost 5 or 6 thousand men, but truely it is hard to guess.

## IV.

*An Account of the Battle of the Woods or Tasniers.*<sup>42</sup>

Camp at Beleun,<sup>43</sup> the 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1709. Monday.

Dear Brother,—It was not possible for me to write to you by Mr Graham, who went express with the news of the greatest battle I ever saw; and the post went away next morning so early, I so hagged out of my life, that I lost the occasion. My last to you was from the camp of Havre.<sup>44</sup> I told you then how we were situated, that the Prince of Hesse

<sup>41</sup> James, duke of Hamilton, and Charles, second earl of Selkirk, brothers of Lord Orkney.

<sup>42</sup> Taisnières, *i.e.* Malplaquet.

<sup>43</sup> Belian.

<sup>44</sup> Havré, 7 Sept.

was got within their lines,<sup>45</sup> and that our left reached to the lines. I don't believe my letter was gone from quarters above an hour when we had the alarm given us that the Prince of Hess was attacked in his camp; upon which, without striking our tents, the whole army marched in order to support him. But all this proved only to be Monsieur Villars, who was come with a gross corps de cavallry to reconnoitre de près. So he retired, and we lay upon our arms that night, which I think was Saturday.

Next morning<sup>46</sup> we marched towards Ghislain in order to attack them; our accounts being that they were encamped with their left at Bosen<sup>47</sup> and their right at Wileres;<sup>48</sup> but we found afterwards that to be false, and that it was only great bodyes of their troops that appeared, but that their real camp was a little before Quevrine,<sup>49</sup> and the river Hanneau<sup>50</sup> behind them. That day the Prince of Hess and Mr Cadogan pushed some of their squadrons, and took Colonel Shelton, who commanded, prisoner. We camped in this very camp we are now in that night, where we intended to have remained till we had certain intelligence what was their intentions.

But next morning<sup>51</sup> we found they were upon a full march towards Maubeuge by their right. Besides we had intelligence of Boufflers being come to their camp<sup>52</sup> with orders to risque all and venture a battle. Upon which we again drew out before our line without sinking a tent, detached 30 squadrons with Prince d'Averne<sup>53</sup> to reconnoitre de plus près. Upon his marching 3 quarters of a league he sent word he could advance no farther, for he found them in battle at the mouth of the defile and where the battle has now been. Upon which, all the army had orders to advance, which wee did; but there came such a prodigious dusty rain that wee lost one another, and for some time knew not where we were, and really in a great deal of confusion. The Dutch foot advanced to the post they were in when we begun the battle, which was in woods and a terrible country. But at the same time the Prince d'Averne was obliged to retreat and not to engage, [the reason] being the army was not in condition to support him. When it came on clear weather, we found the right wing of foot was near 3 quarters of a league from the left; and the French, being so much masters of the defile, and pressing down in the plain between the woods, the resolution was taken to form almost at the head of our camp, and let them come and attack us. But, when we found where the Dutch infantry was got to, I had orders again to joyne them with our left, which is the Hanovers, which I did after a very tedious march; and there we came within little cannon shot of one another, where the French began and canonaded us pretty briskly, particularly where our English foot were, and killed us a good many men. Wee had no guns come up. Our horse were in great bodies in the plain, the way that leads out betwixt the woods; but the enemy run their foot down into the wood all along the skirts of the wood, so that our horse could remain there no longer, for we gave them the flank;

<sup>45</sup> Lignes de la Trouille.

<sup>46</sup> Willeries.

<sup>47</sup> 9 Sept.

<sup>48</sup> 8 Sept.

<sup>49</sup> Quiévrain.

<sup>50</sup> 3 Sept.

<sup>51</sup> Boussu.

<sup>52</sup> Honeau.

<sup>53</sup> Prince d'Auvergne.

whereupon they drew off and fronted to the woods, and drew in a line with the foot, as much as the ground would permit.

So in this posture we lay upon our arms all night, not doubting but we should attack them next morning by break of day; but it happened we did not, and got up our cannon next morning,<sup>54</sup> and began and canonaded them. By the time it grew very clear day, we could see them hard at work and retrenching themselves, as also they were masters of the great wood they call the Bois de Sars and Bois de Blarcinies,<sup>55</sup> and extended their left still farther and farther, so were more masters of the plain. All that day my Lord Duke and Prince Eugene went about reconnoitring, and by 2 or 3 in the afternoon could perceive them very well retrenching everywhere; and they then begun and called to parley with us. At first I really thought Boufflers had a mind to have had some interview. I found that our officers and theirs were talking in a hundred different places, and Monsieur Abbergotty<sup>56</sup> sent to speak with some of our generalls; upon which I sent Abercromby to him to know what he desired, and to order all his people to retire, and I would do the same if it was nothing but compliment; which he did. So everybody retired. He was free enough to tell me they believed there would be no fighting now, since everyone had time to take up their posts, and that neither party would attack; and, to tell you freely, I really believed, since we had not attacked all Tuesday, there would be no battle at all. For indeed, as we have found and seen since, I don't believe ever army in the world was attacked in such a post, for, from their right to the left, I may call it a counterscape and traverse; in many places 3, 4, and 5 retrenchments one behind another. But it is impossible to give you a good idea of the ground without one were with you, and a good plan before you. However I am fully convinced that there was an absolute necessity for us to attack them; and, tho' it had been better to [have] done it early the Tuesday, yet people judged 20 battalions that came up that night, were well worth staying for one day longer.<sup>57</sup>

So Tuesday night orders were given that all the army should say prayers at four o'clock next morning for success. The enemy say they heard we were to attack them, but I am convinced by all hands that they thought it impracticable to force them in the post they were in. It was a great fogg next morning<sup>58</sup> till 6 o'clock, which was very advantageous to us in making our disposition. Our signal to be given was a discharge of all our artillery, which was then posted half-way over that little plain, to flank the wood<sup>59</sup> as much as they could, as also to fire up towards the opening which leads into ye plain where our main body of horse were in battle. The Dutch were to answer with a discharge of their artillery; and then every particular body of troops was to attack according to the disposition.

It was hardly 7 o'clock when we marched to attack; and it really was a noble sight to see so many different bodies marching over the plain to a thick wood where you could see no men, as all Shulenberg's,<sup>60</sup> Lothum's,<sup>61</sup> Argyle, and Webb's foot marched and fronted to the wood

<sup>54</sup> 10 Sept.

<sup>55</sup> Blaregnies.

<sup>56</sup> Albergetti.

<sup>57</sup> General Withers's detachment from Tournay.

<sup>58</sup> 11 Sept.

<sup>59</sup> Bois de Sars.

<sup>60</sup> Schulemburg.

<sup>61</sup> Lottum.



to attack. I fronted quite another way, to the high ground where the mouth of the defile was, so that we made a crocket. My orders were to bring my right to the wood, cross the plaine, and to advance my line up to their intrenchments. As the others beat them from their retrenchments, such a fire of musquetry and cannon I believe no man alive ever heard, and great execution was done on both sides with our artillery. All those that attacked the woods at last got in, but found several retrenchments in the woods, and sometimes were repulsed; and between 10 and 11 I found great many of our foot retreating, which embarassed me enough, for I had positive orders to send in none of my foot to the woods, but to keep that line of foot intire. However, finding the fire come so thick out of ye wood upon my flank, I sent in the first battalion of Gaurds and my own battalion, which very soon redrest matters there again, and, in a little time after that, joyned Count Lothum's and the Duke of Argyle's troops; so that we got possession of the corner of the wood which flanked the retrenchments of the enemy; and their foot run and inclined to the right of their retrenchments till they came into the attack of the Dutch.

All this I have been telling you is what our right wing was doing. The Dutch, who had not above 30 battalions, were attacking their retrenchments, which they found to be 3 or 4, one after another; but their attack was not so much in wood as ours. They beat the enemy from their retrenchments, but still they regained them again, with such a butchering that the oldest generall alive never saw the like. It was about one o'clock that my 13 battalions got up to the retrenchments, which we got very easily; for, as we advanced, they quitted them and inclined to their right. All this while, from 7 o'clock, we were under the fire of their cannon; but none of my battalions, but the two I named to you,<sup>62</sup> attacked; for we found nothing to oppose us. However, not that I pretend to attribute any glory to myself (for it was the nature of our situation), yet I verily believe that these 13 battalions gained us the day, and that without firing a shot almost. For, when I tell you that, after it was master of all these retrenchments upon the top of the hill, where there was ouvertures to lett squadrons of horse form thro', our horse<sup>63</sup> marched up and formed under my fire.<sup>64</sup> The enemy were in two lines on the other side of the retrenchment, and there was Boufflers at the head of the Maison du Roy and gens d'arms. I took care not to fire even when they came pretty near;—only some platoons to make them pay us respect, and to give us opportunity to form our horse on the other side of the retrenchments. But, as our horse got on the other side, their horse came very near ours. Before we got 30 squadrons out they came down and attacked; and there was such pelting at one another that I really never saw the like. The French fired a little, but our's not at the first. We broke through them, particularly four squadrons of English. Jemmy Campbell, at the head of the grey dragoons, behaved like an angell, broke through both lines. So did Panton, with little Lord Lumley,<sup>65</sup> at the head of one of Lumly's and

<sup>62</sup> 1st battalion of the guards and Orkney's regiment.

<sup>63</sup> Commanded by the prince d'Auvergne.

<sup>64</sup> Sic.

<sup>65</sup> Richard, Lord Lumley, afterwards second earl of Scarborough.

one of Wood's. At first we pushed them, but it did not last long; for they pushed back our horse again so much that many of them run thro' our retrenchments. The gens d'arms advanced out; the right of my foot gave them such a fire that it made all that body retreat prodigiously; and then our horse pressed them again. However, more squadrons went out, and sometimes they gained a little ground, and were as fast beat back again. I could see it goe better however in other places. I really believe, had not ye foot been there, they would have drove our horse out of the field. Nay, after near two hours battle with the horse, they brought back a very great body of their foot, who had been retreating for some time, and beat the Dutch from the retrenchments they had gained, and were coming all along to the left, where my foot were; and some of them run quite away, tho' I both gave fair and foul language. However the others we got to stand firm. While the horse were engaged, I had little to do but to encourage them, in which I was not idle, but oftentimes to little purpose.<sup>66</sup>

Archy<sup>67</sup> I believe would have made as good a land officer as a sea one, and I vow very ready to judge well of everything, and was a great help to me. He only wonders how anybody comes of, where bullets fly so thick. It was well it was not nearer him. I bless God I had no manner of hurt. One of my aid du camps had his horse shot under him with a cannon bullet, and, after that, another stroke him on the leg, but so slightly that he will do well. As to ye killed and wounded, I leave you to the publick letters; but depend upon it, no two battles this war could furnish the like number. You will see great lists of generalls and officers. I can liken this battle to nothing so much as an attack of a counterscarp from right to left; and I am sure you would have thought so, if you had seen the field as I did ye day after. In many places they lye as thick as ever you saw a flock of sheep; and, where our poor nephew Tully-Bardine<sup>68</sup> was, it was prodigious. I really think I never saw the like; particularly where the Dutch gaurds attacked, it is a miracle. I hope in God it will be the last battle I may ever see. A very few of such would make both parties end the war very soon. The French are very proud they have done so well. I do not believe they have lost so many as wee. I doubt it is with us as it was with the French at the battle of Landen.<sup>69</sup> In a word, the foot has gained immortall glory. I can say the same for the horse, they being attacked always before they could form. I do assure you, my Lord Marlborough and Prince Eugene gave themselves a great deal of motion and thought; acted with all the caution imaginable, as well as with vigour where it was requisite.

Now we are preparing for our siege,<sup>70</sup> so that, by the time it is over, I doubt our foot will be very fitt to be sent into quarters. I am to be upon it. I dread the lying out all night in rain and cold, for I am not able to lye out all night as formerly; so I wish it were well over. I hear

<sup>66</sup> Lord Orkney omits to tell of the retreat of the French and the pursuit as far as Bavay.

<sup>67</sup> Archibald Hamilton, Lord Orkney's youngest brother.

<sup>68</sup> John Murray, marquis of Tullibardine. His mother, the duchess of Athole, was sister to Lord Orkney.

<sup>69</sup> 19 July 1692, at which Lord Orkney was present.

<sup>70</sup> Of Mons.

there are 9 battalions in the town ; some say 11,—9 Spanish, the Elector has 2 battalions of his gaurds.

I sent Lord Tullybardine's body to be buried &c. I tell you nothing of the French loss, but assure you it is very considerable. I hear they have three generall officers killed and a great many wounded, amongst which is the Marshal Villars, Duke de Guiche, Albergotty, and many others I can't name. They pretend to be pleased their troops have fought so well, but it could not be otherwaies as they was posted. They are now camped with their right towards Quesnoy and their left towards Valenciens. If you be in England, you will send this to my Lady, and give both Brother Archy and my humble duty to my Lady.

The Dutch infantry have suffered the most of all. It is something marvellous, and what I never expected could have happened in one day, that there was more than 300 battalions ingaged, which I thought was not possible ; and I do assure you I never saw foot so much wanted in my life, for many more could have been made use of. There is hardly any general that either is not shot in his clothes or his horse. I am sure mine had such raps that I thought he would have thrown me down ; but it was upon an iron buckle, so my horse was saved ; but many has had 3, 4, and 5 horses shot under them. None alive ever saw such a battle. God send us a good peace and a happy meeting. Adiu, dear brother. The battle I think will be called the battle of Taisniere.

## *Reviews of Books*

*Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit.* I., II. 1. Von KURT BREYSIG.  
(Berlin : Bondi. 1901.)

PROFESSOR BREYSIG would have been well advised to remember the warning of his great countryman Goethe, and to think less about his own methods of thought. His second volume is an admirable sketch of Greek and Roman development; but we fail to discover either in the method or in the results of his inquiries a sufficient degree of novelty to justify the discussions as to the scope and principles of *Kulturgeschichte* with which he has filled his first volume. That the proper subject of history is the development of civilisation in the widest sense; that all the various aspects of one civilisation have an inner connexion and may be regarded as the manifestations of a common consciousness; that all civilisations pass through three well-defined stages, which may be labelled as ancient, medieval, and modern; that parallels may be drawn between the corresponding stages of two civilisations belonging to very different epochs; that the later civilisation is rarely the offspring of the earlier, but rather an independent growth, a plant developing in virtue of its own internal vitality, which takes nutriment from the past but transforms whatever it takes—these are conclusions with which historians have been familiar for some time past. The old idea of progress as movement in a straight line has been almost universally abandoned; so has the idea that politics are the sole subject-matter of the historian. It is most desirable that modern ideas as to the scope of history and the meaning of historical development should be explained in some such form as that which Professor Breysig has adopted; and he has shown himself admirably equipped for the task of surveying the two greatest civilisations of antiquity. He is equally at home in dealing with constitutions, with philosophies, with masterpieces of literature and art; he puts old truths and modern theories with considerable force and freshness. But we do not think that his performance, admirable as it is, required so lengthy a preamble.

The strength of his book lies in the judicious mean which he steers between the two schools of thought represented among English historians by Buckle and Carlyle. He is keenly interested in tracing the effect of economic, religious, and artistic movements; he is careful to show by how many links the greatest genius, an Aeschylus or Socrates, is connected with the spirit of the age; at the same time he appreciates

the possibility that the individual may, within certain limits, triumph over the limitations of the age, and he does full justice to originality in every department of human activity. His sketches of individuals are admirable; we wish that they could have been longer, for while he is careful to summarise the accepted verdicts he has often a contribution of his own to make, and his opinions, though sometimes aggressively modern and Germanic, deserve a fuller explanation. The obvious deduction from his method of regarding history is that each civilisation deserves to be studied, not merely or chiefly as a stage in human progress towards something higher, but for its own sake; that each great thinker is to some extent emancipated from his *milieu* and in contact with the great standing questions of existence; therefore valuable to us, as well as to the audience which he immediately addressed. We study Greek history not so much to understand the foundations of the modern world as that we may, in the phrase of Emerson, 'nestle into Plato's brain and think from thence.' To assist us in this process should be the chief object of *Kulturgeschichte*; and it is an object which cannot be fulfilled by a few lines or pages of criticism, however brilliant. We understand, however, that the volumes of Professor Breysig's work which deal with Europe since the fall of the Roman empire are on a more extensive scale; and we hope to find that, without diminishing the scale of his essays on political and social development, he has allowed himself greater latitude in the treatment of artistic and intellectual ideas.

H. W. C. DAVIS.

*Geschichte Roms.* VON W. DRUMANN. Zweite Auflage, herausgegeben von P. GROEBE. Bd. II. (Berlin: Borntraeger. 1902.)

THIS second volume of the new edition of Drumann possesses the great merits already noticed in the first, and the utility of the notes has been increased by a more frequent citation of the actual words of the passages referred to. Most of the editor's suggestions are contained in the foot-notes, the appendices to the present volume being briefer than those to the first; but these supplements deal with a great variety of subjects. Many of them are concerned with the identification of doubtful personalities, the most notable of these discussions being perhaps that dealing with the L. Cassius who surrendered to Caesar in the Hellespont. The editor regards it as uncertain whether the tyrannicide is meant. One subject from which most historians shrink—the strange details that have been handed down to us of the last illness of Sulla—is treated in a particularly sensible and (so far as the evidence permits) even scientific manner. Another excursus deals with the old subject of the *praefectura urbis* of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the consul of 15 B.C. Herr Gröbe thinks that Piso was nominated in 21 A.D., when Tiberius went to Campania, and that XII. should be written for XX. in Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 11. He remarks, however, on the peculiarity of the fact that Tacitus never mentions the nomination of Piso—an omission that does something to strengthen Mommsen's view that the nomination took place in 13 A.D.

The families dealt with in the present volume range from the Asinii to the Cornificii. The most important biographies are perhaps those of

Clodius and of Sulla, and in connexion with both of these lives a doubt may sometimes be expressed as to the accuracy or completeness of the treatment adopted by Drumann or his editor. With respect to the outrage on the rites of the Bona Dea, Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i. 13. 3, is wrongly cited on p. 177, note 9, but correctly referred to on p. 178, note 3; for the answer of the *pontifices* had reference to the judicial proceedings taken by the senate, not to the renewal of the festival. The editor thinks that Cicero's utterances on the Clodian law about the formalities of legislation show that Clodius proposed more than is recorded by Dio and Asconius. His proposals may have been as sweeping as Cicero describes, but they could scarcely have been carried through in this extreme form. Else why was it necessary for the security of Cicero's return to Rome to take precautions *ne quis de caelo servaret*<sup>1</sup> after Clodius's enactment *ne auspiciis obtemperaretur*?<sup>2</sup> One result of Clodius's activity may have been the abolition of the *spectio* as a hindrance to comitial business; for the cases, actual or supposititious, of the practice *de caelo servare* after 58 B.C. may be connected with the *auspicia oblativa*, and may have taken the form of the intentional observation of professedly accidental phenomena. They are, at least, mainly the result of tribunician activity. The ambiguity of the phrase *de caelo servare*, as well as of its cognate *obnuntiatio*, creates difficulties which deserved some examination. A similar examination might have been devoted to the difficult legal questions connected with the proceedings of Clodius against Cicero. There is no adequate discussion of Cicero's claim that his exile was not preceded by a summons to stand his trial, of his objection that Clodius had undertaken a *curatio* created by his own law, of his argument about the past tense (*interdictum sit*) used in the declaration of outlawry, or of the grounds adduced for his denial of the competence of the Comitia Tributa to pass the bill of interdiction. It is possible, however, that these points may be reserved for discussion until the life of Cicero is reached. The statement of Drumann that Piso, when made governor of Macedonia and Greece, was granted free cities in these regions, remains uncorrected. But does the permission to control free cities, objected to by Cicero, mean more than that Piso was given power to exercise jurisdiction in suits between Romans and these cities? This power, combined with the pretexts furnished by military exigencies and with Piso's possession of *infinitum imperium*, might well have produced the effects which Cicero describes. The enactment of Caesar which protected these free cities may be none other than the *lex Iulia repetundarum*.

In the life of Caelius Rufus the bill of the ten tribunes which granted Caesar the right to stand *absens* for the consulship is made by Drumann a consequence of Pompeius's law of 52 B.C. enjoining personal canvass. The bill is more intelligible if it preceded this law; for Pompeius's modification of his own enactment in favour of Caesar would have been unnecessary if Caesar had, after the passing of this enactment, already been exempted by the tribunician bill. The dual dispensation is stated by Cicero,<sup>3</sup> and the sequence of the measures which he implies is given by Dio Cassius and Suetonius.<sup>4</sup> Nor have we even proof that the

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Pro Sest.* 61, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. *Post Red. in Sen.* 5, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* viii. 3, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cass. xl. 51, 56; Suet. *Caes.* 26, 28.

tribunician measure, although supported by Pompeius,<sup>5</sup> was put in motion by him. Suetonius and Appian<sup>6</sup> represent the bill as passed at Caesar's instigation, and Caesar himself<sup>7</sup> only goes so far as to state that Pompeius could not have impugned it.

In the life of Sulla, although the colonial schemes of the dictator are spoken of in general terms, no list of the Sullan colonies is given. Although the change in the *Comitia Centuriata* effected in 88 B.C. is referred to by the editor, no explanatory details are given. The difficulty of interpreting the passage of Appian<sup>8</sup> deserved more than a note of four lines. The description given by the editor of the *lex Appuleia de maiestate* is certainly too narrow. Even Mommsen, who framed the hypothesis of its connexion with Caepio, recognised that Norbanus was tried under this law.<sup>9</sup> It must, therefore, have done more than take cognisance of offences in the field. The *lex iudiciaria* of Caepio does not seem to have contemplated a mixed panel of *iudices*, as Herr Gröbe thinks, nor did Mommsen take this view either in his original treatment of the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft* or in his *Staatsrecht*. The view which he expressed was the only one that can be safely elicited from the conflicting evidence, the view, that is, that Caepio proposed to transfer the *iudicia* to a senate strengthened by the inclusion of members of the equestrian order. The *lex Plautia* of 89 is treated by Drumann as a judiciary law of a general character; but it is probable that it had no reference to any courts but those established under the Varian commission. Hence Cicero is correct in his statement<sup>10</sup> that before the law of Sulla the knights had held the courts for nearly fifty years.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

*Portraits of Julius Caesar.* By FRANK JESUP SCOTT. (New York: Longmans. 1903.)

THE classically educated English reader will find a difficulty in appreciating this work. Not only is Mr. Scott evidently but little acquainted with classical literature and history, but his English is often at fault, and Latin names are misspelt continually. These defects are the more to be regretted since any one who tries to estimate the book by its solid worth, as books should be estimated, will be disposed to take a more favourable view of it than a superficial reader would suppose. Mr. Scott has some advantages for his study—practice in art, a trained eye, a clear head, and above all a force of enthusiasm which has led him to devote several years to a search among the museums of Europe for possible portraits of—shall we say his idol? He has spared neither pains nor expense, and it cannot fairly be denied that his truly American energy and perseverance have in the result distinctly moved forward our knowledge of his subject. Mr. Scott is remarkably free from the dominance of convention. One finds with some surprise that he engraves and comments on not only

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* l.c.; *Ad Fam.* vi. 6, 5; *Phil.* ii. 10, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Suet. *Caes.* 26; App. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 25.

<sup>7</sup> *Bell. Civ.* 1, 32, 3.

<sup>8</sup> App. *Bell. Civ.* i. 59. The misinterpretation by Drumann on p. 372 is corrected, but a similar statement on p. 415 is unnoticed.

<sup>9</sup> *Strafrecht*, p. 198.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. *In Verr.* Act. i. 13, 38.

ancient portraits of Caesar, and portraits which have been supposed to represent Caesar, but also works of the Renaissance, which he calls medieval, and even modern inventions. If it were possible definitely to separate ancient from modern portraits, this would perhaps be inexcusable; but this is a very difficult task, from which even a trained archæologist might well shrink; and it is perhaps best to have all material, good, bad, and indifferent, accumulated together. It is the massing of materials, and the presentation to the student, by photography and by the pencil, of a number of reproductions of works hitherto unpublished, which are Mr. Scott's special merit; but also his remarks on the character of the different heads have a great deal of freshness and interest. He finds in some portraits of Caesar the thinker, in some the conqueror, in some the great organiser, in some the man of the world. And to the present writer at least these distinctions seem more valuable than any which might have been derived from minute measurements in the approved modern style. A portrait may be mathematically wrong in regard to every feature, and yet be a characteristic likeness; it may be approximately correct in its measurements and yet quite unrecognisable.

A minute criticism of the portraits figured by Mr. Scott would not be here in place. He is justified in laying stress on the colossal bust of the museum of Naples, the head in the Chiaramonti gallery, the head at Pisa, and that in the British Museum, as among the most remarkable of extant portraits. The last of these has been held in most account by English and American writers. Mr. Warde Fowler puts it in the forefront of his *Julius Caesar*, and Mr. Rice Holmes in his *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* declares that 'this bust represents the strongest personality that has ever lived.' This is going rather far; the head is extremely interesting and characteristic, but it has strange points. The forehead, which slopes backward, is certainly not the forehead of Caesar. This is guaranteed by the coins, the important evidence of which is undervalued by Mr. Scott: it requires long familiarity with coins fully to appreciate their testimony. The antiquity of the British Museum head has been called in question, but Mr. Scott is probably right in vindicating it. The study of the portrait heads of Romans before the empire has been much neglected. It was, in fact, scarcely possible before the appearance of the great work of Arndt. It offers a very important field, and we may yet recover the effigies of many of the statesmen and generals who were at the head of affairs in the second and first centuries B.C. The brilliant identification of a portrait of Flamininus by M. Six is an earnest. It can scarcely be doubted that future more careful study will remove from Mr. Scott's list of 84 heads of Caesar a good many which will turn out to belong to some of his contemporaries. It is a curious and suggestive fact that there is a sort of family likeness between notable men of the same age and class. Probably among the first of so-called Caesar portraits to go will be the veiled head which represents a man of at least 70, and so cannot represent Caesar, who died at 55; and, in fact, Mr. Scott regards it as a representation of what Caesar would have been had his life been prolonged. Nor is it a happy theory which sees on the so-called Germanicus



of the Louvre the head of the young Caesar. Curiously enough, nearly all the heads which have the best claim to authenticity, including those on the coins, represent Caesar as past middle life. It is strange that Mr. Scott does not seem to be acquainted with the magnificent gallery of Mr. Jakobsen at Copenhagen, or with the splendid series of Greek and Roman portraits published by Bruckmann and edited by Arndt. A great weakness of his work arises from the fact that he does not care for or study any portraits save those of his chosen hero. He figures heads as those of Marius and Sulla which can scarcely have anything to do with those great statesmen. And in one place he naïvely protests against the circulation of casts of a certain fine ancient portrait, merely because it is sometimes wrongly supposed to be Caesar's. This is carrying exclusiveness to a strange length.

But, in spite of narrowness and over-specialism, Mr. Scott has succeeded in producing a work of distinct historical value. No one can work through his book without feeling that he has attained to a definite vision of Caesar's personality, as embodied in his physical frame, or at least in his head, for Mr. Scott does not go below the neck. His judgment is far less fanciful and subjective than that shown in an English work of a somewhat similar type, Sir Wyke Bayliss's *Rex Regum*; and therefore his conclusions have a value which is partly concealed, though not destroyed, by the unscholarly form in which they are set forth.

P. GARDNER.

*Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte.* Von HANS VON SCHUBERT.  
(Tübingen: Mohr. 1904.)

THE book before us is an expansion of a course of lectures, delivered by a theological professor to an audience of students belonging to all faculties. The idea was an excellent one, and Professor von Schubert of Kiel has shown himself eminently competent to produce a book of general church history lively, readable, comprehensive, but by no means superficial. His design is to give to the educated laity, especially of the educational profession, a clear outline knowledge of church history from the origins to the present day, chiefly with reference to the interaction of ecclesiastical, social, and political tendencies in the making of medieval and modern history. Dr. Schubert begins with an excellent sketch of the moral and social state of the world, Greek, Roman, and Jewish, at the beginning of our era. He next takes up primitive Christianity, starting from New Testament records. In this part of his task he shows breadth of view, familiarity with the results of recent criticism, a genuinely historic spirit, and considerable tact and moderation. The formation of the catholic church, and the early relations of the church to the empire, follow in due course. We have next three chapters dealing respectively with faith, theology, and dogma; with morals, discipline, and monasticism; and with religious services, devotional piety, and the mass. Then, returning to the chronological order, the author gives us the changes consequent on the barbarian invasions, the rise of the papacy, the beginning of national churches, the strife between the empire and the church. The next chapter is concerned with religious life in the medieval church. Then comes the beginning of divisions and of intellectual awakening;

the end of western unity and the work of the Reformation and the counter-Reformation; the triumph of protestant subjectivity; finally, religious and ecclesiastical revival with conflicting tendencies in recent times. This arrangement allows scope for handling the subject so as to emphasise the most important tendencies and movements, and to prevent any oppression of detail such as might seem unsuitable in so compressed a work. Perhaps the early part, dealing with pagan survivals and influences in the church, is the most satisfactory. When we come to consider the various religious tendencies of modern times in their ecclesiastical, social, and intellectual aspects, it requires, indeed, the hand of a magician to keep so many plates spinning at once.

Of course in a book of such small compass those who have worked in narrower fields may complain that many statements are open to criticism or revision, and many persons or movements have received inadequate attention. Some may say that we ought to have had more about the friars. Others may complain that the author does not sufficiently bring out the peculiar position of the English church, and that he has nothing to say about English contributions to theology during the last century. Others, again, may, with more reason, complain that he does scant justice to the eastern church in comparison with the western. But, on the whole, it is remarkable that in three hundred pages he has been able to include so much. Throughout he shows grasp of his subject, moderation and fairness in judgment, a strong feeling for historical continuity, and a ready appreciation of all kinds of moral and spiritual excellence. At the same time his tone, though liberal, is fundamentally protestant. It would be a useful work to translate this book for English readers, especially for those of the teaching profession. But the English public would require the last part to be rewritten, so as to give more space to modern religious developments in this country, and possibly it might, among us, be regarded as harsh in its representations of medieval and modern catholicism. The nature and size of the book preclude, unfortunately, any reference to sources or bibliography; but there is no doubt that its tendency would be to encourage further reading and possibly research.

ALICE GARDNER.

*The Tombs of the Popes.* By FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS. Translated from the second German edition, with a Memoir of the Author, by R. W. SETON-WATSON. (Westminster: Constable. 1903.)

IF it was worth while to translate Gregorovivus's popular little book on the papal tombs—and so far as this translation goes there is little or nothing to complain of—we think that it would also have been worth while to correct and complete it where necessary by a series of footnotes. The interest of Gregorovivus was historical, not archæological. He used the monuments as a pretext for an effective sketch of the personalities of the popes; but, as he chose to make the monuments his groundwork, and as the book is often used as a companion by visitors at Rome and elsewhere, it was important that its statements should be correct. As a matter of fact it contains not a few inaccuracies, not to speak of the cases in which later events or research have altered circumstances since the author's death. In one instance Mr. Seton-Watson has corrected the

text—where Gregorovius placed the tomb of Benedict XI in the Duomo instead of St. Domenico at Perugia. But we have noticed several misstatements left without a word of explanation. As the last vestiges of the imperial mausoleum of Honorius and his family were destroyed in the sixteenth century, it is perhaps a matter of comparative unimportance that it is stated (p. 10) to have been in the atrium, and not in a detached building to the south of St. Peter's; nor is it a matter of great moment that one would look in vain for eagles in the arms of the Savelli (p. 55). But it is actually misleading to read that Innocent III 'has no monument in Rome' (p. 48), seeing that his remains were brought from Perugia in 1881 and placed in an elaborate tomb in the Lateran by the care of Leo XIII. So too for more than twenty years the bones of Alexander VI have reposed in a respectable monument in the Spanish church, and do not 'still lie without a tomb in a wooden chest in the sacristy' (p. 90). Another point where improvement was desirable is the epitaphs of the popes. Those of the medieval period are certainly often very obscure, but Gregorovius's versions have been reproduced without correction, and the results are not always satisfactory. To take only two examples, in the well-known epitaph of Silvester II we read—

Cui nimium placuit sociali mente fidelis,  
obtulit hoc Caesar Tertius Otto sibi;

with the rendering—

He to whom this loyal and friendly mind were all too dear—  
Otto, third Caesar of the name—has raised this tomb (p. 34).

To begin with, *nimium* only means 'very,' and as Otto III died a year before Silvester he cannot have erected the tomb, which indeed is stated in the epitaph to have been the work of a later pope, Sergius IV. *Hoc*, as the context shows, is 'the position of pope.' So too in the inscription of Silvester's predecessor, Gregory V, the couplet—

Pauperibus dives, per singula sabbata vestes  
divisit, numero cautus Apostolico—

means that every Saturday he clothed twelve poor men, which is inaccurately represented by—

Generous to the poor, each Sunday he gave out vestments among them,  
Careful to observe the apostolic number (p. 30).

In our day it is curious to notice how little Gregorovius appreciated the art of the early Renaissance, some of the finest work of which is to be found in papal monuments. For him the tomb of Pius II is 'an architectural monstrosity' (p. 80), and Pollaiuolo's superb monuments of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII are 'paltry and full of affectation' (p. 85). For these defects Mr. Seton-Watson is only indirectly responsible, and his own share in the work, so far as it goes, in which we must include the interesting memoir of the author, deserves commendation. But we think that he would have been engaged in a more useful task if he had gone on to make the book serviceable at the present day on the lines which we have indicated. A number of well-selected illustrations increase the attractiveness of the volume.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

*A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West.* By R. W. CARLYLE, C.I.E., and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A. Vol. I. By A. J. CARLYLE. (Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1903.)

It is almost impossible to criticise this volume adequately, for the whole of it is in reality and the greater part is avowedly only introductory. Certain defects which seem to adhere to the method of the writer may possibly be merely incidental to the preparatory nature of these chapters. The lifelessness of the writing may change into vitality when he comes to recount the war of Titans between the *sacerdotium* and the *regnum*, while the omission which is the main point for a critic to object against the book may very likely be repaired in the next volume. By that volume, indeed, the book will stand or fall, and until it appears no judgment can be given which is not quite tentative and provisional.

The great merits of the book so far are its lucidity and fulness. For the future it will save the student in a hurry much trouble. Even if he does not share the author's views on all points, he will find gathered in the notes a wealth of passages which give all the most important evidence on the subject. It is also true that this work supplies a want. Ever since Mr. Poole opened to many of us the rich mine of medieval political thought, it has been clear that a comprehensive survey of the whole was an indispensable need of the future. That this survey should have been undertaken by two such accurate and level-headed scholars as Mr. Carlyle and his brother is a matter for rejoicing. We may be sure that they will examine the available evidence; that we shall be in no doubt as to the nature of their conclusions; and that those conclusions will be, if not infallible, at least well supported and impossible to ignore. The task of interpreting the political theories of past ages, of estimating the real tendency of many apparently inconsistent utterances, above all of discerning the real proportions of things in men's minds, is one of peculiar difficulty, although its interest is unique. Unless and until he does this, no notion of the *Weltanschauung* of the middle or any other age is really possible to the student. If Mr. Carlyle can do for the middle ages something of what Gierke has done for the latter part of them, he will have achieved a masterpiece. So far this book, though useful and erudite, does not reach the level of Gierke's masterly review. It is easier reading, but it teaches the reader less. Mr. Carlyle's pages would not give to a person otherwise ignorant of them any real impression of the political world as it appeared to the minds of the actors in the middle age. He gives us, indeed, many but not all the data for reaching such an impression. But the net result of these pages is too easy to tabulate to be either attractive or deeply instructive to the ordinary reader. All he would say on reading this would be that the writers of the ninth century believed these things, disbelieved those, were confused about others. Thus this book, while it is useful, and in some ways even invaluable, does not quite achieve what a history of thought ought to do; it does not, as it should, enable and even compel the reader to imagine for himself the mental world of an age different from his own alike in its limitations and its ideals. Few indeed are the historians of ideas who succeed in doing this, and hence they are little read. Janet does not, but Gierke certainly does, and

so, to a certain degree, does Mr. Poole. It is hard to deny that this book, in spite of its merits, is one of the same order as Janet, although superior both by the presence of erudition and the absence of sentimentality and rhetoric.

It is perhaps a cause, perhaps a consequence, of this defect in method that the book suffers under what appears to the writer a grave omission. There is no chapter on the *De Civitate Dei*, and no attempt to estimate its influence as a whole on the ideals of the middle age in politics. Definitions are peculiarly difficult; yet, if a definition of the middle ages in a phrase be possible, which is doubtful, it is a question whether a better one could be found than this: the middle ages is the name given to that period during which the *De Civitate Dei* was the dominant influence in the politico-ecclesiastical ideals of the western world. It would take a volume to prove this, but the degree in which any writer has thrown off medieval influence may well be measured by the degree in which his ideals differ from those of the *De Civitate Dei*. Machiavelli, for instance, is wholly modern. *Nova Solyma*, to take a work which has become recently familiar, is medieval in part, *i.e.* has still some of the ideals of Augustine's work, though its universal character has departed. Is not the whole of the political literature of the middle ages, with a few exceptions on points of detail, only a commentary on the *De Civitate Dei*? It may be viewed in one way by the anonymous York writer and in another by Augustin Trionfo, and yet another by Pierre Dubois, and quite differently again by Dante. Yet it is still the same conception which ruled men's minds, and continued to do so till the break-up of the medieval world, since which they have been forced to form for themselves a different one or do without an ideal altogether. Yet Mr. Carlyle merely quotes the *De Civitate Dei* for its views on one or two points, and even in his interpretation of these he is, in our opinion, by no means correct. He omits to mention a fact whose significance cannot, we think, be overrated, that Charles the Great was always reading the book, doubtless because he believed his imperial power to be the realisation of Augustine's ideal. The 'Holy Roman Empire' was, whatever its faults, the medieval tribute to St. Augustine's greatness as a prophet. Yet Mr. Carlyle not obscurely hints that he had little or no influence in the middle ages, and omits altogether any general estimate of his conceptions. If it be true that the *De Monarchia* was not a prophecy but an epitaph of the medieval empire, it is assuredly not less true that the *De Civitate* was not the epitaph of the ancient empire but a prophecy of the medieval. All generalisations on this subject are dangerous, but a view such as this would seem indisputable but that Mr. Carlyle by implication would dispute it. It may be that this proceeds from his view, to be justified in a later volume, in regard to the development of the theory of unity in society. Although admitting it to be interesting and important, the author says he is not certain 'whether its historical significance has not been to some extent exaggerated—whether scholars have not sometimes mistaken the formal or superficial tendencies of medieval thought for the fundamental.' It is impossible at present to see quite how much this means, or how it is to be proved. But it does perhaps indicate a view of the whole subject, which in part explains the

otherwise unaccountable negligence of the importance of St. Augustine—an importance which there are reasons for thinking is no less great in the political than it has been in the theological world. Reuter's essay is not even discussed.

This brings up the point on which Mr. Carlyle seems to have gone astray. After discussing St. Augustine's conception of the state and comparing it with that of Cicero he declares quite rightly that this conception of a state, which is a true state, though unjust, is not a mere *obiter dictum*, but represents a permanent thought of the father, and goes on to say that this conception remained on the whole without influence in the middle ages, and that so far as it had any influence it lay in exalting the authority of the civil ruler and his elevation above the restrictions of law. Both these statements seem to me to be the reverse of the truth. With regard to the first, it was Augustine's conception which gave birth to the whole aftergrowth of depreciation of the state, the commonplace of clericalist writers for centuries, and has had even stranger children in modern times. The purely secular state is not based on 'justice.' What is this but the root idea of Hildebrand that kings and princes owe their origin not to God, but the devil, and are therefore essentially inferior to the church? Augustine saw that it was not possible to deny all claim to the title of 'state,' even to governments that were but *magna latrocinia*. But in the fullest sense of the word states they were not, and he finds the conditions only properly fulfilled in the church. The medieval view of the relation of church and state, if not defined, is surely adumbrated here. The true state is the church; the secular state is something essentially inferior save and in so far as it can be regarded as a department of the church, when governed by godly princes and directed by the ecclesiastical powers into the paths that make for justice. So far from Augustine being unique in his views, there is good reason for regarding the clericalist theory of the respective dignity and needs of church and state right through the middle ages as merely a development of them. To use a comparison, which may be just now in point, Augustine's conception is the *évangile* of which the embodiment developed in history is the ruling church of Innocent III, of the 'Unam Sanctam,' and of Bellarmin. Nor does it really affect the argument to prove that the particular passage is not often quoted. As to the second point, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Carlyle. The theory of the essentially divine authority of the ruler was the medieval and Reformation form of the belief that the state is inherent in the nature of human life, and has higher ends to serve than the clericals, whether papalist or presbyterian, would admit. The doctrine of the divine right of kings was not as a matter of fact accompanied by the notion that they had any moral right to commit injustice, or unaccompanied by the belief that natural law was binding on their consciences. It was employed to combat the notion, really, as we have seen, Augustinian, that secular polity is essentially undivine, and has a far lower sanction than ecclesiastical. No supporter of the imperialist position would use Augustine's definition as an argument, while in different words it is exactly this notion which is used as an argument by really all the avowed clericalists. The only way in which St. Augustine's

definition may possibly have resembled (it is doubtful if it influenced) the absolutist theory is that both views emphasise the transcendent importance of public peace, as against all other moral considerations. Writers like Hobbes do greatly prefer peace to justice in a community, and in so far as Augustine agrees with this he may be said to favour the absolutist view. But the animus of the argument for divine right is quite different, and is always directed against the notion that the only thoroughly just authority is that of the ecclesiastical organisation.

On one further point it is well to comment. Mr. Carlyle remarks on the difficulty of interpreting the statements of Ambrosiaster and Cathulfus that 'the king has the image of God, as the bishop has that of Christ.' I do not pretend to succeed where Mr. Carlyle confessedly fails, but the following considerations are suggested: Wyclif was very fond of saying that the king represents the divinity, the priest the humanity of Christ, and he infers the superiority in jurisdiction of the former. He even quotes, as he thinks, from St. Augustine, *Dei ymaginem habet rex, sicut episcopus Christi* (*Quaestiones de Vetere Testamento*, c. xxxv.) The reference to St. Augustine is doubtful; but it seems as though the further statement, *Oportet vicarium Christi, sub ratione qua Christus, per vicarium Christi, sub ratione qua Deus, capitaliter regulari*, may throw some light on this matter. This is from the *De Officio Regis*, but the notion, like all those of Wyclif, constantly recurs in his writings, and he explains it elsewhere as meaning that the king represents the glorified and therefore ruling Christ, the priest the suffering and therefore submissive Christ. The king, in a word, is the image of the sovereignty, the priest of the wisdom of God. Later on there is a similar view. Natural law is regarded by Vasquez as independent of the will of God, and existing through the love, *i.e.* the wisdom, of the divine nature. In all these cases God the Father, or the divine nature in Christ, is regarded as essentially will, and God the Son, or the human nature of Christ, is spoken of as the essence of loving wisdom. It is really some distinction of this sort within the divine unity which made reasonable to a past generation the view of the Atonement as a transaction between justice and mercy.

These criticisms are not intended to indicate depreciation. Mr. Carlyle's book is a real addition to our knowledge of the middle ages, and we have good reason to be grateful for it. The more necessary is it to indicate the points in which it seems defective. It is to be hoped that a later volume will not omit the consideration of the developing theories of papal power. In this as in many other respects the church is the most important political institution that has ever existed; it needs to be considered not merely in its relation to the state.

J. NEVILLE FIGGIS.

*L'Occident à l'Époque Byzantine : Goths et Vandales.* Par F. MARTROYE.  
(Paris: Hachette. 1904.)

THE title of this book is hardly well chosen, since by the Byzantine epoch one would naturally understand the period succeeding the recovery of Italy, whereas the narrative here given extends from the fall of the Western Empire to the death of Justinian, and deals mainly, as the

latter part of the title shows, with the Ostrogothic and Vandal kingdoms, the latter, however, being dismissed in one chapter. The work is written in a somewhat popular style, and can hardly be said to add much to our knowledge of events; but sources are given throughout, and M. Martroye, while following his authorities with great fidelity, has at the same time produced an attractive narrative, in which sound judgment and insight are often displayed. Especially good is his account of the Vandal persecution, which is here stripped of the exaggerations and misrepresentations of Victor of Vita, whose untrustworthiness the author shows by several striking instances, and places in its true light. Excellent also is the way in which he traces the connexion between the ecclesiastical affairs of the East and the fortunes of Italy, and this in spite of the fact that his knowledge of Eastern church history is somewhat deficient, as he shows by placing the death of Timothy of Alexandria in 537, and by saying that the Monophysites honoured the memory of Eutyches. His characterisations of Justinian and Theodoric are also worth studying; but the low estimate of Theodoric's intelligence given on p. 16 is hardly consistent with the interesting description of his government and policy in ch. ii. and iii., in which indeed the author, by quoting the rhetoric of Cassiodorus as if it expressed the real mind of the king, errs rather on the opposite side. The chief complaint that I have to make against M. Martroye's narrative is that he takes his authors too literally. For instance, he gives the speeches in Procopius as if they were really uttered, and he even begins to do the same on passing to Agathias, though, when he finds the Gothic envoys haranguing Theodebald about Marius and Camillus, he is compelled to insert a note of caution. In the same spirit he describes the Hunnic auxiliaries as Massagetae, because Procopius uses that classical term; and, finding Odoacer described sometimes as a Scyth, sometimes as a Rugian, he thinks there is an inconsistency, though 'Scyth' was a general term for any barbarian. I must also complain of the scanty use of dates, the more so as the author is sometimes inconsistent in his chronology, as in placing the second capture of Rome on p. 486 in 548 and on p. 493 in 549, and on p. 486 making Theodebald succeed his father in 547, while on p. 517 he says that he had just succeeded at the time of Justinian's embassy, apparently in 551.

In his use of authorities M. Martroye is often behind the times, as when he cites Theophanes and the Gothic war of Procopius in the Bonn edition instead of in the texts of De Boor and Comparetti, and Evagrius in the *Patrologia* instead of in the edition of Bidez and Parmentier. Again, as he knows the life of St. Sabas only in the Latin version (p. 132), it is clear that not only is the edition of Pomyalovskii unknown to him, but he has not even used the Greek text of Combefis; and, as he disputes the authenticity of the *Secret History* of Procopius, he can hardly have any knowledge of the work of Haury, though it must be admitted that his doubt as to the authorship of the book does not prevent him from giving due weight to its testimony. Lastly, the appendix to Marcellinus, cited on p. 556, is not the work of any ancient author at all, as he might have learned from Mommsen's edition, which he elsewhere uses. Occasionally we find loose statements, as that Theodoric ruled the whole of Spain (p. 107) and that every bishop (surely 'patriarch' is meant) had to



notify his election to the patriarchs (p. 115). Again, the imperial guards should not be called 'praetorian guards' (p. 410), and the distinction made between Illyrian and Roman troops (p. 439) needs explanation. Other points that may be mentioned are that the identification of Chlodovech's victory over the Alamans with the battle of Tolbiac (p. 37) is exceedingly doubtful, that Gregory's legend as to the reason of the enmity of the Frankish kings to Sigismund is not worth mentioning even as a *dit-on*, and that the absence of Chlodovech's name in the *fasti* (p. 58) does not prove that he was not given the rank of consul. Further, the statement that the eastern patriarchs made use of dogmatic subtleties in order to assert their independence of the pope (p. 112) shows rather a strange conception of the history of the papal power; the statements as to Lilybaeum on pp. 6 and 36 seem inconsistent; and the reason for giving the epitaph on Butilin in a Latin version instead of as it is found in Agathias is not easy to discover. M. Martroye has also committed the common error of calling Hunneric's wife Eudoxia instead of Eudocia (p. 213). The period of 96 or 97 years ascribed to the Vandal occupation of Carthage (439-533) may be regarded as a slip (p. 241), as also the statement that Gelimer was son of Genzo (p. 241), and the substitution of Antioch for Constantinople on p. 304. 'Cabab' (p. 219) is no doubt a misprint. If, as is to be hoped will be the case, the book obtains a second edition, a map of Italy should be added, and (a still more unfortunate omission) an index.

E. W. Brooks.

*A Life of St. Patrick* (Colgan's 'Tertia Vita'). Edited by J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D. ('Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' XXXII., c. 3.) (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co. 1903.)

It would not be easy to exaggerate the accuracy, insight, and completeness with which Professor Bury has accomplished the task which he has imposed upon himself. In his *Trias Thaumaturga* in 1645-7 Colgan printed seven lives of St. Patrick, two of them in the Irish and five in the Latin language. To such of them as were anonymous Colgan, writing in uncritical times, assigned very early and impossible authors and dates. The *Tertia Vita* was assigned by him, after reviewing various suggestions as to the authorship, to St. Benignus, successor of St. Patrick in the see of Armagh. It is this life which Professor Bury has now taken in hand, subjecting it to a searching examination, and eventually assigning it to what may henceforth be accepted as its settled date, the second half of the ninth century.

There are four known manuscripts of the *Tertia Vita*. B is the 'Codex Biburgensis' of the monastery of Biburg, in Bavaria, from which Colgan printed. We should have been glad of a little more information as to the date, character, and history of this manuscript than is given to us either by Colgan or Sir T. D. Hardy or Professor Bury. But of the other three manuscripts Professor Bury gives the fullest account. They are O, a late twelfth or early thirteenth century manuscript in the Bodleian library; C, a thirteenth-century manuscript, once at Bury St. Edmunds, now in the university library at Cambridge; D, a thirteenth-century manuscript, once belonging to the monastery of Jervaux and now

in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Of these O and C are classed together by means of a very tell-tale interpolation in cap. 88 (pp. 202, 258), which not only shows their affinity but also connects them with Glastonbury. From these two manuscripts Professor Bury reconstructs and restores a text which he calls *g*. The reconstruction is most cleverly done. We fear that we must not give the details, which are explained lucidly and at length on pp. 203-6. But our author performs a more complicated and more difficult task still in reconstructing an original and lost manuscript, which he calls *d*, out of B and D. It is a more complicated task, because the scribe of B dealt with an older and now lost manuscript of the *Tertia Vita* (B<sup>1</sup>) as an editor rather than a copyist. The process adopted is explained on pp. 206-9. Further still, Professor Bury does not reconstruct, but he gives hints for the reconstruction of a still older and still longer lost manuscript *w*, the common original of *g* and *d*; this he proves on internal evidence to have been a West-British copy of an older Irish Life of St. Patrick. The *Tertia Vita* exhibits a curious interpolation about St. Patrick's interview with St. Martin (pp. 212-29), with a reference to a *Tamerensis*, or by dittography *Tamerenensis, insula*. As this interpolation is found in all the manuscripts of the *Tertia Vita*, it may be inferred that it is as old as *w*. Professor Bury identifies this island with the island of St. Nicholas in the Plymouth Sound, *Tamerensis* being a scribal error for *Tamarensis*; shows that it was St. Martin and not St. Patrick who was directed to go thither; and finds herein a South-West-British origin for the Patrick-Martin legends. They were embodied in *w*, which was the channel through which they reached Ireland, and found their way into purely Irish manuscripts. There is a yet further proof of the connexion of the *Tertia Vita* with Glastonbury to which we should be glad to refer, but we have said enough to prove the importance of this contribution to Patrician hagiology. The work is a *tour de force*, and the introduction an intellectual treat, which few besides Professor Bury would have been capable of giving us.

F. E. WARREN.

*English Literature: an Illustrated Record.* By RICHARD GARNETT, C.B., LL.D., and EDMUND GOSSE, M.A., LL.D. Four volumes. (London: Heinemann. 1903.)

A 'POPULAR HISTORY' intended for the 'general reader' makes a claim and incurs responsibility not less than the most pedantic treatise. This 'illustrated record' in four large volumes has done much to fulfil its promise. The pictures, though not quite evenly distributed, are full of instruction. Pages from medieval manuscripts, accurately reproduced, will tell more than a shipload of handbooks, and bring the reader into new relations with the past. This kind of illustration hitherto has been practised in some other countries more skilfully than in England; even now this record hardly equals the German work of Könnecke, in which the whole progress of German literature is shown in examples, from the *Codex Argenteus* down to the title-pages of modern books. There is some want of regularity here in the way the specimens are produced; different methods are employed; e.g. *Beowulf* is copied in a rough way,

not like the example from the Cædmon MS. in the Bodleian, which has been done with care and success. The last volume contains a very useful transliteration, and in some cases translation, of the more ancient documents. This is well done, and corrects some of the errors of description in the first volume. The value of the illustrations naturally and inevitably varies; it must necessarily be greater in the earlier stages; an autograph of Byron or Scott is interesting, but not in the same way instructive as the writing of Dan Michel of Northgate. There are some editorial faults in the later volumes; for instance, the so-called 'Gulf of Spezzia,' by Stothard, shows mountains, a great river, a castle on a hill, but the gulf is not provided for readers of the life of Shelley. Yet with whatever drawbacks the aspect of the book is generous enough to make one ashamed of grudging. 'Popular' though it be, there are few students too learned to profit by its specimen pages from old books. There is a freedom and splendour about some of the copies of manuscripts which may dispel the gloom of examinations, and possibly direct some readers to the things themselves in the great libraries.

Mr. Garnett's story in the first volume is fluent and easily read; there is much in it to attract and hold the attention. The writer's wide reading and quick sense have enabled him to deal lightly with a large mass of books and a number of different authors. It is not always, however, that the opinions are justified and the history sound. The following statements, for example, need correction:—

[Of *Beowulf*] 'Ten Brink . . . declares the dialect to be Wessex of the best period of the language.'

[The *chansons de geste*] 'were composed in what are now called alexandrine lines of ten or twelve syllables, three syllables to a foot.'

'No one seems to have thought of turning the alliterative staves into rhymed metre until, "with a leap and a bound, the swift anapaests thronged" in at the Restoration.'

These are matters of fact, as to which certainty is possible. On questions of poetical value this part of the history seems occasionally to offer rather strange opinions, as that the Anglo-Saxon poem on the *Deserted City* 'reaches out a hand to Caius Marius on one side and to the author of *Love among the Ruins* on the other.' After the first surprise, however, there is something pleasant in the encounter of Marius and Mr. Browning. Another difficult piece of criticism is on Layamon. 'This is quite in the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon lay of Brunanburh, and proves that our poet might well have been a skald if he had flourished at a fitting period, while the *Brut* might have been no unworthy pendant to the *Faery Queen* could the author have sat at the feet of Spenser.' Is this fair to the gentle reader? To be lured to the *Brut* is bad enough in itself, but to find the *Brut* dissolving into something that would be like a skald, if it did not resemble Spenser, is surely more than one was prepared for.

In the second volume Mr. Garnett brings the record down to the death of Shakespeare. The quality of his work is much the same as in the earlier part. He is quick to make use of fresh discoveries, as is shown in his account of the newly found source of *The Tempest*, a Spanish novel containing the same plot. Unfortunately histories of literature, like other histories, are bound to repeat a number of well-

known things; here Mr. Garnett is less to be trusted. In *Troilus and Cressida*, it is said, 'Shakespeare ignores Homer and follows the medieval romances.' Mr. Garnett does not refer to Chaucer's poem in this connexion; is it meant to be included among 'the medieval romances'? And what can have prompted the assertion that Shakespeare ignores Homer in this play? He did not find Thersites in the same 'medieval romance' as Pandarus. Where accuracy is required, as in the description of forms of verse or prose, Mr. Garnett is seldom successful. He makes remarks on the form of Sidney's sonnet, hopelessly confused and baffling; his account of Euphuism repeats or suggests all the old mistaken opinions about that sort of rhetoric, without excuse, for if any literary device admits of clear description it is the structure of Lyly's sentences. Why should it not be described accurately? The wrong description is not very amusing to the careless reader, and to the student it is an offence. Nor is there evidence of much more care with regard to weightier matters. The *Advancement of Learning* is dismissed as a mere contribution to science. 'The greatness of the book,' we are told, 'consists in its being the first serious attempt to enthrone the empirical principle in natural philosophy.' No reckoning is made of its philosophical enthusiasm, its discussion of false learning, its repetition, amplified and ennobled, of the ideas of Utopia. Bacon's survey of the various sciences is described as 'most instructive.' The magnificent book might have been commended otherwise than in such dispirited and perfunctory phrases. There are omissions; e.g. there is no mention of Alexander Scott nor of Alexander Montgomerie, though there were few poets to rival them in their own day.

In the latter part of the second volume, and in the third, 'From Milton to Johnson,' both history and criticism are more thoroughly weighed. Mr. Gosse's plan is biographical: the lives of the authors are preceded by general statements showing their position with regard to the literary fashions of their time. Mr. Gosse has dealt already with his present subject in different forms—in his *Seventeenth-Century Studies*, his history of *Eighteenth-Century Literature*, his admirable description of the school of Waller and Denham (*From Shakespeare to Pope*), and elsewhere. He is familiar with the whole of it, and writes from full knowledge, with ease and security. On some points we might be inclined to challenge his opinion. Mr. Gosse seems to exaggerate in his condemnation of the later Elizabethan drama before the closing of the theatres, and in his depreciating of the lyrical contemporaries of Herrick. Marino and Gongora ought to be forbidden to appear any more in this part of history. One would not judge from Mr. Gosse's brief sentence that Crashaw's translation of Marino is one of his sanest productions, and nearest to the rhetoric of Dryden—poetry that Byron would gladly have owned:

Art thou not Lucifer, he to whom the droves  
Of stars that gild the morn in charge were given?

The biographical scheme, it is true, is hard to work along with historical generalisations, and in this case Marvell, who might have helped to restore the credit of poetry before the Restoration, is absent, because he is wanted later. *Hudibras* is rather hardly treated—'a

barbarous and ribald production of small literary value,'—and so is the prose of Milton, in a less peremptory way. In the later part of the volume no reckoning is made of Hurd's contributions to the romantic school, such as his contrast of 'fine fabling' with 'good sense,' still unsurpassed as a summary criticism of the two great opposite parties. But these remarks do no more than show that Mr. Gosse's history has many points in it about which it would be pleasant to debate, and leave unquestioned the success of his narrative. The fourth volume, 'From Johnson to Tennyson,' appears in some places to be rather ill-proportioned. Burke comes in late, and is dismissed rather too lightly for so great a name. Nor are the illustrative pieces always chosen with sufficient care. Scott's poetry is not well represented by three short passages of which one is the boat song, 'Hail to the Chief,' and another the ballad of 'Young Lochinvar.' It is true that among the specimens of his handwriting there is the copy of another poem, more notable perhaps than these, 'The Sun upon the Weirclaw Hill.' Taking the history as a whole, it is impossible to praise it without rather large reservations. It is not accurate, and it is not remarkably well arranged; but it is written in a lively way, and calls attention to many things not touched on in other histories. Of the illustrations enough has been said. W. P. KER.

*Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores, 1195-1479.* Edited from the Original Manuscript at Caprington Castle, Kilmarnock, by the Right Rev. JOHN DOWDEN, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. (Edinburgh: University Press. 1903.)

THE publication of the *Chartulary of Lindores Abbey* marks the first excursion of the Scottish History Society into the region of medieval history, and we sincerely hope that it will soon be followed by others. Nothing could be better than the way in which the bishop of Edinburgh has performed his duties as editor. His modesty and the generosity with which he acknowledges his obligations to other scholars are fitting adjuncts to his exact knowledge and scrupulous accuracy. It would be difficult to find a better example of the infinite capacity for taking pains than his notes on 'The Legal Authorities cited in the *Opinions*' ('Appendix V.')

Lindores was founded by Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion, A.D. 1191-5, and most of the documents included in the *Chartulary* belong to the end of the twelfth and the thirteenth century. The greater part of the *Chartulary* was written about 1260, though some documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are added. It is far from complete, and it is quite possible that another volume existed, which may some time come to light. In an appendix (III.) Dr. Dowden gives references to eighty-one charters and writs not found in the *Chartulary*. A good many of these have already been printed in the so-called *Chartulary of Lindores*, issued by the Abbotsford Club in 1841; but the earliest and one of the most interesting of them is here printed by Dr. Dowden for the first time in Appendix I. It dates from about 1191, and throws some light on the relations between the abbot of Kelso and the new church of St. Andrew of Lindores, which is often described as *de ordine Kelkoensi*—a phrase which deserved more than a

passing note.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dowden examines the story that Earl David went on the third crusade and founded the abbey of Lindores as a thank-offering for his escape from shipwreck, and rejects it as 'wholly fictitious.' In his learned introduction he draws attention to a number of points in ecclesiastical history which are illustrated in the *Chartulary*. Among these we may mention the references to schools at Dumblain, Muthill, and perhaps Methven. The interesting suggestion is made that these schools—which were not monastic—were a survival of the ancient Celtic Christianity.

We also learn (adds the editor<sup>2</sup>) that the chapter of Dunkeld had been accustomed to receive 'conveth' and rent out of the lands of a place called Rathengothen, *ad opus Macleins et Scolocorum*. Here the *scoloc* or *solog* of Celtic records is very apparent; and it has been suggested that the word *Macleins* is here not a proper name but the Gaelic equivalent of 'scholars.'

We find the bishop of Aberdeen fighting the cause of the vicars of his diocese against the monasteries at the same time that Grostete was fighting the same cause in England. Appeal was made to Rome, and two bulls of Innocent IV relating to the matter are contained in the *Chartulary*. (It is worth noticing that of the fifteen papal bulls transcribed in the *Chartulary* only one is noticed by Mr. Bliss as recorded in the extant papal registers.) Dr. Dowden gives some very interesting figures about 1275, showing the revenues of the churches in Garioch, which were 'appropriate' of the Abbey of Lindores, and the proportion of the revenues which went respectively to the rector (*i.e.* the abbey) and to the vicars.<sup>3</sup> The vicar's stipend was often much below the legal minimum of ten marks.<sup>4</sup>

Each document is followed by a very useful summary or translation, though one may sometimes quarrel with Dr. Dowden's English equivalents of more or less technical terms; *e.g.* 'converts' is misleading as a translation of *conversi*. The volume contains three facsimiles of the text in different hands, and representations of the impressions of a number of seals connected with the abbey. The index is good, but not faultless.

A. G. LITTLE.

*Calendar of the Charter Rolls.* Vol. I. 1226-1257.  
(London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1903.)

YET another series of the Record Office Calendars begins with this volume, which enjoys the advantage of a preface by the deputy keeper of the records, under whose superintendence it has been prepared. In addition to describing the character of the charter rolls and the work that has hitherto been done on them this preface contains the interesting announcement of 'a proposed itinerary of the kings of England,' for which the Office, we believe, is making a list of all the royal charters in print. This is an undertaking long desired by the student. The contents of this volume, of which the text has been prepared by Mr. Trimmer and Mr. Crump, and the indices by the latter, are chiefly of interest to the historian for the borough charters enrolled. The student is familiar with the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 2, 7, 128, 130-2, 233.

<sup>2</sup> P. xlvii. *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> P. liv, no. xxxiii.

<sup>4</sup> P. x'iv.

difficulty of consulting and comparing these documents, even when in print, owing to their scattered publication, so that those here given, either textually or in abstracts, are very welcome. The principle adopted is to print in full only those 'that are not known to have been printed already,' so that it would seem to have been overlooked that Richard's charter to Colchester is printed in Morant's well-known history of that town, and his charter to Bath in *The Municipal Records of Bath*, which also contains a fine facsimile of the original document. A list of all these borough charters will be found in the index of subjects. Charters of Richard as count of Poitou to a Bordeaux hospital, and of Edward I, in his father's lifetime, to Bergerac, remind us that the king's Aquitanian dominions figure at times in this volume. One may call attention to the curious grant, 11 May 1209, by John to the men of Dorset and Somerset, remitting the increase of their ferm, and promising to appoint a resident sheriff, to an ordinance against wreckers in 1236, to the official acknowledgment (1257) that John's heart was buried at Croxton Abbey, and to the mention of the render of a wax candle yearly to Westminster Abbey 'at the altar of Holy Trinity, where St. Edward saw the king of the Danes drowned.' Aaron of York is appointed, 28 Dec. 1236, 'chief rabbi of all the Jews in all England,' but in 1241-2 we have curious entries (un-indexed) of Jews being 'hung' at Norwich for circumcising a Christian boy, while other wealthy Jews were forfeited and hanged in 1257 'for the alleged crucifixion of a boy at Lincoln.' Among the names that occur in these charters Peter, the barber of Simon de Montfort, suggests to the historian the heraldic expert at Evesham fight, and an Alard is found at Winchelsea in 1242 adding to his lands and wealth. Legal and customary terms abound in these charters, and are conveniently grouped in the index of subjects. Some of them seem to have baffled the compilers; the *plaga* and *mahin*, for instance, are obviously 'wounding,' and 'mayhem,' and the *chaccer a establie* of a Merton Abbey charter (p. 28) must be the hunting service described as *stabilitio venationis* in the neighbouring county of Berkshire, and elsewhere in Domesday. Under 'gild merchant' we have a reference to that of London (which appears to be otherwise unknown<sup>1</sup>), but none to that of Bath. An Evesham Abbey charter, assigned to 1100-1109, is remarkable for its grant of a *porthus* to Stow-on-the-Wold and for its clause on scutage and knight service.

It is, however, for local history that these charters are of special value, and it is from the topographer's standpoint, therefore, that I would examine the volume. As compared with the publications of the old Record Commission these Calendars possess the great advantage for the student of supplying him in the indexes with identifications of the places named in the text, and, although we may not have attained such excellence in this department as the French, the deputy keeper's staff has accomplished admirable work with the help of the large reference library that the office has now acquired. It is because we must all wish to see this standard upheld that I would call attention to certain deficiencies that impair the value of this volume. The example set by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Bickley in their *Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British*

[<sup>1</sup> The document was printed by Mr. Crump in this *Review*, vol. xviii. 315.—Ed. *E.H.R.*]

*Museum* has here been wisely followed by giving at the end a list classified under counties of the places mentioned in the charters. Those names which have admittedly defied identification are only some 174, but one need not visit a reference library to solve some of these puzzles without much difficulty. Of the first three names on the list 'Ansford' is that not of a place, but of a tenant,<sup>1</sup> and 'Awelton' is Alton, Hants, to the history of which place we have here an addition. Looking down the list one notes 'Dunham,' which is Dunham, Notts ;<sup>2</sup> 'Eling,' which is Eling, Hants ;<sup>3</sup> 'Hinton,' which is Cherry Hinton; and 'Huwaldesfeld,' which is Hewelsfield, Glouc. 'Halebode' is the name of a man, not of a place, and so of course is 'Restold.' 'Hansted' should be read 'Hausted,' and is Halstead, Essex.<sup>4</sup> 'Shouttinge' and 'Suldrope' are the adjacent parishes of Knotting<sup>5</sup> and Souldrop, Beds.<sup>5</sup> 'Pertinges' and 'Walton' ('Watton' in the document) are the Aguilon manors of Perching, in Edburton, Sussex,<sup>6</sup> and Watton, Herts. 'Rammesham' is the medieval form of Rampisham, Dorset, a great Arsic manor ;<sup>7</sup> and 'Shiperige' would be Sharpridge, in Broad Hinton. 'Wargheburn' is the 'Wargeburn' of the *Testa*, the 'Wergeborne' of Domesday—that is, Warnborough, Hants.<sup>8</sup> 'Werdeford' is Woodsford, Dorset,<sup>9</sup> and 'Thorendiss' is Thornage, Norfolk. 'Shipdham' and 'Radenhal' are identified in that county by the text itself.

When we turn from the 'unidentified' names to those arranged under counties a surprise awaits us. Under Essex there is no attempt to identify 'Alewardtun' or 'Tipeden,' though they are correct forms for Alderton and Debden, in Loughton. Neither 'Hernestede,' 'Caunsted,' 'Luthebyr,' nor 'Startford' is identified ; the Ashingdon discovered in two charters is not that place, but Assington, Suffolk, and the (Great) Melton (Meauton), Norfolk, of one of them is there unindexed, and elsewhere identified as Maldon, while Clifton, similarly placed under Essex, happens to be in Beds. Rivenhall, however, is transplanted from Essex into Herts. The 'Topefeud' of Suffolk can, it will be found, be identified with Toppesfield, in Hadleigh and Layham. Trotton and 'Tratinton,' Sussex, which are the same place, are separately entered in the classified and in the general index. 'Benenden' (*lege* Bevendean) is Bevendean, and 'La Grave' is not Boxgrove but Graves, in Oving. It is startling to find Alard le Fleming's Gloucestershire manor of Sapperton lightly transferred to 'Sussex,' apparently because Alard happened to hold also at Pulborough. In the same way Sutton, Surrey,<sup>10</sup> is converted into 'Sutton Basset, Northants,' apparently because the grantee was a Basset.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Feudal England*, pp. 160-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Testa*, p. 18 ; *Peerage Studies*, pp. 175-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Testa*, p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> *Feudal Aids*, ii. 166.

<sup>5</sup> *Testa*, p. 243 ; *Feudal Aids*, i. 5, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Testa*, p. 222. The descent of the manors has been elaborately treated by Stapleton in his preface to the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*.

<sup>7</sup> Feversham, Kent, is a Record Office identification of it (*Red Book*, p. 1282). The actual proof in the case of the charter is that it names a Thomas de Periton as the tenant *temp.* Hen. I and Hen. II, and that a Thomas de Periton then held a knight's fee of Arsic (*ibid.* p. 304).

<sup>8</sup> *Victoria History of Hampshire*, vol. i.

<sup>9</sup> *Testa*, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 225, 227 ; *Red Book*, p. 560.

<sup>11</sup> To take another class of names, 'Bradwell,' Essex, and 'Hanworth,' Line.,



But there is yet a third class of unidentified names which one only finds by accident on glancing through the index. Such are 'Aystan, Essex,' which the 'Eistane' of p. 279 shows to be Great Easton; 'Elreton,' identical with the 'Alreton' of the 'unidentified' list; 'Tradint,' which is again Trotton, Sussex; 'Isneye,' which is Easneye, in Herts; 'and 'Wytheley,' which is Whitley by Coventry. Perhaps the climax is reached in 'Sinles, co. York,' and 'Wath, co. York,' which represent between them Snilesworth (Moor). When I add that neither 'Chauton' (p. 230) nor Winkfield ('Wenkefeud') on p. 344, nor Thurlaston on p. 85 is indexed at all, it will be seen, I think, that the whole index requires to undergo expert revision, as was done, I believe, with one volume of the 'Catalogue of Ancient Deeds.' An exhaustive examination is bound to bring more errors than these to light, especially with the fine office library at hand to consult. When this is done it should be noted that the name of William 'de Salt les Dames' is not territorial, but a most interesting French version of Domesday's *Deus salvet dominas*, as can be shown by manorial descent. The appearance of a son of Guy as a 'son of Wydon' is doubtless a slip, but one knows not who has disguised Engenulfus de Gresley as 'Eugemillus.' An important charter grants Fobbing and Westerham: as they had been held *de Matilda regina*, who must have been Stephen's queen, as they were Boulogne manors. She is identified, however, as the queen of Henry I. And surely 'le Ryn, Ireland,' is a poor identification of that 'land in Ireland called "le Ryn," late of Magorman' (*sic*), which became Gormanston.<sup>12</sup> This important calendar will lose much of its value unless the work of identification is more scientifically done.

J. HORACE ROUND.

*Quesiti e Ricerche di Storiografia Fiorentina.* Da PIETRO SANTINI.  
(Florence: Seeber. 1903.)

THIS volume contains the results of Signor Santini's researches among the ancient chronicles of Florence anterior to Villani, which were undertaken by him with the object of making a collection of the earliest sources of Florentine history. The libraries of Florence are peculiarly rich in manuscripts of early anonymous chronicles. These have as a rule no independent value in the parts which deal with the more remote events, their accounts of these times being more or less copied from one another or from a common original; but their records increase in interest and value as they approach more nearly to the chroniclers' own times. Owing to the fact that many of these chronicles exist only in comparatively recent copies—recent, that is, in relation to the date when Giovanni Villani was compiling his chronicle—it is not always easy to determine whether any given chronicle was one of the sources utilised by Villani, or whether, on the other hand, this same chronicle is not a mere worthless compilation from the work of the great Florentine

are not identifications, for Bradwell-'on-Sea' and 'Potter' Hanworth are distinct from their namesakes in those counties, while Broughton and Broughton-on-the-Brant are confused in Lincolnshire.

<sup>12</sup> 4th Report Historical MSS. Comm. p. 573.

chronicler. After briefly glancing at the important labours of Scheffer-Boichorst and of Hartwig on the Florentine chronicles anterior to Villani, Signor Santini proceeds to give a detailed account of a *cronichetta anonima* which is contained in one of the miscellaneous manuscripts preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence. This chronicle was composed, or at any rate completed, in the early part of the fourteenth century. The last entry is under the year 1321, the year of Dante's death; the records of the previous twenty years are very full and minute, and have every appearance of having been the work of a writer who was describing events contemporary with himself. The importance of this chronicle has hitherto been overlooked, owing to the fact that at the end of it an entry has been added recording an event of the year 1415, thus giving a careless observer the impression that the manuscript contained merely a fifteenth-century compilation of little or no importance. Signor Santini, however, shows that the original chronicle ends with the year 1321, and that the subsequent entry is in a different and much later hand. Signor Santini draws attention to an interesting personal note in this chronicle. When the compiler has occasion, under the year 1258, to record the expulsion of the uncompromising Ghibelline family, the Uberti, from Florence, he writes, 'and the Uberti never returned—no, nor never shall,' showing himself to be an ardent Guelf. To the same strong partisan feeling must be attributed the suppression in this chronicle of several of the most important particulars of the political dealings of the pope with the emperor, the hated Frederick II. Not the least valuable portion of Signor Santini's volume consists in a carefully printed text of this hitherto unpublished *cronichetta*. To the student of Dante it will have a special interest, as many of the persons and events mentioned in the *Divina Commedia* will be found recorded in its pages, though it would be rash to assert that anything new is added to our knowledge of them. In the course of his account of several of the other early chronicles, and of their relations to one another, Signor Santini observes on the remarkable popularity among the Florentines of the chronicle of Martin of Troppau (Martinus Polonus). At the present time there are no fewer than fifteen manuscripts of it in the public libraries of Florence, besides others containing the Italian translation. In the historiography of Tuscany this chronicle plays an important part, as it furnished much of their material to the early Tuscan chroniclers. In an appendix Signor Santini gives a detailed description of each of the Florentine manuscripts of the original, in order to rectify an omission of Weiland, the editor of Martinus Polonus, by whom they were overlooked. The author is to be congratulated on having accomplished in this volume a careful piece of work, which will greatly lighten the labours of those who come after him. We have noticed a misprint on p. 17, 'Thabaille' for 'Chabaille' as the name of the editor of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*. A scanty table of contents at the end of the book is labelled 'Indice'—there is no index, which is a serious omission in a work of this kind.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

*Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield.* Vol. I., 1274 to 1297 (Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, vol. xxix.) Edited by W. P. BAILDON, F.S.A. (Printed for the Society. 1901.)

NOTICE of this volume has been delayed in the hope that the second volume, with the postponed introduction, would soon be forthcoming; but, as more time seems likely to elapse than was anticipated, an interim notice is desirable. The lords of the great Yorkshire manor which had the borough of Wakefield as head to its many members were the earls of Surrey, and at the time when these court rolls were being kept John de Warenne was reluctantly telling the king what his franchises were and by what warrant he held them, instead of defending them, as he threatened, by his rusty sword. The rolls show what those franchises were like when in full working order, and contain notices of a considerable number of interesting customs. The steward gave seisin by a rod which had a white and a black head, and with the white head he gave seisin to an incoming tenant, *quia albus erat in colore*. There is a valuable reference to the *retrait féodal* and to the *retrait lignager*, the point of which has been marred in the editor's translation. One Elias promised never to let or alienate a certain piece of land except to the man of whom he received it, or to such of his next of kin as would pay Elias as much as any other purchaser would offer (p. 61). Another entry brings out the rule that a woman's compurgators must be men and not women, a point on which legal doctrine was not clearly decided. It is interesting to find that affidavit (troth-plight) was held to legitimate the offspring born before the celebration of an ecclesiastical ceremony (1286). As Professor Maitland has pointed out, Bracton held this, which the court rolls affirm to be *consuetudo patrie*, to be the common law. There is a curious passage: *Item dicunt quod C. filia R. ad ecclesiam stipata est sine licencia. Ideo lechyrwite; finivit vi d.* There is evidence that *merchet* could be used for *lechyrwite*; here the *ad ecclesiam* seems to point to the use of *lechyrwite* for *merchet*. That the word *legergildum* could slip from the pen of the writer of the archetype of the *Leges Henrici Primi* [11, 14] in a very inappropriate connexion Dr. Liebermann has shown. The *ad ecclesiam* makes it difficult to believe in Mr. Baildon's emendation of *stipata*. He may, however, defend his emendation by the entry which follows immediately upon the one under discussion: *Dicunt quod uxor Ricardi ad ecclesiam braciavit contra assisam*, for which offence the fine is likewise 6*d.*

The earl exacted a 'principal'—that is, the *best* chattel—here his best cow and half a cow and half a bullock—from a tenant dying intestate (pp. 256, 260). The use of the word 'principal' for a 'corse present,' which was lay and not ecclesiastical, seems to have puzzled the editor; but the taking of such 'principals' was no great rarity.<sup>1</sup> The hold of

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Dunst.* p. 408 has 'nomine herietti seu principalis.' The practice of taking half of an animal as heriot, the other half being left as the parson's principal, is thus explained by a passage in an unprinted Kidderminster customal: 'Nullus dominus neque rector habebit de aliquo tenente . . . heriectum mortuum dum est heriectum vivum. Et si tenens non habet nisi unicum heriectum ad valenciam vi. d. vel majus, quamvis sit porcus, debet partiri inter dominum et rectorem, et si infra vi. d. non rebet partiri, sed dominus habebit totum.'

the intestate's heirs upon his chattels had once been very feeble. When the marriage portion of a dead daughter reverted to the mother (a case of the *droit de retour*) the earl claims a moiety as aid (p. 270). The rolls show him as a hard landlord, or perhaps we should rather say that they show his agents as careful to exact the whole of his dues. Many persons were fined for collecting nuts, one for not collecting the lord's wood apples (*poma bosci*) carefully, whereby the earl lost two hogsheads of cider. Few of his villains lived out their year and day in the boroughs of Pontefract or Wakefield in safety, to judge from the many entries of recapture. More than one excited litigant is fined for his *multiloquium* in court. On the other hand the earl or his agent was liberal in his grants of leave to take up waste lands. The inconveniences of the open field system are illustrated by a case in which a man brings an action on the score that he was going along the highroad or a pathway, where he had a perfect right to go, when the defendant came and stopped his way, so that his horse ran off with a load of bread. The defendant urges that the man was going across a field sown with rye, and the inquest says that the plaintiff did go into a sown field, which was not prohibited (p. 281).

The sale of live stock and hides is banned into the Wakefield market, that the earl's mark may be seen upon them; and persons other than the keepers of the live stock are assigned to watch over the sale (p. 97). (By the misplacement of a comma the passage has presented a needless difficulty to the translator.) In another passage (p. 14) referring to a doe-skin believed to have been wrongfully come by, a slight correction makes sense. The text is printed *et illo sciente et cogitante hoc male adquisit; negavit* (translated, 'and knowing and scheming he wrongfully acquired it'). The text should probably run *hoc male adquisitum, negavit* ('knowing it to be wrongfully acquired, he refused it'). There is a case (p. 272) which shows forcibly the risk of bringing the accusation of the possession of stolen goods. Honest purchase in open market was proved, and thereupon the unfortunate complainant was dismissed to prison.

There are a few interesting references to the church. There was a complaint that the vicar of Halifax (part of the manor) was levying a new custom on the whole parish; the parishioners were accustomed to give one calf as a tithe on seven, and he asks for one out of six, 'and they may nowise count till they come to ten, as they used to do,' and the same of lambs. They can get no remedy except through the earl's bailiffs. In another case the plaintiff has preferred to sue for a debt in the consistory court at York, to the earl's prejudice, and is fined accordingly. The Official of York (not officer, as translated) interferes in another case to get a defendant pardoned.

The scheme of the book has been to print first a large section of the roll in Latin, then to translate, and then to give the remainder of the roll in English only. It would have been preferable to have the translation under the Latin. Mr. Baildon has not made his own copy, and the consequences have been somewhat disastrous. In spite of a long list of corrigenda many disfiguring mistakes remain. The editorial work is not up to the learned author's usual standard. A number of mistakes spring from the misapprehension of the force of the word *debere*, 'to be

said to.' Professor Maitland's *Gloucester Pleas* (p. 154) teach that meaning. Mr. Baildon renders *deberet plan casse domum*, 'ought to have boarded a house.' It should be 'was said to have barred the entry to a house' (see *plan care* in Du Cange). *Qui debuerant eos per patriam* is more likely 'as was charged against them by the jury,' than 'who claimed them by a jury;' *sagittam tractavit aut debuit*, 'drew the arrow, or was said to,' than 'or owned it;'  
*de una iuvenca quam deberet cepisse*, 'which he is said to have seized,' than 'ought to have seized.'  
*Lagena* should be rendered gallon rather than 'measure;'  
*summa ferri*, a seam of iron rather than a 'lump.' The abbreviated word *estr.* has been printed *escr[iniium]*; it is a common representative of *estreca*, 'strike,' 'bushel.' It is strange to find the adjournments continually entered as '[love] days.'

MARY BATESON.

*Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans : la Papauté, la France et l'Angleterre* (1328-1342). Par EUGÈNE DÉPREZ. 'Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.' Fascicule 86. (Paris : Fontemoing. 1902.)

M. EUGÈNE DÉPREZ gives us in the present volume the first instalment of a diplomatic history of the Hundred Years' war. Diplomatic history is not as a rule lively reading, even when it deals with quite recent times. Medieval diplomatic history is for the most part only known to us by colourless and uncandid official records, and is generally even more futile in its results than that of our own days. But barren as much of the work must needs be, it has to be done, and M. Déprez deserves admiration, both for the courage with which he has approached his task and for the success with which he has illuminated the period traversed in the present volume. It is inevitable that his book should be rather hard reading, and few will wish to retain in their memory the details of the endless embassies, the correspondence of the chief negotiators of treaties that brought no one nearer an intelligible goal. But as a result of the severe labours of our author important generalisations are gradually disengaged which go far to modify the general impressions of historians as to the policy which brought about the Hundred Years' war. And the enormous wealth of original and unpublished matter which M. Déprez has drawn from the archives of the Vatican and our own Public Record Office has enabled him to base his conclusions on exceedingly firm grounds, and to reconstitute the history of the first fourteen years of the reign of Edward III and Philip VI on a solid and enduring basis. This work, then, is a very real contribution towards the advance of historical science. Our only regret in reading it is that the unpublished treasures of our Record Office are nowadays so much more often explored by French scholars like M. Déprez than by our own countrymen.

Among the general conclusions of M. Déprez we may indicate the following: The real cause of the Hundred Years' war was the retention of a part of Gascony by its English dukes. This brought about an essential incompatibility of relation between the English kings and their French overlords, which neither treaties nor ties of blood could get over. From 1259 to 1381 the French policy had been gradually to

acquire Gascony by slowly whittling away the rights left to its English dukes by the treaty of Paris in the former year. The only serious attempt to break this tradition was Philip the Fair's unsuccessful effort to rob Edward I of Gascony by a single stroke of violence. By the early years of Edward III and Philip VI this policy had brought about a chronic and inveterate hostility between the two courts. Secondary difficulties gradually complicated the situation. Among these were the French intervention in Scotland, the Anglo-Imperial and the Anglo-Flemish alliances, the quarrels of English and French merchants and seamen, the welcome offered by Edward III to Robert of Artois, the assumption of the claim to the French crown, and the affair of the Breton succession. Nevertheless peace was maintained for some ten years. This was largely due to the unwillingness of Edward and Philip to embark on the conflict. It was still more due to the strange want of policy which both kings generally showed; but above all it was the result of the ceaseless efforts of John XXII and Benedict XII to preserve the peace of Europe by mediating between the hostile yet hesitating sovereigns. The papacy then takes the leading part in the diplomatic struggle which M. Déprez narrates in such detail. Its policy was not successful, except so far that it long delayed the outbreak of the conflict. A desire to array Europe against the schismatic Louis of Bavaria and to prevent unnecessary bloodshed was common to both the popes of this period. But John XXII had a real faith in the projected crusade which Philip had agreed to lead, but which Benedict XII abandoned as impracticable. With these objects the popes strained every nerve to secure the continuance of peace. Edward III was little influenced by them, but for several years Philip VI allowed himself to become their tool and committed fault after fault by blindly following their lead. M. Déprez boasts with reason that he has overthrown the legend that these Avignon popes were towed in the wake of the French king's policy. On the contrary Benedict XII prevented Philip from helping the Scots effectively, and held the balance very evenly until the alliance with the hated Bavarian and the excommunicated Flemings bore him towards a distinctly anti-English side. But Benedict's zeal perforce was mainly in order to carry out a selfish and narrowly ecclesiastical policy. It ended in alienating Philip as well as Edward, and the truce of Esplechin of 1340 saw both combatants agreeing to exclude papal interference in their controversies.

Besides unravelling the diplomatic network, M. Déprez gives us admirable summaries of the claims of Edward to the French throne, of the abortive campaign in the Thiérarche in 1339, of the victory of Sluys and the failure in the Tournaisis in 1340, and of many other aspects of the history of the times that only incidentally illustrate his main theme. We are the more grateful for them as they include the most interesting and readable parts of the volume. To these are added some important inedited documents, published in an appendix, and an excellent index.

It is only in occasional references to the minutiae of English history that a foreign critic can find anything to say against a work of such great learning and acumen. But who were 'le vieux prince de Galles,' 'le comte de Derby,' and 'le comte de Salisbury' who accompanied Edward III to Amiens in 1329? The first entry is very mysterious, and as for the

earls there were no earls of Derby or Salisbury in that century before 1337. It is a smaller matter to speak of the Black Prince as 'prince of Wales' before that title had been conferred on him, or to describe Edward III before he became king as prince of Wales, though he never bore the title. We may briefly note as trivial slips the remarks on *le cens apostolique* on p. 69, the inadequate appreciation of Edward III's real relations to Edward Balliol in the earlier period of the latter's attempt to win back his father's throne, the separation of Hainault from Zeeland in p. 152, the reference on p. 224 to the mysterious castle of 'Somerton-Windsor,' the convocation of *le clergé du diocèse de Cantorbéry*, when *province* is really meant, on p. 240, the notion on p. 244 that the *montagnards gallois* formed a *troupe d'élite*, the distinction between the earl of Salisbury and William de Montagu on p. 346, and the ignoring that the 'priory of Christ Church' was Stratford's Cathedral on p. 359. There are too many printer's errors, and some false references, as on p. 80, where the reference to Viollet is not to 'p. 152,' as said, but to p. 75, and on p. 210, where 'Acciaiuoli' is misspelt. The bailli of Amiens was clearly not sent, as said on p. 154, note 1, to occupy Guyenne, but Ponthieu. Coblenz had no 'cathedral' (p. 177), not being the see of a bishop; and there seems a contradiction on pp. 211 and 238 as to the policy of Otto, duke of Austria.

T. F. Tout.

*Religion und Kirche in England im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert.* Von Dr. EDUARD FUETER. (Tübingen: Mohr. 1904)

THOUGH only a pamphlet of seventy-eight pages, the last thirteen of which are occupied by an appendix, this is a very important contribution to English church history in the age before the Reformation. No task can well be more difficult than a comprehensive survey of the religious condition of England in a period so obscure. It is true we know something about Wycliffe and something about Lollardy, but we are far too apt to generalise without a clear appreciation of the facts. And yet there are facts of no small significance which, obvious though they be, are not sufficiently weighed by those who seek a merely theological origin for the movement which brought about a new order in the church. Dr. Fueter rather inclines to seek its origin in the spirit of national independence, which objected to foreign government either in church or state. And here, in a few expressions at the outset, I confess that I find the weakest part of a very valuable treatise; for what the early Venetian report upon England, written about the year 1500, says of the insularity, exclusiveness, and prejudices of Englishmen does not go far to show that they were at all impatient of the spiritual yoke of Rome. In fact Dr. Fueter himself almost in the very next sentence tells us that they were not so. 'Against the pope,' he says, 'there existed no hostility; after reverence had perhaps suffered some diminution during the Great Schism papal indulgences were again received with the greatest devotion.'

But Dr. Fueter shows us other causes. A far more important influence in preparing the way for the coming revolution was the constant use made of bishops and clergy as the most able negotiators in secular matters. This was quite against the spirit of the church itself.

It was the subject of many denunciations, which were of no more avail to stop the practice than denouncing immorality in sermons prevents licentiousness and theft. It was usefulness in the political world that recommended men to promotion in the church; for powerful princes had the means of promotion, and churchmen far surpassed lay advisers in ability. Nor was it only princes who thus commanded the secular services of the clergy. Lords and knights and gentle ladies did the same; they kept, and even bishops kept, in their own households, country rectors, who were thereby absent from their parishes for years, and whether their duties were discharged by any vicars for them seems a good deal open to question. For one benefice it is suggested in the Paston Letters that if the incumbent were poor he could easily procure a licence to have service besides. And not only the poverty, it would seem, but the hardships of country life were such as to afford very considerable excuse for the practice of non-residence. At least this is distinctly asserted in a very remarkable sermon prepared for delivery before convocation in 1483, ten days after the death of Edward IV, which Dr. Fueter has printed in full in his appendix. This document alone would give the publication very great value for historical inquirers.

The author's research, indeed, is more extensive than that of any one I know of on his own particular subject. He has laid under contribution some important papers in the German periodical *Anglia*, the curious tract called *Jacob's Well*, published by the Early English Text Society, some of the later issues of the Camden Society, and Bishop Stafford's *Exeter Register*, published by Mr. Hingeston Randolph, not to talk of such well-known sources as Peacock's *Repressor*, of which, with other recognised authorities, he has made very good use in his excellent and really original treatment of the subject of Lollardy. The following passage deserves translation:—

Every one who examines the records of the ecclesiastical prosecutions must be struck with the large proportion of spiritual persons among the condemned heretics. If the statistics were set forth we should be driven to assume that nine-tenths of the party consisted of spiritual men. But from other sources we derive quite a different impression. Not only Peacock, who is a rather late authority (1450), but even earlier controversialists, like Thomas of Walden, declare, in the most favourable cases, at least as many laymen as spiritual men to have been among the Lollards. It is surprising, moreover, how tolerant at that time the church was towards the Lollards, when Peacock could speak of them simply as 'the lay party.' Peacock himself must on his own showing have known a host of Lollards; but he seems never to have made the slightest attempt to take active measures against them, although as bishop he could have done so very well. I think from this the tactics of the church may be very well discerned. After the governing class, the great nobility, had withdrawn themselves from the Lollards the church only felt herself threatened by the new movement so long as revolutionary elements within herself took part in it. Here she was, therefore, strong and unforbearing. The prohibition to preach in another diocese without leave of the bishop was carried out, it would seem, to the fullest extent even against priests otherwise irreproachable. The University of Oxford was thoroughly purified, and an assiduous system of tracking was for the future to make heretical inclinations impossible. Wyclifite preachers were prosecuted unsparingly. These means led rapidly to the goal. The refractory



preachers were in the course of two or three *decennia* reduced to pairs, and when the sect consisted only of artisans and men of small importance the church was satisfied; she regarded the Lollard movement as officially extinguished. Thus may be explained the remarkable ecclesiastical judgments of the years 1420-1430, at which even Lechler marvelled.

I need say no more to show the value of this admirable little treatise.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

*Louis XI et le Saint-Siège* (1461-1483). Par JOSEPH COMBET. (Paris Hachette. 1903.)

IT is useful to have the relations of Louis XI to the papacy disentangled from the political strand of the reign, and this Dr. Combet has done with considerable skill, merely indicating the effects of the quarrel with the duke of Brittany, of the war of the *Bien Publique*, and the tragi-comedy of Péronne on the king's ecclesiastical policy. The result is, however, marred by the exaggeration of his hero's influence in Italy, an exaggeration almost confined to the conclusions, which are unsupported by the narrative where the facts are stated fairly and soberly enough. The last page of the book sums up the triumphant progress of the king. *En résumé, en 1461 le roi est en fort mauvaise posture en Italie. En France dans l'église gallicane il n'est rien ou presque rien. En 1483, s'il n'est pas tout, il est l'arbitre incontestablement reconnu de l'Italie qui est sous sa domination.* And this domination is yet more strongly stated. *Il est bien véritablement le suzerain de l'Italie, qui semble n'avoir été faite que pour lui porter obéissance.* It is difficult not to recognise here the type of chauvinism which would prove at all costs the supremacy of France in Italy. Of this the author shows early symptoms, for in his introduction he describes the occupation of Genoa in 1396 as a step towards the conquest of the kingdom of Adria, regardless of the fact that this wild scheme of monarchy, whether Angevin or Orleanist, had already been abandoned. Again, at the opening of Louis XI's reign he writes: *La France, malgré la perte de Gênes, n'en occupait moins une position de premier ordre en Italie. Outre Savoie le roi avait Asti. . . Ces deux villes lui auraient permis avec Gênes de faire presque de la Lombardie une province française.* To presume that the great possessions of the Visconti or Sforza were at the mercy of the two Ligurian towns and an outlying scrap of their own Piedmontese territory is indeed to fly in the face of Italian geography and history. Even the Neapolitan house of Anjou, with all its Lombard and Piedmontese possessions, was never near making a French province of Lombardy. Nor is the exaggeration of the French king's power confined to Italy. What would Maximilian and the Catholic Kings have said to this? *Ce vieillard cassé . . . apparaît . . . comme le maître absolu de l'Europe, et ce sont ses mains débiles qui font manœuvrer sur la scène historique tous les acteurs du temps qu'il est parvenu, par un travail long, patient et surnois, à enserrer dans les fils.* Clever as Louis was, he suffered two great defeats in the marriages of Ferdinand and Isabella and of Maximilian and Mary. Nor was he much more successful in such Italian projects as he had, and these form the main topic of this volume.

Dr. Combet frankly realises that in his conflicts with the veteran

diplomatist Pius II the French king got none the best of the exchanges. He had to abandon the Angevin claim to Naples and his design of recovering Genoa, while on French soil he was beaten in his contest for the *régale* of the Breton bishoprics. Even the far inferior Paul II proved his match. Louis entrapped, indeed, the cardinal Balue, but he totally failed to make the pope recognise the supremacy of the secular over the ecclesiastical power. *Malgré son activité, ses négociations, ses intrigues avec les princes italiens, malgré la menace du concile, il a piteusement échoué.* The king's successes must, therefore, fall within the pontificate of Sixtus, during which the only important relations between the two powers are concerned with the concordat of 1472, the war of Sixtus and Ferrante of Naples against Lorenzo de' Medici, and that of Sixtus against Ferrara. The concordat was stillborn, but at the close of the reign there was a working agreement between pope and king to divide the honours of the French church. In this the pope certainly got none the worst of the bargain. Dr. Combet in his conclusion states that Louis left a new and powerful instrument for despotic government—a clergy essentially royal. Yet when he died and Sixtus had the impudence to send Cardinal Balue with his condolences, the late king's old enemy was well received, in spite of the prohibition of Charles VIII and the parliament of Paris.

In both Italian wars Louis met with a full share of failure and rebuff. Throughout the Florentine war he blustered and threatened, but both friend and enemy were fully alive to the ineffectiveness of his intervention. Dr. Combet himself expresses this in the phrase, *Le roi de France ne s'occupe plus alors qu'à rendre honorable la défaite de Laurent.* Following and outstripping Buser he ascribes Lorenzo's peace with Naples solely to the king's mediation. For this the only evidence appears to be a letter to Lorenzo from a French agent, Giovanni Palmieri, who would naturally magnify his master's offices and his own, and the formal and official thanks of Lorenzo to the king, printed by Canestrini. There were surely other influences more potent with Ferrante than the barking of chained dogs of war in France. What after all was the result? Lorenzo was forced to a somewhat humiliating peace: Ferrante, the old enemy of Louis, bore off the honours of war, while his ally Ludovico il Moro ousted Louis XI's sister-in-law from the regency of Milan, though not, perhaps, without encouragement from the king. It is true that Louis had intrigued on both sides and all sides, but intrigue is not a synonym for domination. He had not intervened because he dared not or cared not. The author much underrates the growing power of the Habsburgs: even Frederick III, as Sixtus well knew, would effectually checkmate the French king's threatened council. Yet it is of this moment that the author writes, *L'Italie était moralement soumise à Louis XI, qui est, en somme, le véritable maître de la péninsule.* In the succeeding Ferrarese war each power went its way without a moment's respect for the wishes of the veritable master of the peninsula. Sixtus persuaded Louis to allow his bulls against Venice to be published in France; but what cared Venice? She sent her envoys indeed to the king, who was *tanto vecchio e mal sano che più questo iè morto che vivo* (*sic*). But we are unable to follow the author in his conclusion that because two powers send envoys to a third the latter is the suzerain of, or even the arbiter between, the two

powers. There was, of course, a general nervousness in Italy as to French intervention, but this was far older than the reign of Louis. Venice might realise that Louis was really more dangerous than Charles the Bold, and the succession to Provence unquestionably added to the danger. Yet, for all that, the king's Italian policy was a failure, a failure, perhaps, because he did not greatly care for it.

Dr. Combet both in his notes and in his appendix has printed many interesting documents from the archives of the Vatican, Milan, and Mantua. The worship of the unpublished has, however, this danger, that its votaries would be proselytes of righteousness before fitting themselves to be proselytes of the gate by the less exciting study of the not inconsiderable information to be found in print. It is difficult to feel that the author's preparation either in Italian history or language was quite adequate to a subject in the main Italian. He wrongly states that a cardinalate was conferred upon Giuliano de' Medici, and does not seem aware that the so-called cardinal was identical with the victim of the Pazzi conspiracy, for the references are given separately in the index. It is misleading to give Piero de' Medici the title of gonfalonier of Florence. The very famous Milanese minister Cecco or Ciccio Simonetta is given a dual existence as *Cichus, ministre de Galéas-Marie*, and *Simonetta, diplomate milanais*. The well-known Florentine statesman Guid' Antonio Vespucci is even more protean, for Lorenzo de' Medici is represented as demanding aid of Louis XI through *Guy et Antoine de Vespucci*, while a little later the diplomatist drops his double personality and reappears as plain Antoine, an ambassador of Milan. The constant combination of the French Christian name with the latinised surname found in documents, e.g. *Constantin de Herulis (Eroli)*, seems to betoken unfamiliarity with the persons so described, while *Ludovisiis* as a nominative singular is as impossible as *Vicecomitibus* would be for *Visconti*.

Unfortunately this unfamiliarity infects the *pièces justificatives* themselves. Documents xxix. and xxxi. are headed 'Lettre de Vespucci et Bendedens au Duc de Milan,' but these are really joint despatches of the ambassadors of the League of Naples, Milan, and Florence. The fact that they begin *Sacra Maestà Ill<sup>mi</sup> et Ex<sup>mi</sup> Signori nostri*, would prove that they could not be letters of his Milanese envoys to their duke. The letters are thus subscribed: *Anellus Archamonus Oratores ducales Guidantonius Vespucius et Baptista Bendedeus* (not Bendedens, as printed). Dr. Combet fails to recognise that the first is the celebrated Neapolitan Anello Arcamone and the two last the Florentine envoys. Curiously enough the intermediate document, no. xxx., is the covering letter of xxxi., and actually gives the names of the *Oratores ducales*. A yet stranger instance of the lack of intimacy with Italian history is the inclusion of document xxvii. (undated), which is described as 'Instructions de Sixte IV à Bernard Boil, Légat en Espagne.' The instructions, which fill nearly six closely printed pages, speak of King Frederick of Naples, of the king of the Romans (Maximilian), and of the occupation of Pisa by Venice. The document has, of course, nothing to do with the author's subject, but belongs to the reign of Charles VIII and the pontificate of Alexander VI. Foreign writers can scarcely hope to escape the pitfalls of Italian dates, but it may just be worth while to point out that

a Roman document dated 30 Dec. 1472 is not *manifestement une erreur* for 1471, since the Roman year began from Christmas. It is to be feared that the text of the documents cannot be regarded as definitive, for the transcription is in many cases obviously at fault. Such slips in the text as Pierro di Cosimo, Boticelli, Guiliano de Medici, *repubblica* may be debited to the printer, but they are far too numerous; and the failure to correct the proofs seems to point to the above-mentioned want of familiarity. It may be noticed that Buser's well-known book is described as *Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich warhend der Jahre 1434-1494*. The author must rest assured that it has not been a grateful task to point out these blemishes in a volume which, with conclusions tempered and details amended, might be read alike with profit and with pleasure.

E. ARMSTRONG.

*Documenti Finanziari della Repubblica di Venezia. Serie Seconda. 'Bilanci Generali.' II., III. (Venezia: Visentini. 1903.)*

THESE two volumes are the first instalment of a great undertaking, the publication of the financial documents of the Venetian republic, for the purposes of which a royal commission was, on the initiative of the minister Luigi Luzzati, appointed in 1897. The commission began its labours by a careful examination of the mass of papers which is covered by the purview of the royal decree, and a well-considered scheme of publication was submitted to the commission by its able reporter, Professor Fabio Besta. Professor Besta denied the utility and excluded the possibility of publication *in extenso*. He suggested that the documents might be grouped in four series and that the leading papers in each series should alone be given in full. The following titles for the series were proposed: 1. The administration and care of public money. 2. General accounts. 3. National debt in its relation to public and private credit. 4. Customs and taxes, or, in other words, revenue. Each series is to be divided into parts or chapters, governed by the more prominent historical events which affect the specific subject of the series. General introductions and glossaries are promised for each series. The commission has begun by publishing volumes ii. and iii. of the second series, relating to general accounts. General budgets were introduced only in 1736, and the reason why the first volume of this series has been held back is that documents illustrating earlier tentative budgets are only to be found scattered here and there and entail long research, and also because it was impossible to draw up the general introduction until all the documents relating to general accounts had been collected and examined. That part of the work is now fairly advanced.

The finances of the Venetian republic have not as yet received the attention they deserve; even Romanin is brief and obscure upon the subject. Able monographs by Lattes, Ferrara, Stella, Predelli, and Ugo Corti, deal with various branches of the question, but nothing in the shape of a general history of Venetian finance, based upon documentary evidence, has hitherto been attempted.

<sup>1</sup> The public money of Venice was derived from three main sources—1. Forced loans, the capital of which was funded in the various *monti*, the *monte vecchio*, *monte nuovo* (1483), *monte nuovissimo* (1504), and

*monte di sussidio* (1525) ; the interest was fixed and the capital repayable or not at the pleasure of the government, and as a matter of fact all the *monti* were extinguished by the end of the sixteenth century. 2. Voluntary loans, called *depositi in zecca*, bearing interest at 4 per cent. In 1714 these four per cents. were converted into two per cents., and this led to the creation of another fund, the *depositi fuori di zecca*, bearing interest and repayment within a given period guaranteed by certain branches of the revenue, such as the grist tax and the duty on oil. 3. Customs and taxes, managed not by a single board but by a number of separate boards, each keeping its own accounts. These various *casse*, as they were called, are the peculiar feature of the administration of public money in Venice. The government made payments by issuing warrants on this or that *cassa*. The government was, of course, aware of the state of the balance in each *cassa*, and could order the transference of surplus from one *cassa* to meet a deficit in another, an operation known as *passagio*, which gave an opening for frequent frauds, or *intacchi*.

The management of public money originally lay with the Great Council, the *consiglio minore* and the court of the *Quarantia* acting as executive. But in 1324 the *Quarantia* was declared to be an integral part of the senate, with the effect that the administration of public money passed to that body with one of the *Savii* of the *collegio* as executive ; and from that time onwards the senate was the constitutional body to which the management of public money legitimately belonged. But as in many other departments of the state so in finance the Council of Ten gradually usurped many of the attributes of the senate. No specific legislation entrusted the Ten with financial authority, but a brief order of the senate, carried in September 1468, while definitely stating that certain subjects were reserved for the Council of Ten, added *et altre cose secretissime*. On the plea that finance was among the 'most secret' departments of state the Council of Ten, with the assistance of a special commission for finance, called a *zonta*, elected in the senate, gradually assumed the dominant place in the administration of public money, and took over the charge of the *zecca*. In this way the funds, *monti*, passed under their jurisdiction. The administration of the Ten was able and sound, and culminated in the extinction of the national debt, an operation carried through by Gian Francesco Priuli in 1577, by which five hundred thousand ducats a year were set free. This enabled the senate in 1584, two years after the reform, to create a reserve fund, called the *deposito grande*, which was to be touched only in time of open war. But various causes had contributed to render the Council of Ten unpopular, and a party had been formed in the Great Council which had for its object the reduction of the Ten to its original status. Among other reforms an attack was made on the financial powers of the Ten by refusing to elect the *zonta de' denari*, and with that the dominant financial power in the State was restored to the senate in 1582, and remained with it till the fall of the republic.

The documents contained in the two volumes just published relate to the budget of the republic. As we have seen, the financial machinery of the republic allowed the government to arrive at the balance of each of the various *casse* against which they could draw, but the idea of a general

budget, though its value was recognised, came very slowly into effect. It is possible that some sense of danger in allowing the actual financial state of the republic to be grasped by officials who might sell the secret acted as a deterrent.

The steps in the process by which a general budget was eventually reached are ably set forth in Professor Besta's monograph, which serves as an introduction to vol. iii. In 1565 a resolution of the senate declared that 'it would be of great service to the State if it were possible to know from year to year and from month to month the entire revenue and expenditure of the whole State.' Such information could be obtained if each of the separate financial administrations was obliged to furnish monthly to a central office a statement of its account; such statements to be entered in three ledgers, one for the city of Venice, the second for the mainland, the third for the maritime possessions—that is, Dalmatia and the Levant. These *mensuali*, or monthly statements of account, were to furnish the information necessary for a precise knowledge of how the state stood financially. But in the year following (1566) the Ten stepped in with a decree in the preamble of which they assert that it is of the highest importance that the accounts of the state should be easily seen at a glance both on the side of revenue and of expenditure, *il che non si può fare senza autorità di questo consiglio rispetto alle cose di cecca et casse di questo consiglio*, and thereupon a single accountant, Marchio Mazza, was appointed to prepare a statement of revenue and expenditure. The proposal was not carried, but the idea of a general statement of account was kept in view, and orders to carry it into effect were from time to time submitted to the senate and the Ten. The first attempt at a general balance-sheet was made in the year 1609–10, but was never completed; we have the first eight months only, from September 1609 to April 1610. Again under the pressure of war in 1617 the senate decreed that 'a calculation of the total income and expenditure of the state should be drawn up;' but probably through insufficiency of clerks or the result of a fear lest so important a State secret as the true financial condition of the republic might be sold, nothing was done. During the war of Candia, in 1658, the senate appointed three *deputati alla provision del denaro*, with powers to examine the accounts of the various offices and to study possible economies. This body eventually became permanent. At the close of the war of Candia the *deputati* drew up a general statement of the revenue and expenditure of the republic and set themselves to the extinction of the deficit; this they converted into a surplus between the years 1670 and 1679. Further attempts at a general budget were frequently made during the opening years of the eighteenth century, till we come to the first complete budget, that compiled in the year 1736 by Girolamo Costantini, which opens the series now published by the royal commission. These balance-sheets contain a number of highly technical terms, for the explanation of which we are promised a glossary. The summary of the balances for the years from 1736 to 1755 shows that only two years—1753, 1754—present a surplus. The work is well done, and the example before us promises to give us, when complete, a thorough exposition of Venetian finance.

HORATIO F. BROWN.

*Europäische Politik im cyprischen Krieg (1570-1573)*. I. Vorgeschichte und Vorverhandlungen. Von Dr. PAUL HERRE. (Leipzig: Dieterich. 1902.)

THIS book is of the genuine German stamp, thorough, painstaking, minute, elucidating the most obscure corners of the diplomatic interlude which the author has set himself to describe. The present instalment, after an account of the relations between the Porte and the western states previous to the war, and of the events which led up to it, only continues until the summer of 1570—that is, until negotiations for the league of 1571 were actually begun in Rome under the auspices of Pius V. The book suffers from one distinct defect—namely, an over-elaboration which tends to tediousness. Many statements, pertinent enough in themselves, are repeated over and over again in a fashion which may be impressive, but is certainly monotonous; and occasionally Dr. Herre asks the reader a question, or a whole paragraph full of questions, the answer to which has been sufficiently indicated a page or two before.

Dr. Herre's researches into the archives of Simancas, Venice, and the Vatican have been very thorough; his point of view is detached, and his conclusions have the merit of giving a decided turn to the customary interpretation of the attitude of the Spanish government. While not disguising the egoism, fraudulence, and exasperating dilatoriness of Philip and his ministers, Dr. Herre yet enables us to realise the difficulties of their position. Italian writers on the subject simply accuse Philip of planning to ruin Venice by allowing her to entangle herself in a war against the Turks on the understanding that he would aid her, and then refusing any substantial assistance. Dr. Herre points out that, though Philip disliked Venice, it was against his interest to procure her ruin, since that would have involved the triumph of the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean and the exposure of his own states to their advancing forces. Philip's dilatoriness and the orders which he gave to his commanders to avoid pitched battles were due in the first place to his anxiety lest France, then falling under Coligny's influence, should attack Spain while the fleet was in the east, and, in the second, to his fear lest the annihilation of his fleet should leave the Italian and Spanish coasts and La Goletta defenceless before the Turks, with whom the Moors of Granada would eagerly co-operate. Again, Philip could never trust Venice, which had made peace by herself in 1540 and might do so again, and in fact did in 1573. True it was his own conduct which forced her to the step, but the mutual suspicion between the allies rendered effective co-operation impossible.

In one point, however, Dr. Herre is hardly fair to Venice. He places her treaties with the Turks on a moral level with that alliance between France and the Porte which caused so much scandal (p. 6). But the Venetian treaties were made only to safeguard her eastern possessions and her commerce; they were never considered as alliances, certainly never directed against other Christian states. Nor can Philip be placed on a much higher moral plane than Venice because he refused to sully his hands with so much as a truce with the infidel (p. 7). The very existence of his states did not, as did that of the Venetian possessions,

depend upon the forbearance of the Porte, nor did their prosperity rest, as did hers, upon eastern commerce. True, the pirates did considerable damage to his coasts and shipping, but this would not have been prevented by a formal peace, for they were not under the control of the Porte and were little less destructive to Venetian property. At the same time such a peace would seriously damage Philip's European policy, which he justified by the assumption of the rôle of defender of the catholic faith and unswerving foe to protestants and infidels. Too proud to make a formal peace, Philip never had the courage for a great war, which, with the help of Venice, might have completed the work begun at Lepanto and have crippled the Porte as a sea power for ever.

K. DOROTHEA VERNON.

*The Camden Miscellany.* Volume the Tenth: containing the *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General in Ireland (1593-1616)*, edited by HAROLD SPENCER SCOTT; *A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me, Thomas Hobby, w' diverse things woorth the notinge*, edited by EDGAR POWELL; *Prince Rupert at Lisbon*, edited by the late S. R. GARDINER, D.C.L. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1902.)

1. IT can scarcely be said of Sir Roger Wilbraham that he is a particularly interesting personage, or that he played any very notable part in the affairs of his times. As solicitor-general of Ireland (a post which until the time of his predecessor, Jesse Smythes, who only held it for little over a year and a half (1584-6), had been filled by one of the great lawyers of the pale) his career, compared with that of his successor, Sir John Davis, was uneventful, though his tenure of the office (1586-1603) covered one of the most critical periods in the whole of Irish history. From a constitutional point of view, however, his appointment possesses a significance more important than the man himself, as marking a further stage in the development of that bureaucratic form of government which, originating in jealousies based on religious differences, was to reach its climax under Wentworth, and of which the consequences were to be seen in the rebellion of 1641. Apart from personal considerations it is, when we regard the subject from this point of view, not a matter of great moment to decide whether the anonymous charges brought against Wilbraham for rapacity and the exaction of unconscionable fees in the execution of his office are or are not capable of substantiation. The main point is that similar charges were preferred against nearly every English official in Ireland at the time. And it is abundantly clear from what we know of Wilbraham's career that the view he took of his office was pretty much that of the average official of the time; he intended to get as much out of it as possible. He merely did as others did, and for the consequences of a system for which he was not responsible he can hardly be blamed.

Nevertheless we are very much indebted to Mr. Scott for publishing the *Journal*. If anything it helps to present its author in a more agreeable light than we had hitherto been inclined to regard him; for if it is essentially a lawyer's production (and law French with its uncouth terminology is not, we imagine, even to the professional student inviting reading) it is that of a lawyer who is not without a certain dry humour



and a lively interest in the events of the times. Regarded, therefore, as a commentary by an astute man of affairs on passing events the Journal is of considerable interest, but its real value consists in furnishing one or two facts of historical importance. Whether, indeed, Miler Magrath was 'a great Irish politician,' as Wilbraham took him to be, and whether, as some said, James 'wold rather fight in bloud to the knees than geve tolleracion of religion,' are questions which can be settled without Wilbraham's help; but no history of the last years of Elizabeth's reign is possible without reference to his description of the dissolution of parliament on 19 Dec. 1601, and his account of the discussion in the privy council in May 1602 on the financial position of the realm and the question of peace or war with Spain, of the unexpected death of the queen, of the committal of the agents of the gentry of the pale to the Tower in August 1603, of the conference between the lords and commons 'touching ther desires in ecclesiastical causes' in April 1606, adds details in each case not to be found elsewhere. But unquestionably the chief interest of the Journal centres in Wilbraham's description of the dissolution of Elizabeth's last parliament and the report he supplies of the queen's speech on that occasion. It is, as Mr. Scott remarks, not a little curious that neither D'Ewes nor Townshend has reported these 'last words' of Queen Elizabeth to her people, all the more so because of the circumstances under which they were spoken and the important bearing they have not only on the immediate question of the war with Spain but on the whole course of her foreign policy. The speech itself is too long for quotation, but the following prefatory remarks of Wilbraham bring the scene vividly before us:—

The Parliament being dissolved & ech one redie to depart without further expectation as the manner is, the Queen's Maiestie raised herself out of her royal seate & made a short, pithie, eloquent & comfortable spech somewhat to this effect: for besides I cold not well heare all she spake, the grace of pronounciacion & of her apt & refined wordes so lernedlie composed did ravish the sense of the herers with such admiracion as every new sentence made me half forget the precedents.

2. At an age when young men nowadays are only entering Cambridge Thomas Hoby had completed his studies there and started on that last stage of his education which was to qualify him for a diplomatic career, by travelling on the continent and acquiring the languages. At eighteen he had published a translation of a tractate by Martin Bucer (in whose house at Strassburg he for some time resided) against Stephen Gardiner. Judging by its fruits the system had something to commend it; but it can hardly be expected that the journal of a singularly discreet young gentleman hardly out of his teens should contain anything of passing interest for the world at large. Here and there we meet with names familiar in the history and literature of Europe, we are duly impressed with the omnipresence of the emperor Charles, we note that Hoby began his translation of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (on which his reputation rests) apparently in 1550; but we cannot say that we are sorry when, after an unadventurous career abroad, he settled down at Bisham and took to wife Elizabeth, the learned and stately daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, Essex. The pity is he did not live long

to enjoy his good fortune. He was knighted and appointed English ambassador at the French court in March 1566, and died four months later at Paris, aged 36. Mr. Powell has printed the sympathetic letter addressed by Queen Elizabeth to his widow, and has added biographical and other notes wherever it seemed necessary, besides doing his best to identify the places mentioned by Hoby in his itinerary.

3. The historical methods of the late Mr. Gardiner were such that, though he left no document that could throw light on his studies unsuspected, yet he never wandered very far away from the subject he had immediately in hand. His contributions to the Camden Society, for example, furnish a fair index of the progress of his great work, and the present relation of Prince Rupert's doings at Lisbon was evidently only discovered too late to furnish a note to p. 331 of the first volume of his *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*. The gist of the matter is there, and for the ordinary student that might have seemed sufficient; but Gardiner was not an ordinary student in this respect and could never rest till he had accumulated every atom of proof. In printing this document, therefore, the Royal Historical Society has only done what he would himself have wished done.

R. DUNLOP.

*London in the Time of the Stuarts.* By Sir WALTER BESANT. (London: Black. 1903.)

WITH whatever indulgence a reviewer may wish to treat a posthumously published piece of work, it is impossible conscientiously to praise this book. Neither the political nor the social history of London is adequately treated. The part played by the capital in the civil struggles of the seventeenth century is related in a very vague and confused fashion, so that the importance of the chief events is lost and the relation between local and national history completely obscured. Social history is better handled than political, but the facts are neither well arranged nor clearly stated. The best chapters are perhaps those dealing with the plague and the great fire. The chapters on 'Punishment and Crime,' 'Sports and Amusements,' 'Theatre and Art,' are very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Often long extracts from the author's notebook are pitchforked into the text in the most casual fashion. For instance, on p. 178 there are two pages of extracts from the 'Analytical Index' to *Remembrancia* on the office of 'chronologer' to the city and its different holders. On p. 125, in the account of the reign of William III, we are told, 'The following notes from the letters of Richard Laphorme to William Coffin cover the greater part of the reign,' and a number of brief notes follow, some too short to be intelligible and some with no reference to London. As a collection of materials for the history of the city and of social life in general the book would be useful to students but for the fact that proper references are hardly ever given. On pp. 183, 184, 341-4, long passages are quoted from a pamphlet published in the reign of Charles II as illustrating the government of London and the means of communication between the capital and the country. The name of the pamphlet is nowhere given. It is 'The Grand Concern of England Explained' which is reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, viii. 547. On pp. 242-3 a description of London by Sir William Davenant is

quoted, which is said to have been written two or three years before the great fire. No reference is given. The extract is from Davenant's 'First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House,' a sort of play which was acted in 1656 and contains a detailed comparison between Paris and London. References to Howell's *Letters*, the *Diaries* of Pepys and Evelyn, &c., are all made in the same unscholarly way, although in dealing with social history the date of the passages quoted as evidence is always a matter of importance. In addition to this there are numerous misprints of names, which show that the task of seeing the book through the press has been very carelessly performed. For instance, p. 69, for 'Heron' read 'Hewson;' p. 86, for 'Blackwell' read 'Backwell;' p. 323, for 'Lawn' read 'Lawes;' p. 330, for 'Josevin' read 'Jorevin;' p. 292, for 'Price' read 'Prior,' &c. It is very unfair to an author of Sir Walter Besant's repute to publish the work he left unfinished without having it edited by some competent scholar.

On the other hand, whatever the defects of the text may be, the illustrations are admirably reproduced, and in most cases well chosen. There are many views of places and representations of historical events of very great interest, derived from the Crace collection in the British Museum and from other sources. There is also a good reproduction of Ogilby's map of London. Students will find the book worth getting on account of these illustrations. Unluckily many of the illustrations are not properly described. For instance, in the chapter on 'Dress and Manners' there are a number of illustrations of female costume said to be from contemporary engravings by Hollar. The text accompanying them describes the fashions of the period following the Restoration. The figures are from Hollar's *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus*, which was published in 1640. The picture of Stafford's execution (p. 39), said to be 'from a contemporary Dutch print,' is by Hollar. That representing 'King Charles I thrown overboard' (p. 36) is not a contemporary satirical print, but forms the frontispiece to Nalson's *Historical Collections*, published in 1683. In all these cases the authorship, date, and source of the prints should have been exactly stated. C. H. FIRTH.

*Brieven van Nicolaes van Reigersberch aan Hugo de Groot.* Uitgegeven door Dr. H. C. ROGGE. (Amsterdam: Johannes Muller. 1901.)

THE vastness of the correspondence of Hugo de Groot, and the unusual completeness with which it has been preserved, are alike remarkable. Some 2,500 letters from his unwearied pen, addressed to the leading statesmen and *savants* of his time, as well as to his near relations and intimate friends, have at different times been published. The striking personality of the writer and the peculiar position that he filled at the court of Louis XII in the heyday of Richelieu's power, as at once an exiled Dutch patriot, the most distinguished scholar of his time, and ambassador of the queen of Sweden, cannot fail to give to such a collection of letters a more than ordinarily high value. They furnish a great mass of material bearing upon De Groot's own life and upon the history of the eventful period in which he played his part. The value of this correspondence has been considerably enhanced by two supplementary publications. The letters of his devoted wife, Maria van Reigersberch, were given to the

world in 1857 by Mr. H. Vollenhoven and Dr. G. D. J. Schotel as joint editors; and now Dr. H. C. Rogge has published the correspondence of Nicolaes van Reigersberch, brother of Maria, with his exiled brother-in-law. These last are not only worthy to take their place as a part of the great De Groot correspondence, but possess an exceptional interest of their own. The regular exchange of letters between Nicolaes and Hugo went on without a break for more than twenty-two years, and a very large part of this entire correspondence now rests, with the exception of a few pieces, in the libraries of the Remonstrant churches of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. An account of the various vicissitudes of the collection, before it found in these churches its final resting-place, is given by Dr. H. C. Rogge in his preface, to which the reader is referred. It contains more than 700 letters of De Groot and 296 of Reigersberch. For nine years Dr. Rogge worked with the late distinguished Professor R. Fruin in copying and annotating the letters, Dr. Rogge specially busying himself with the De Groot letters, Fruin with those of Reigersberch. After the death of his colleague Dr. Rogge proceeded with the task, and has, in the volume under review, making use of such materials as Fruin left behind, edited a complete edition of the letters of Nicolaes van Reigersberch. It was advisable, under any circumstances, to give the precedence in publication to this portion of the correspondence, because (1) it is smaller in bulk, (2) the Reigersberch letters are much more legibly written and in much better preservation than those of De Groot, (3) they contain, according to the editor, matter on the whole of greater interest for the history of the United Provinces.

It will, however, be apparent how valuable the entire correspondence must be from the fact that the stadtholder, Frederick Henry, was privy to it, and that he looked to the letters from France for information upon the general situation of European politics. 'To a certain extent,' says Dr. Rogge, 'De Groot may be regarded as filling the post of the prince's private ambassador at the court of Louis XIII.' Almost weekly came letters from the exile to his brother-in-law at the Hague, and with equal regularity replies were despatched to Paris. The style of Reigersberch is unpretentious and broken, for the letters were often written in great haste. They are, however, full of details as to all that was occurring in Holland, both as regards persons and parties and the operations of war and of commerce. They do not actually reveal much that is otherwise unknown, but they form a most valuable commentary on the course of current events from an observant and capable critic, who had the advantage of frequent confidential intercourse with the stadtholder, whose hands held all the threads of policy and practically the entire executive power of the state.

One of the chief difficulties in making use of this correspondence for historical purposes lies in the interpretation of the cipher under which the names of the leading personages are concealed. There is no key to this cipher extant, and moreover it was completely changed at least twice, in 1627 and 1637. The context has in many cases given the clue, but in a very large number of instances the interpretation is either purely conjectural or impossible. In footnotes and in the index the learned editor has given all the assistance in his power, but the difficulties of the

task are apparent when we find Frans van Aersens under the various disguises of *Aurelianus*, *Cretensis*, *Huningus*, *Philotas*, *Spartacus*, *Uffo*, and possibly several others.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

*Studies in Irish History, 1649-1775.* Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Irish Literary Society of London. With an Introduction by R. BARRY O'BRIEN. (Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1902.)

THE Irish Literary Society organises lectures on the study of Irish history, and has also established a class for the systematic study of that subject. Four of the six papers printed in this volume represent the work of that class, and represent it very creditably. In Mr. Gwynn's paper on Sarsfield he summarises Dr. Todhunter's Life of that officer, published in 1895, supplementing it from Lauzun's despatches printed by Ranke, and by some notes from the Calendar of Domestic State Papers for the reign of William III. Mr. Philip Wilson contributes essays on the reign of Charles II and the administration of Tyrconnell, and Miss A. E. Murray summarises the condition of Ireland during the period which followed the treaty of Limerick. Mr. Wilson's work shows considerable research in the pamphlet literature of the period, while Miss Murray illustrates her subject by extracts from the hitherto unpublished manuscripts of Archbishop King in Trinity College Library. Some sources which might have been used with advantage are neglected. Mr. Wilson appears to make no use either of the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, or of Prendergast's Report on the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library, or of his *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution*. Camille Rousset's *Louvois* and the memoirs of Dumont de Bostaquet both contain much information of value as to the campaigns which ended in the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim. The history of Ireland from 1660 to 1692 deserves and requires detailed treatment, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Wilson will be encouraged to continue his researches upon the period and to write a history of it upon a larger scale. The Calendars of the Ormonde MSS., now in course of publication, and the Carte papers in the Bodleian Library supply ample material, and there is no adequate account of that part of Irish history in existence.

While the papers written by Mr. Gwynn, Mr. Wilson, and Miss Murray are scholarly in treatment and unexceptionable in tone, those contributed to the volume by two other writers cannot be given this praise. Mr. Mangan's paper on the sieges of Derry and Limerick is written in a dashing popular style, but shows no sign of original work, and is a clever magazine article rather than a serious contribution to Irish history. Sir William Butler's paper on 'Cromwell in Ireland' is a mixture of passion and prejudice, enlivened by historical blunders, which tends to discredit the collection to which it has been very unwisely prefixed.

C. H. FIRTH.

*After Worcester Fight.* By ALLAN FEA. (London: John Lane. 1904.)

THIS is a reprint of five contemporary narratives of the escape of Charles II after the battle of Worcester, and forms a supplement to

Mr. Fea's *The Flight of the King*, issued by the same publisher in 1897. These tracts were reprinted and edited by Mr. Thomas Hughes in 1830, and again in 1857, under the title of *The Boscobel Tracts*. Mr. Fea has, however, judiciously omitted the long extract from Clarendon's *History*, and the letter of a prisoner at Chester, which Mr. Hughes inserted. The editorial work is well done: the texts printed have been collated, useful and not too lengthy notes have been added, and there is an excellent index. As in Mr. Fea's other books the illustrations and portraits are well selected and well produced. He is a little uncritical and treats anything represented as a relic of Charles II with a superstitious veneration which is a trifle absurd; e.g., 'There is also in existence a portion of Jane Lane's hat, but of this I am not at liberty to state particulars.' The number of gloves, stockings, handkerchiefs, &c., which the careless monarch left behind him during his progress, is surprising. Much more interesting are the particulars about the rewards given to different persons who assisted in the king's escape, of which a detailed account is given in a special preface (pp. xxiv-xxxix). An appendix contains a very full pedigree of the family of Charles, and others of the Tomes and Henchman families.

The literature relating to the wanderings of Charles II is so large that some things have escaped even the exhaustive researches of Mr. Fea. David Lloyd's *Eikon Basilike; or, the Pourtraicture of His Sacred Majesty Charles II*, 1660, contains an account of the early part of the king's concealment, which is interesting from its ingenious pedantry. In the same year William Winstanley published *England's Triumph; or, a More Exact History of His Majesty's Escape after the Battle of Worcester*. Both these are based on 'A True Narrative and Relation of His Majesty's Miraculous Escape,' which is the first of the narratives printed in *The Flight of the King*. Mr. Fea has also omitted to mention the curious ballads which familiarised the populace with the king's adventures. Four of them survive, and are reprinted by Mr. Ebsworth, viz. 'The Last News from France,' 'The Royal Patient Traveller,' 'The Royal Oak,' and 'The Wonderful and Miraculous Escape of our Gracious King' (*Roxburghe Ballads*, vii. 635, 639; ix. lxxv, lxxvii). There is also a play, *The Royalist*, by Thomas Durfey, printed in 1682, of which the first scene is laid in the field containing the royal oak at Boscobel. 'Because it is a tree of honour,' say the peasants, 'our brave and loyal landlord, Sir Charles, has paled it in; and ordered us to come three times a week, and kneeling at the foot of the royal oak to drink the king's health.' Presently Sir Charles himself appears, and delivers an address to the 'tall and spreading monarch of the plain,' which once concealed 'the precious soul of three great kingdoms.' There is also an epigram on the tree and a figurative representation of it in *Flosculum Poeticum: Poems Divine and Humane*, by P. K. (i.e. Peter or Patrick Ker), 1684.

Mr. Fea speaks as if Colonel Legge was at Worcester, and was taken prisoner after the battle, saying that he 'gained his freedom by the ingenuity of his wife, with whom he exchanged dresses in Coventry gaol' (p. liv). The evidence given in the article on William Legge in the *Dictionary of National Biography* proves that he was a prisoner at Exeter before the battle, and was not released till after it.

*Le Protestantisme à Tournai pendant le XVIII<sup>me</sup> Siècle.* Etude d'Histoire Politique et Religieuse. Par E. HUBERT. (Brussels: Lebègue. 1903.)

PROFESSOR HUBERT'S most recent monograph is, like previous researches by the same historian published under the authority of the Belgian Academy, a model of its class, and this although M. Hubert's narrative, which confines itself on the present occasion to very restricted limits, has certain gaps, which (as in the case of Choiseul's out-of-date intervention in 1768) are indicated with perfect frankness, and although at the end the piteous tale, notwithstanding its ample documentary apparatus, all but dies out into nothingness. Not all the sections in that history of toleration which still remains an unwritten book will be found to end on the note of progress. The particular case of Tournai and its protestantism illustrates, in addition, the advantage of doing one good thing at a time; for, in this instance, the abolition of the system of barrier towns hopelessly clashed with the anticipated effects of the almost contemporary edict of toleration. Towards the close of 1781, in the course of which year Joseph II had issued this edict, which, all objections to his want of circumspection notwithstanding, confers undying honour upon his name, the Tournaisis estates addressed to him a formal remonstrance on their own account. While acknowledging that he performed his own religious duties after an edifying fashion, and disavowing any suspicion of his being animated by intentions hostile to the church, and while even magnanimously conceding that the principle of toleration might be advantageously applied elsewhere, they insisted on the harmfulness of its adoption in the Austrian Netherlands. Their protest proved unnecessary; for early in the following year the barrier system came to an end—as sooner or later it could not fail to do—and, after a struggle for existence which lasted some three or four years further, the day of overt protestantism was likewise over in Tournai, though 'the religion' still led a precarious existence in the neighbouring village of Rongy.

The present investigation of Professor Hubert, who has previously treated the wider theme of the fortunes of Belgian protestantism from Charles V to Joseph II, is limited to the eighteenth century; and he merely glances at the notable vicissitudes which the religious condition of Tournai and its district had undergone in the sixteenth. In 1561 the numbers of the protestant (mainly Calvinist) inhabitants of the city had equalled, if not exceeded, those of the catholic, and the bishop had thought it prudent to shift his residence. But the capture of Tournai by Alexander Farnese—four years before the catastrophe of Antwerp—had extinguished all avowed heresy there, though the survival of a few obscure remnants is suggested by the insistence of Louis XIV, when the city fell into his hands early in the war of devolution, that there should be no liberty of conscience in Tournai or the Tournaisis. Thus, when the second chapter of their experiences of protestantism opened in the war of the Spanish succession, they were, to all intents and purposes, written upon *tabula rasa*. And thus it came to pass that the protestantism of Tournai during the eighteenth century was essentially confined to the Dutch garrisons of the town and to their connexions, to the poor who depended on their alms, and to the foreigners—chiefly, of course, Frenchmen—who frequented the protestant places of worship as visitors or for the

purpose of instruction. In 1706 English and Dutch troops were quartered in the neighbourhood, and three years later citadel and city had to surrender to the allies. During the remainder of the war the territorial law which excluded all forms of religion but the catholic was freely violated by the *de facto* government; for not only were certain public buildings assigned to the troops in occupation for protestant worship, but it might be attended by every one who chose. A protestant community established itself a few miles off at Rongy; strangers came from different parts of the archiepiscopal province of Cambrai to share in the devotions of the new 'temples;' and cases of apostasy occurred. 'If "the plague of the garrisons" is not soon removed,' exclaimed Fénelon, 'there is an end of the catholic religion in the Low Countries.'

Peace, however, was far from restoring the condition of things before the war. The barrier treaty, devised as one of the guarantees of that peace, declared Tournai one of the barrier towns; and the city was thus obliged not only to admit a permanent protestant garrison and allow it to exercise protestant worship, but to contribute towards the maintenance thereof. The barrier towns were accepted as members of the Walloon synod of the United Provinces; and there can be no doubt that, by means of the religious ministers attached to the garrison, of the marriages of soldiers celebrated by them, and of the opportunities furnished for attracting natives and strangers to regular centres of worship, a propaganda had been set on foot which defied the established and confirmed law of the land. Such was the situation expounded in the *Memorandum on the Progress of Heresy in the Diocese of Tournai* since the year 1706, drawn up by the bishop, Count Francis Ernest of Salm-Reifferscheid, in 1733, which was pointed by a reference to the threat of the commander of the Dutch garrison that the catholics of Holland would have to expiate any proceedings taken against the reformed of Tournai. The bishop was practically disavowed by the Austrian government, but not without having produced an impression in his diocese, and his brother of Ypres obtained a papal declaration limiting the validity of marriages with heretics in the barrier towns to persons belonging to the garrisons. But the general tendency of things to which he had taken objection continued; and about a generation later, in the test case of the widow Ramspeck, an 'apostate' from catholicism, the Tournai magistracy referred to the government the question whether an apostate native could dispose of property by will. The Dutch government, in the interest of the legatees, intervened; and the Austrian, after taking legal opinion, decided in favour of the widow's right; whereupon the empress Maria Theresia—it may be imagined with how little personal alacrity—issued a formal decree accordingly. On the other hand the governor-general (Prince Charles of Lorraine) was hard pressed by the French ministry as to the facilities afforded at Tournai to French heretics desirous of religious instruction or of admission to the sacrament, and more especially as to the intermarriage of members of the Dutch garrison with Frenchwomen 'and no questions asked.' As already noted, the final result of this intervention is unknown; and there is every indication that in the last years of the empress Maria Theresia protestantism continued to spread at Tournai, and that its progress was left unmolested there.



A year after her death Joseph II put forth his edict of tolerance, which was accepted by the Tournai council and with the mildest of caveats by the bishop. But the estates at once adopted an attitude of resistance, and openly controverted not only the action of the emperor, but his supposed motive—to wit, the desirability of attracting a larger body of population into the district. ‘The population,’ they say, ‘is quite dense enough; agriculture and commerce flourish, and stand in no need of foreign auxiliaries.’ More to the point really was the argument of the *procureur général*, de Bettignies, who, though a fervent catholic, was in favour of the demand of the Tournai protestants to be allowed to build a *temple*, and to maintain a minister for its service, at their own expense—that without some such guarantee of a policy of toleration the community would never accustom itself to the conception of it. The accuracy of this judgment was proved by what ensued. The demand of the Tournai nonconformists was refused; nor was permission even granted to them to build a place of worship on the land which had formerly served as the graveyard of the Dutch garrison, or to hold their services in a small house acquired by them in a poor part of the city. With the departure of the Dutch garrisons from the barrier towns early in 1782 the survival of protestantism in Tournai had, with or without the Josephine edict, become an impossibility. In this year the disappearance of the reformed church at Tournai was notified to the synod at Middelburg, and in 1785 the last protestant minister quitted the city. In the rural obscurity of Rongy the reformed community, which in 1787 numbered forty families, lingered on amidst many difficulties, and at the time of the troubles of 1789 in the deepest secesy; and, in the first year of the nineteenth century, when a visit was paid to it by its pastor, François, who died in 1802, it was still in existence, and even slightly increasing in numbers. It appears to have survived, in one way or another, to the present day.

A. W. WARD.

*The American Revolution.* By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart. Part II. In two volumes. (London: Longmans. 1903.)

IN July 1897 I reviewed the first part of this book in the *English Historical Review*. The present instalment of Sir George Trevelyan’s work only confirms me in the opinion which I then formed and expressed.

There are two important aspects of the matter which Sir George Trevelyan wholly overlooks. There was, as has been clearly pointed out by Mr. Lecky, and as is fully acknowledged by the biographer of Samuel Adams . . . a section of the American patriots, headed by Adams, who were fully determined to thwart any attempt at conciliation. That section was not numerous, but it was able, influential, well organised, and unscrupulous. Those who belonged to it clearly showed that it was their policy to stimulate and intensify every germ of disaffection, to press to the very utmost every ground of dispute. It may be that the blundering tyranny of the king, the subservience of ministers, the ignorance and corruption of parliament would have brought about disruption in any case, and would have driven moderate men among the colonists into

the ranks of the revolutionary party ; but it is certain that those who, like Dartmouth and North, were anxious for a compromise which should not be a surrender were throughout thwarted by the action of the extreme party among the colonists.

Again, Sir George Trevelyan does not seem to perceive how largely the trouble was due not to the incapacity or misconduct of individuals, but to defects in our parliamentary system. It is impossible to read the various debates on the great colonial questions, such as the Stamp Act and the Declaration Act, and not see how in such a crisis the party system is beset with dangers. Harmless proposals and necessary criticisms become inevitably tainted with suspicion when delivered by men whose avowed position is that of advocates. It is painful to think how different might have been the result if questions of colonial administration had come, as they would at the present day have, before a competent and responsible department, detached from party influences, largely governed by official tradition, and informed by the knowledge and intelligence of trained experts. That, however, is a view to which Sir George Trevelyan, trained in the party system and steeped in reverence for parliamentary government, could hardly do justice. And with that side of his work before us one is tempted to ask, Can a strong party politician write the history of a period in which party issues meet him at every turn? The practical exigencies of politics leave no place for those nicely balanced judgments, or for that thoughtful and discriminating analysis of actions and motives, which are the first duty of the historian. It is not in human nature suddenly to discard mental habits which it has been a duty to cultivate and develop.

At the very outset of the present volume there is a passage which I think goes far to confirm the views above expressed :

A curious tribute to their point of view has been paid of late years by ingenious writers in the United States, who have raised a protest against the spirit and the style in which the story of their Revolution has too often been told. Under the impulse of a wholesome reaction against the inflated panegyric and overloaded denunciation which in past days have formed the stock in trade of too many American chroniclers they especially insist on bringing to a test the estimation in which the heroes of that Revolution have been popularly held. The biographies of those heroes, it is contended, were to a large degree legends ; the best of them were human, and the worst very bad indeed ; and from these premises the conclusion has been deduced that George III and his cabinet could not have been so greatly in the wrong. Samuel Adams, we are told, showed himself unscrupulous as to the means which he employed in the pursuit of public ends ; John Adams was vain and sensitive ; Arthur Lee, when an envoy from congress in Paris, insinuated that his colleague Silas Deane was a rascal, and Deane openly said the same of Lee, while Franklin distrusted and disliked them both ; the merchants of Boston were smugglers, the mob was ruffianly, and throughout New England no serious efforts were made by the more respectable citizens to exact retribution for violence and cruelty committed against partisans of the crown. All this may be valuable history. It may all be worth telling. It is quite in place as an explanation of the sentiments excited in the British parliament by the transactions in America, but as an argument for or against the wisdom of British policy it is of no account at all (i. 18).

Surely the questions with which Sir George Trevelyan and his readers are primarily concerned are the very questions which he rather contemptuously thrusts into the background. If this is valuable history, 'if it is

worth telling,' why criticise the telling of it as 'a curious tribute' to some view? Does Sir George Trevelyan think that the primary business of historians is to supply political partisans with ready-made arguments, or that a writer of history must be always looking round the corner to see what use may be possibly made of his statements?

A passage which immediately follows seems to me to show how Sir George Trevelyan has overlooked the most essential features of his subject.

The question (he says) to be determined at successive points of the American controversy was in every case a clear and simple issue. Whether Boston should be subjected to a military occupation; whether the tea duty was to be retained or removed; whether the Port Bill was to be passed and the charter of Massachusetts broken; whether the petitions and remonstrances from the congress were to be respectfully considered or contemptuously thrown aside—were problems demanding nothing beyond good sense and good feeling for their right solution (i. 21).

I venture to think that a good deal more was needed. One thing at least was needed—local knowledge, knowledge of the currents of American thought and of the character and influence of individual men. Nor can it be fairly claimed for the opposition that in this matter they were greatly superior to the ministry. Chatham no doubt brought to bear on the problem an imaginative insight into the wants and aspirations of the colonists, as Burke brought to bear a clear conception of general principles of government, which had no parallel among their opponents. Yet, taking the parliamentary debates as a whole, we cannot but feel that the opposition contributed little towards an effective solution of the question. Government and parliament were alike moving in a mist, and we may not forget, though Sir George Trevelyan does, that the mist was largely the creation of the colonists themselves. As I pointed out in my previous review, it is a sheer delusion to speak of the colonists as men goaded into revolt and straining to the utmost and to the last to remain loyal. Sir George Trevelyan quotes the words of congress, officially delivered in 1774. 'You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independence. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies.' Samuel Adams was not an irresponsible free lance, but the recognised and authoritative leader of a party in Massachusetts. In September 1773 Samuel Adams openly advocated in the *Boston Gazette* the formation of 'an independent state, an American commonwealth.' Sir George Trevelyan says that 'before blood had been shed and towns burned and half a score of petitions thrown into the royal waste-paper basket colonists of every shade in politics had scouted as a libel the charge that they aimed at separation from the mother country.' Has he forgotten that in the autumn of 1774, before a single town had been burned, a body of Massachusetts citizens met at Suffolk and passed resolutions, drafted by that irresponsible firebrand James Warren, declaring their intentions of resisting the obnoxious acts of parliament by force and of retaliating upon those officials who tried to execute the law? Has he forgotten, what is even more important, that congress, while it was uttering professions of loyalty, had formally approved these resolutions? It is difficult to think that Sir George Trevelyan has overlooked such an

incident ; it is perhaps even more difficult to understand how, if he knows it, he can reconcile it with the views which he expresses.

Sir George Trevelyan endeavours to strengthen his case by calling as an independent witness to colonial loyalty Thomas Paine. It would be difficult to overrate Paine's force, dexterity, and effectiveness as a political controversialist. But those who know Paine as revealed even in his own writings, apart from external report, will think twice before they accept him as a witness to character. 'I found,' he says, 'the disposition of the people such that they might have been led by a thread and governed by a reed.' One is reminded of a passage in the early life of Mr. Midshipman Easy. "What a dear, good, obedient child it is!" exclaimed Mrs. Easy ; "you may lead him by a thread." "Yes, to pick cherries," thought Dr. Middleton.'

Sir George Trevelyan very rightly calls attention to an aspect of the dispute between the colonies and the mother country which has hardly received due notice from previous writers, the effect which the proposal for an episcopate had in alarming and embittering the colonists. Sir George's treatment of the subject is fair and temperate. Yet he hardly sees how largely the errors of those responsible for the ecclesiastical policy of the mother country were due to ignorance of the wide diversity of needs and conditions in different colonies. And certainly a fuller knowledge of colonial history would, I think, have saved him from one error. He says : 'As early as 1691 the full right of citizenship and the free exercise of public worship had been (in Massachusetts) extended to all Christians, with the exception of Roman Catholics' (ii. 310). This is stated as though it was a mark of toleration on the part of the citizens of Massachusetts, and is contrasted with the bigoted attitude of the church of England towards nonconformists. As a matter of fact this relief was not granted by legislation, but by the royal charter of William and Mary, a charter regarded by the most influential and representative citizens of Massachusetts, with great disfavour. Again, Sir George appears to me to be confounding the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when he says : 'Not John Lilburn or Baillie of Kilwinning had a stronger and more present faith in the personal government of the universe than that which in the year 1776 animated the congregations of America' (i. 234). That is only true even approximately of New England, and New England was but a section, though, no doubt, in the crisis of revolution the most strenuous and influential section, of British America. And even of New England it is a statement which needs a good deal of qualification. It is a sentiment of which we see no trace in the writings of such a typical New-Englander as John Adams, and which would have seemed as strange to Franklin as to any of the French wits and philosophers with whom he associated.

When he has to deal with action Sir George Trevelyan is always animated, and his description of the battle of Long Island is no exception. Yet he seems to me to have rather missed the main military lessons of the story. It would be hard to defend the statement that 'nothing could be better planned than Washington's scheme of battle.' The central conception of that scheme was to hold a line over eight miles long with less than twelve thousand raw troops. Sir George Trevelyan says but

little of the general character of the ground. The clearing of woods, the lowering of hills, and the filling in of hollows have materially altered it. Yet this at least can be seen at a glance, that the advance of the British had to be made over ground where communication was easy, while the constituent parts of the defending force were by comparison isolated. To take up such a defensive position could only be justifiable when a commander possessed a marked superiority both in numbers and fighting power. Again, Sir George does not seem to perceive the extent to which he has himself condemned the strategy of Washington. The wind prevented the British fleet from co-operating with Howe's land force, entering the strait which separates Long Island from New York, and cutting off the American retreat. As Sir George puts it, 'when once the wind changed and the leading British frigates had passed within Governor Island and taken Brooklyn in the rear, the independence of the United States would have been indefinitely postponed.' In securing the retreat of his beaten and demoralised army Washington was, no doubt, greatly aided by the culpable supineness of Howe and the opportune intervention of a fog. Still after these deductions we may fairly say that the retreat brought out Washington's best qualities, his mixture of impetuosity and patience, his power of controlling and guiding men, his *mens aequa in arduis*. Yet we must not forget that he was only saving his country from a danger of his own creation, and that he had staked her fortunes on an almost desperate hazard.

One can hardly blame an historian of the War of Independence if, surveying Washington's career and character as a whole, he deals somewhat leniently with special phases of them. The tenderness with which Sir George Trevelyan treats Howe is, I venture to think, much less deserved. Once at least was the whole of Washington's army absolutely at Howe's mercy. If he had postponed his attack till his ships were ready to co-operate, nothing could have saved Washington. There was no need for haste on Howe's part. The situation was not unlike that at York Town, with this all-important difference, that there was no possibility of naval co-operation to help the beleaguered force. The one thing which could have justified Howe's precipitate attack would have been a strenuous following up of his advantage. On the battle of Haarlem Sir George Trevelyan comments :

Not one of the retreating battalions would ever have reached the American lines in military order and with half its full numbers if Howe had promptly thrust his troops across the peninsula. When all allowance has been made for exaggeration the semi-mythical narratives of that Sunday morning and afternoon have their value, as embodying the indelible impression left on the public mind by Howe's untimely inactivity.

Yet in his second volume Sir George says : 'This month of December' (that of the Trenton campaign) 'ruined once and for ever Howe's repute as a strategist.' Long Island and Haarlem had not, even on Sir George's own showing, left much to ruin. No doubt Howe was by temper inert, and although personally brave yet, as other brave generals have been, too cautious of the lives of his soldiers. Still it is difficult, when one reads the history of the war as a whole, not to think that Howe was

hampered by his political convictions and by his dread of a crushing success. Perhaps the best justification for the risks which Washington ran at Long Island, and at a later day at Germantown, was his reliance on the forbearance of his opponent. One of the least creditable incidents in Howe's career, the demoralisation of his troops during their stay in Philadelphia, is glossed over by Sir George Trevelyan with airy geniality. 'Howe,' he says, 'might love ease and pleasure, but he was no selfish voluptuary, and he liked to see others comfortable and happy about him.' Whether that is inconsistent with the character of a selfish voluptuary is a question for the moralist rather than the historian. It is at least certain that Howe was a deplorably bad disciplinarian. Sir George Trevelyan has read Stedman's history. Has he forgotten the writer's lamentations over the demoralisation of our officers during their winter in Philadelphia, the havoc wrought alike in character and in fortune by the seductions of the faro table?

I had occasion in my former review to criticise Sir George Trevelyan's strange deficiency in sense of proportion, the manner in which important incidents are hurried over and unimportant episodes elaborated. There is an astonishing instance of this in the account of the unsuccessful invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold. Just six lines are devoted to the unsuccessful attack on Quebec, in which Montgomery was killed and Arnold seriously wounded, and which in all likelihood determined the fate of Canada. Nearly three pages are allotted to describing the journey of Franklin and John Adams from Philadelphia to Amboy, where they went to confer with Lord Howe. Of this space about a fifth is taken up with describing how Franklin and Adams disputed whether their bedroom window should be shut or open. Nor are we spared a single detail in the menu of the lunch which Lord Howe prepared for the American envoys—'good bread, good claret, cold ham, tongues, and mutton.' Indeed Sir George Trevelyan's passion for culinary details is worthy of an American novelist of domestic life. The habits of the Westchester settlers are but a minor matter in a history of the War of Independence. Nevertheless we are told with a conscientious regard to detail that 'at Christmas the stupendous brick ovens were filled three times a day—first with generous loaves of wheat and rye, then with chicken, quail, and venison pasties, and lastly with long rows of fruit and mince pies.'

Sir George Trevelyan's study of authorities is undoubtedly extensive, and yet it seems to me to be somewhat incomplete. There is very little material bearing on the biographical aspect of his work, especially on the side of English biography, that he has not studied. On the other hand he appears to have entirely missed one or two recent and valuable contributions to the history of the war. He would have dealt more fully and more effectively with the invasion of Canada if he had read Mr. Codman's monograph on that subject, with its invaluable appendix of diaries. Sir George has also missed a real mine of information in the diary of Ezra Stiles, published in 1901. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, was a man of extraordinary mental activity and quickness of observation, combined with soundness of judgment and a clear sense of what was and what was not worth recording. His record from day to day of military affairs, as the news of them reached him, is of no little value,

and is, for the work of a civilian, surprisingly lucid and thoughtful. The book is even more important as a record of what intelligent New-Englanders were saying and doing during the years of strife. Sir George Trevelyan deals severely, though not a whit too severely, with the character of that discreditable adventurer Charles Lee. He was one of those who talk the commonplace jargon of revolutionists, without any sort of that underlying conviction which gives stability of purpose and makes egotism impossible. Though, as I have said, Sir George Trevelyan appraises Lee at his real value, yet he seems to be ignorant of far the worst feature in his whole career. In 1860 Mr. Moore published a pamphlet entitled *The Treason of Charles Lee*. In this he reproduced a document, which he attributed, apparently on good grounds, to Lee, in which he, while still in the American service, was giving the English government advice as to the best method of carrying out their campaign. There is at times a rather provoking indefiniteness about Sir George Trevelyan's references to authorities. He refers, for example, to an article by Mr. Charles Francis Adams the younger on the battle of Long Island; but he omits to tell his readers where the article is to be found, and thereby give them an opportunity of studying it for themselves. This is all the more to be regretted since even the exhaustive bibliography of American history compiled by Mr. Larned contains no reference to the article, and any historical work from Mr. Adams's pen deserves attention.

Sir George Trevelyan takes exception, why I do not understand, to 'tories' in England who held certain opinions about Arthur Lee—'a Virginian, so they described him.' Why should they describe him as anything else? It is true that he was educated at Eton and spent much of his early life in England, but that does not destroy his nationality.

J. A. DOYLE.

*La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. 1747-1827.* Par FERDINAND DREYFUS.  
(Paris: Plon. 1903.)

THE duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, it is to be feared, is only known to the general reader by his famous conversation with Louis XVI, when he announced the fall of the Bastille. When the king exclaimed, *C'est une grande révolte*, his reply, *Non, sire, c'est une grande révolution*, is a mark of that clear-sightedness which has made historians admire him as one of the noblest and most enlightened members of the old nobility of France at the time of the Revolution. Indeed, the vicissitudes of his career show the fixity of his principles. After keeping at a distance from the court during the lifetime of Louis XV he became, as a reformer, the personal friend of Louis XVI, for whom he sacrificed no small part of his fortune. After 10 Aug. 1792 he fled to England, and stayed near his friend Arthur Young. Like many other *émigrés* he subsequently visited America, and returned to France after the accession of Bonaparte to power. Under the empire he lived in retirement, and his rank was only grudgingly and partially recognised by the emperor. At the restoration he recovered his position as hereditary grand master of the wardrobe, but with the Bourbons his liberalism soon outweighed any sense of gratitude for past services, and

he was disgraced. M. Dreyfus has, therefore, an interesting character to study, and though we miss that brightness of style which is to be anticipated on opening a French biography, he has brought together and judiciously used a large mass of material. M. Dreyfus devotes a great portion of his book to the philanthropic part of the duke's work, and there is no doubt that his schemes of poor relief and his encouragement of local industries on his estates are the most prominent side of his career. But his political life is no less important. He was one of the few members of the court who were willing to be members of the states-general, and during the early disputes between the orders he was to be found among the liberal minority, voting for reunion with the *tiers état*. After the assembly set to work he served on the *comité de mendicité*, and there is an instructive chapter in M. Dreyfus's book on the attempts at poor-law reform under the national assemblies and their relation to the modern system of poor relief. On the dissolution of the constituent assembly Liancourt retired to Rouen, where he took command of the national guard and spent large sums of money in preparation for an escape of the king from Paris. The whole 'Rouen scheme' depended on the loyalty of the people of Rouen, and its flimsiness may be judged from the fact that after the news of the disaster of 10 Aug. reached Rouen, Liancourt made a deliberate attempt to obtain a declaration in the king's favour. In spite of all his preparations, and in spite of the obedience of the troops to his command, the attitude of the populace was so threatening that Liancourt had to flee the country at the earliest opportunity. The Rouen scheme was the only project, short of leaving the kingdom altogether, which in 1792 gave any promise of saving the king's life, and regrets at the inaction of the king, which are excited by the perusal of such memoirs as Moleville's, must be tempered by the recollection that the success of the project was less than problematical, and was in all probability unattainable.

L. G. WICKHAM LEGG.

*Quellen zur Geschichte der Kriege von 1799 und 1800.* Aus der Sammlungen des K. und K. Kriegsarchivs, des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs, und des Archivs des Erzherzogs Albrechts in Wien. Herausgegeben von HERMANN HÜFFER. II. 2. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1901.)

THE work which is completed by the appearance of this volume is one which students of the Napoleonic wars will find almost indispensable. It contains some most valuable materials, hitherto unpublished, from the Austrian archives. The earlier part of the volume under review was published separately, and contained five narratives of the Italian campaign of 1800, which are illustrated by the documents in this part of the work. These documents include the correspondence of Melas with the authorities at Vienna, with Lord Keith, the English admiral with whom he was co-operating, and with his principal subordinates. Like the five narratives to which they serve as *pièces justificatives*, these documents have for the most part never been published before, and are of the greatest interest and importance. That Masséna's obstinate and protracted defence of Genoa was the foundation of Napoleon's success in the



Marengo campaign is a commonplace; what is now made clear is that Moreau's success in driving Kray back from the Black Forest to the Lech contributed hardly less to the discomfiture of the Austrians in Italy.

The close connexion of the operations in Italy with those in Germany is brought out clearly in the interesting letter in which Melas, wise after the event, explains to the archduke Charles the course of the campaign and the causes of his misfortunes (pp. 334-6). He was really aware of the impending attack from over the St. Bernard a good deal sooner than is generally represented,<sup>1</sup> and he was taking measures to parry the blow of the Reserve Army from Dijon when, as his letters of 1 and 3 June to Tige show, his plans were completely upset by the appearance of the French divisions from Germany, which had crossed the St. Gotthard and Simplon and were descending on Milan. It is not, perhaps, Melas who should be chiefly held responsible for the miscarriage of the campaign. A letter which Herr Hüffer attributes to Radetzky ascribes the blame to the negligence and carelessness of Zach, the chief of the staff, a protégé of Thugut. That Melas had no option but to conclude the convention of 15 June after Marengo is obvious. The fortresses of Piedmont were altogether unfit to stand a siege; there was an absolute dearth of provisions or stores, defects 'partly due to the War Council,' but even more to T[hugut] and his pet Z[ach]' (p. 355). But it is also clear that the British ministry cannot escape a share in the guilt. Through indecision and unreadiness they missed a splendid chance. Had the not inconsiderable British force frittered away in fruitless expeditions during the year 1800 been concentrated at Minorca by the end of March, as it might well have been, it might have been landed in Masséna's rear, or on his line of communications, at the moment that Melas assailed him in front; and if that had been done, and Abercromby been in command, it is hardly likely that Masséna could have held out at Genoa for four weeks after Napoleon left Paris for the St. Bernard.

For the Hohenlinden campaign the materials given in this volume are equally valuable. An excellent summary of the campaign is given, and a rough but useful map. The folly of placing the eighteen-year-old Archduke John at the head of the Austrian army was only surpassed by the rashness of the unjustifiable advance against Moreau, which he undertook at the advice of his strategical tutor, General Lauer, and the documents here published only serve to expose the fatuous character of these steps.

C. T. ATKINSON.

*Madame de Staël et Napoléon.* Par PAUL GAUTIER. (Paris: Plon. 1903.)

A STUDY of the relations between a great ruler and one of the chief writers of his age always presents matters of interest. In his dealings with literature and public opinion we see him on another side of his nature than that which figures in ordinary histories. Such a study is especially interesting when it deals with characters so active, energetic, and highly strung as Napoleon and Madame de Staël. With all her defects

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his letters of 8 May to Keith, and 18 May to the Hofkriegsrat.

she was a bright, inspiring, and commanding personality ; best of all, she had, under all the superficial inconsistencies of her nature, that fundamental tenacity which enabled her to keep inviolate her attachment to political liberty and her belief in the high destinies of mankind, even when the great mass of Frenchmen despaired of attaining the former and showed a cynical disbelief in the latter. The woman who retained her freshness of thought and belief in an age of disenchantment deserves respectful and even sympathetic treatment ; and herein lies, as it seems to me, the fundamental defect of M. Gautier's otherwise able work. While he gives careful attention—the most careful that has yet appeared—to all the details of the guerilla warfare that went on so long between these two great natures he nowhere presents a sufficiently complete analysis of the fundamental causes of difference between them. These causes are hinted at several times, notably in chapter v., where the author deals with Madame de Staël's work *De la Littérature* (1800). There the central psychological and ethical problem that underlay all the *frondeur* manifestations is faced ; but it is not seriously grasped, much less solved. M. Gautier comes near to that problem in these words :—

Exploiter ce qu'elle nomme la 'dégradation actuelle,' abaisser les caractères dans l'état social, en faire un principe de gouvernement et de politique, voilà ce qui sera le grand, l'éternel grief de Madame de Staël contre Napoléon. Et ce grief, il est déjà en germe dans le livre *De la Littérature* : cet homme se propose d'avilir l'humanité. Cela est très exagéré sans doute, mais ce n'est qu'exagéré ; et dans toute exagération il y a une part de vérité (p. 55).

The statement of this question naturally leads the reader to expect some attempt at solution. But how vague and commonplace is the conclusion !

In all that pertains to the ordinary details of the long struggle M. Gautier's work is admirable. The facts are correctly set forth and are illustrated at times by apt quotations from Madame de Staël's works. The reader would, however, probably prefer more of these and fewer of the merely 'police' details. These are, as a rule, petty enough, and they show Napoleon on what was undoubtedly the least generous and weakest side of his nature—his hardness towards women and his insistence on the supervision of all matters of police directed against those who differed from him politically. Occasionally there is an element of humour in the situation, as when in May 1807 Napoleon charges Fouché to keep a close watch on Madame de Staël, and then lets him know that his (the emperor's) information about her is closer and more accurate than that of his (Fouché's) spies. But one tires of these details when they are spread over several chapters, and one begins to feel that they show Napoleon to be in many ways the inferior of the woman of genius whom he harassed.

M. Gautier's work cannot be said to be unprejudiced. The author's quizzing of Madame de Staël's foibles (including her occasionally furious scenes with 'Benjamin') is unexceptionable ; but we miss that appreciation of her finer qualities which would have kept the balance even. Sometimes his statements are palpably unjust, as when (p. 149) he asserts that, until her soul was fired by the contemplation of Kant's ideal of duty, her belief had been *que le but de l'existence était la recherche du bonheur*. That is altogether to leave out of count the influence of the

French ideas of 1789, which had lived on in her and nerved her to her protests against the growth of despotism. The book closes with a brief survey that to some extent repairs the injustice of which the author, in his previous chapters, had been guilty towards Madame de Staël; but the reparation is tardy and by no means sufficient.

We note that at several points the author has been able to correct Lady Blennerhasset's monograph, as well as M. Welschinger's work *La Censure sous le Premier Empire*. But in his statements on international affairs the limitations of his knowledge are sometimes manifest. In chapter x. he speaks of Germany after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens as *une officine d'espionnage* for England. That Drake and Spencer Smith had a hand in royalist intrigues against the first consul's government is well known; but to say that Drake *dépensait des sommes énormes* shows that M. Gautier is ill acquainted with the amount of the British secret service funds. It is also incorrect to state that Drake was snared by Captain Rozey. It was the ex-Jacobin and regicide, Méhée de la Touche, who inveigled him; and this fact fully justified Madame de Staël in describing the arts of that *agent provocateur* as *ce tissu de ruses, composé des fils croisés du jacobinisme et de la tyrannie*. M. Gautier maintains that Madame de Staël's belief, in 1814, that if Napoleon disappeared the allies would grant easy terms to France alone, was merely one of her illusions. But the more the secret diplomacy of the spring of that year comes to light the more it is seen that the allies aimed at overthrowing the man, and not at despoiling France of her historic territories. They wanted guarantees for a permanent peace; and Madame de Staël was justified in believing that the death of the emperor would have been the best event for France. Even when the campaign was pushed to the bitter end Austria, Great Britain, and Russia protested against any dismemberment of the France of the old monarchy. Madame de Staël, who had not the archives of the coalition at her disposal when she wrote her *Considérations*, showed more insight into the essential features of the problem than her most recent critic has here displayed.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

*Le Soldat Impérial* (1800-1814). Par JEAN MORVAN. (Paris: Plon. 1904.)

THIS is one of the 'documentary' books concerning Napoleon I which France has been pouring out in such numbers for the last ten years; it is somewhat on the same lines as Rousset's *Grande Armée de 1813* or Couderc's *La Dernière Armée de Napoléon*, but is constructed on a rather larger scale, since it deals with the whole period that lies between 1800 and 1814. It may be described as a general sketch of the mechanism of the imperial army—how it was levied, paid, clothed, drilled, armed, and fed. M. Morvan's method is not to give mere statistics, nor to quote only from the correspondence of the emperor or the official effusions of his subordinates, but to illustrate all his conclusions and deductions by a lavish amount of material drawn from contemporary memoirs—many of them so rare or so obscure that they are not known on this side of the Channel. It may be described, in fact, as statistics illustrated by anecdotes and marshalled for a moral purpose. For M. Morvan has a thesis to

demonstrate: he wishes to show from the hard facts of conscription tables, military budgets, reports on arsenals, and returns of stores, the gradual growth of Napoleon's megalomania and wilful blindness to the limits of the possible and the impossible. He reveals from a mass of what appears at first most dry and unpromising material the stages in the development of the emperor's personality—how from being the most practical and precise of administrators he gradually became transformed into a dreamer of vain dreams, who refused to see plain but unpalatable facts, and constructed for himself an unreal world in accordance with his desires, in which he walked until he finally fell. M. Morvan writes as a patriotic Frenchman, watching with indignation a high-spirited nation exploited and bled to death by a ruler who had at last become an autolatrous egoist, careless of all save his own reputation for infallibility in matters military. He shows us the emperor scorning all external advice, even when it was couched in the most adulatory language, raging at every one who suggested the most tentative criticism of his methods, and silencing his best servants the moment that they ventured to call his attention to the dangers which he was determined not to see. This same deterioration of Bonaparte's character may be traced out in three or four separate sections of M. Morvan's book—in that which deals with the conscription best of all, but not less clearly in the chapters which deal with finance, armament, regimental organisation, and military administration.

One of the most curious facts which emerge from this book is a view of the emperor which we have not seen fully developed in any previous work. He appears as the penny-wise, pound-foolish economist, who is so anxious to save an illegitimate *sou* from the necessary pay, food, or equipment of his soldiers that he risks rendering thousands of men inefficient in the hour of need. If his specialists reported that a piece of work would cost 100,000 francs, he would first allot 90,000 to the scheme, and at the last moment, when all had been completed, pay down 85,000 and refuse to advance another farthing. He was the terror of contractors, for when he had concluded a bargain it was his pleasant habit to settle his bills a year late, and often not in hard cash but in treasury warrants or other negotiable instruments which could not be promptly realised, and lost a large percentage of their value when converted into specie. If he rightly complained in his later years that the contractors cheated him, the reason was that by his late payments and arbitrary deductions he had frightened off the honest manufacturers of France. *Il en résulte que les seuls fabricants douteux peuvent traiter avec l'administration impériale; au moment où Bonaparte voudrait l'armée bien pourvue les manufacturiers honnêtes restreignent leur travail, par légitime défiance de l'état* (p. 131). Profits could only be realised by the contractor who supplied shoes with brown paper soles, or great coats too narrow to button across the breast of a soldier of average stature. The emperor's economy ended in the loss of thousands of men who died for want of serviceable clothing. His army was best equipped when it was supplied not from the magazines of France, but from the requisitions of conquered Germany. M. Morvan dwells on the mania which grew upon the emperor, after 1807, of trusting to mere numbers instead of efficiency. He kept raising more and more regiments, often of the most doubtful material, instead of contenting him-

self with keeping his old standing army in efficient order. His first attempt to conquer Spain was made with provisional regiments and *bataillons de marche* destitute of *dépôts*, adequate *cadres*, or a proper proportion of officers. After the Russian disaster one would have expected him to reform the new army required in 1813 by carefully combining all the veteran elements that survived in Spain and elsewhere, using the nucleus of old soldiers to form and harden the inevitable mass of conscripts. Instead of doing so he constructed some forty new regiments (the 135th–156th of the line, the 19th and 37th *léger*, and 17 regiments of the young guard), and rushed them into the field before they were half drilled. What could be more natural than that all these masses of raw troops should dissolve under the fatigues of the campaign of Lützen and Leipzig? One of these new regiments (the 37th *léger*) was sent up to the Rhine in March 1813 with 2,100 privates and *four* officers, as a letter of Marmont shows (p. 341). On 10 May of the same year Davoust reports the arrival in his corps of a battalion the men of which do not even know how to charge their muskets. He cannot send them to the butts for ball practice till they have learnt how to load (p. 246). If Napoleon gains his last victories with these hordes, *cé ne sont point les soldats qui les remportent, il les doit à son exceptionnel génie—et ce génie lui-même est vaincu quand des hommes quelconques ont à réaliser ses plans, lorsque sur des champs de bataille hasardeux des recrues nullement préparées ont à traduire en actes les conceptions de son art suprême.*

C. OMAN.

*The Creevey Papers.* A Selection from the Correspondence and Diaries of the late Thomas Creevey, M.P. Edited by the Right Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., M.P., LL.D., F.R.S. 2 vols. (London: John Murray. 1903.)

WHILE these amusing volumes contain next to nothing about foreign affairs and little that is new as to the party politics of the earlier half of the last century, they tell us much about the sayings and doings of a number of persons concerned in them. Among them Creevey himself is a figure of some interest. Belonging, as he evidently did, to a somewhat obscure Irish family settled in Liverpool, he became a valued guest at the houses of many of the greatest personages in London society, was treated with confidence by men of the highest political standing, and took a respectable though not prominent part in public affairs. He owed much to his marriage with a widow lady of good position and considerable fortune, and his own abilities and social qualities did the rest. When his wife died her income passed from him, but his place in society was then established; he moved from one great house to another, and though, according to Greville, he had for a time less than 200*l.* a year, he had no cares, for every one was delighted to receive him. Yet, though he lived on other people, he was neither a toady nor a *pique-assiette*. If any of his grand friends offended him he remonstrated with them in plain terms (i. 275, ii. 54, 92, 136–7), and he took care never to go to a house where he was not sure of a welcome (i. 294). He was an admirable talker, witty, agreeable, unconstrained, and sometimes indiscreet, and, as these volumes prove, he was an amusing correspondent. Living at a time when the personal element entered largely into politics, he, like many of

his contemporaries, used strong language about those who differed from him ; he was given to nicknames and, according to the fashion of his day, enforced his remarks with too frequent 'damns.' He was not a man of much education, soon forgot such Greek as he had, and failed to detect a false quantity in a Latin verse, but in later life he seems to have read a fair amount, was delighted with Roscoe's *Lorenzo de' Medici*, and on a wet day wished for no better companion than Gibbon. In character he was upright and fearless, quick to resent a slight and ready to forgive it, staunch to his principles, and tenderly attached to those near to him, and specially to the step-daughter to whom many of his letters are addressed.

He entered parliament in 1802, the year of his marriage, as member for Thetford, one of the duke of Norfolk's boroughs, and with two rather short intervals was provided with a seat for nomination boroughs until the Reform Bill. As a follower of Fox he took his seat 'behind old Charley.' Violent as he was against Addington, he was annoyed by the support which Fox gave to Pitt's attack on Lord St. Vincent, and consoled himself for voting against his convictions by dwelling on the duty of a 'private' of a party to follow his leader. Pitt he abuses freely. He shows that his allegiance to his leader was sorely tried by Fox's refusal to support Whitbread in his attempt to convict Pitt of malversation, or to countenance his own attack on Fordyce, the surveyor of the land revenues. His keenness in attacking abuses when they were on the tory side brought him into connexion with Grey, afterwards the second Earl Grey, and Whitbread, both of whom, he says, at that time 'acted with unparalleled kindness.' In 1805 he and Mrs. Creevey spent the autumn at Brighton, and were constant guests at the Pavilion. The prince was then the hope of the whigs, and Creevey and his wife, who write fully about his doings, saw nothing disgraceful in them, though Mrs. Creevey, a woman of some sprightliness, now and again found the parties at the Pavilion dull, in spite of the compliments of 'dear, foolish, beautiful Prinney.' The life there must certainly have been almost as dreary as it was despicable. After a brief spell of office as secretary to the board of control in the ministry of All the Talents, Creevey was again in opposition. His papers illustrate the utter disorganisation of the whigs, who can scarcely be said to have existed as a coherent party from 1795, when Fox caused the break-up of their once powerful phalanx, until the fight for reform. Creevey was a member of the 'insurgent' section, which soon called itself the 'mountain,' and was, to some extent, represented by the later radicals ; it was led by Sam Whitbread, was discontented with the regular opposition leaders, Grenville, Grey, and George Ponsonby, and desired more strenuous attacks on the government, specially with reference to the war in the peninsula, the expedition to the Scheldt, and the duke of York's case.

The hopes of the whigs were excited by the immediate prospect of the regency in the first days of 1811, and seemed justified by the prince's communication with Grenville and Grey. A whig administration was planned, in which Whitbread was to be secretary of state for the colonies, and Creevey was saluted at Brooks's as Mr. Under-Secretary. With Lord Grey's consent Whitbread offered him a seat at the admiralty

board. The prince was probably insincere from the first. On 1 Feb. Whitbread had already heard that the queen had written him a letter, 'evidently dictated by Perceval,' and believed that 'he was playing a hollow, shabby game.' Three days later came the prince's letter to Perceval stating that he intended to retain the existing ministry. Moore's assertion that Sheridan composed this letter<sup>1</sup> is probably true, and if so he was acting a double part, for he told the anxious whigs that the prince 'was bound in justice to his character to make this change' of ministers. Creevey always distrusted Sheridan; he saw that his 'insuperable vanity' led him to play for the place of first adviser to the prince. He had given proof of this during Fox's absence in 1788,<sup>2</sup> and Creevey notes with indignation how, in 1804, he tried to undermine Fox's authority with his own party. His subservience to the prince on the question of the change of ministers has been interpreted as an honourable act of self-denial; for in the proposed whig ministry he was, it is said, to have been secretary for Ireland.<sup>3</sup> He must have known very well, at least by 1 Feb., that the prince had no intention of changing the ministers, and his game is sufficiently indicated by his conversation with Creevey, recorded under 12 July, when the king's death was thought to be near. It was then generally believed that the whigs would still be excluded from office and the ministry would be retained, with the addition of some of the regent's private friends, such as Lord Yarmouth and Sheridan. Meeting Creevey at Brooks's at 5 A.M. on the Sunday before, Sheridan, who was then 'very drunk,' advised him to 'get into the same boat with him in politicks.' Four years earlier, when his bibulous habits brought on an illness, Lady Elizabeth Forster (Foster), afterwards duchess of Devonshire, bade him 'try to drink less and speak the truth.' Unfortunately her prescription was not followed.

After the assassination of Perceval the regent, forced by an address from the commons to abandon any idea of patching up the ministry, turned to Lord Wellesley and finally gave him authority to form a government which should include Grenville and Grey, and four or five others to be recommended by them. Their refusal to agree to this scheme greatly enraged him; he vowed that they 'were a couple of scoundrels, and that Moira was a fellow no honest man could speak to.' Nevertheless he straightway commissioned Lord Moira to form a ministry. Moira's attempt failed, because Grenville and Grey insisted on a change of the household. Their insistence on this point covered their determination not to take office unless they had complete control; it was the old whig doctrine. The 'mountain' did not approve of their refusal, which Creevey speaks of as a 'great fault.' Moira saw Whitbread on 6 June, the day of his interview with Grenville and Grey, when all went smoothly, and Creevey, who had feared that his special leader would be left out in the cold, was much comforted, for, though he knew nothing for certain, Sheridan, who had been dining with Moira and Whitbread, and was 'drunk and communicative,' assured him that 'Sam was the man for the prince and the people.' Sheridan, however—and therefore, we may

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Sheridan*, ii. 408-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Courts and Cabinets of George III*, i. 451.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Sheridan*, *ubi supra*; Yonge, *Life of Lord Liverpool*, i. 360.

believe, the regent also <sup>4</sup>—had no mind that Moira's negotiation with the whigs should be successful, and basely concealed the fact that Yarmouth had 'communicated to him the intention of the household to resign' (if the proposed ministry was formed), 'with the view of having that intention conveyed to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville;' he even offered to bet Tierney 500 guineas that they had no such intention.<sup>5</sup>

The regent's matrimonial affairs afforded the opposition a means of punishing him for his desertion of them, and for embarrassing Lord Liverpool's government. Although the older whigs were unwilling to push matters too far against a prince who might yet call on them to serve him, no such consideration deterred the 'mountain,' and, as Sir Herbert Maxwell remarks, 'the schism in the opposition grew ever wider.' Brougham saw an opportunity of making capital for himself out of the wrongs of the princess. These volumes contain a large number of letters which illustrate the tortuous proceedings of that most amazing person. By men of all parties, and above all by Brougham himself, the princess was treated as a pawn in the game which each was playing. Brougham was furious at finding that 'Mother P.,' as he called her, intended in 1814 to accept Castlereagh's offer of 50,000*l.* a year on condition of her living abroad. 'She deserves death,' he wrote to Creevey, 'yet we must not abandon her in case P. gets the victory.' Whitbread, after consulting with Brougham, persuaded her to decline the offer. On 9 August Brougham wrote to Creevey in utter dismay, informing him of 'Mrs. P.'s bolting.' It was all Sam's fault, he said. This was scarcely true. He was jealous of Whitbread's influence with her, for he wanted all the profit that was to be made out of the case for himself; it was important that it should be understood that Short was the friend, not Codlin. In 1819, while continuing to act as her adviser, he tried to sell her cause for his own advancement. Nothing, as Creevey says, was more likely to injure her than his offer that she should agree to a separation and renounce the title of queen if the government would settle her allowance of 35,000*l.* upon her for life. He failed to meet her at Lyons; he hinted to Creevey that he was in constant intercourse with 'the crown and ministers,' and he offered to resign his appointment as attorney-general to the queen. Members of White's as well as members of Brooks's said that he had 'grossly sold' her.<sup>6</sup> In spite of his solemn declaration in the house of commons as to his belief in her innocence, with which Creevey was much impressed, he told him after her death, as an excuse for not attending her body to Brunswick, that 'he had never been very much for the queen.'

The most delightful part of these volumes concerns Creevey's stay at Brussels during the Waterloo time. Of all the personages he describes the duke of Wellington towers above the rest. As a member of the 'mountain' Creevey had been bitter against the Wellesleys, and had violently opposed the war in the peninsula. Nevertheless when the duke met him in Brussels he treated him with marked cordiality, as though 'he had forgotten old disputes.' He records how, in April 1815,

<sup>4</sup> Horner, *Memoirs*, ii. 111, 113; G. C. Lewis, *Administrations*, pp. 337-40.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Sheridan*, ii. 426.

<sup>6</sup> *Croker Papers*, i. 172-4. The date of Croker's notices is April 1820, not 1821, as stated here (ii. 23, n.)



the duke said that there would be no fighting, for the republicans of Paris would beat Bonaparte 'by stiletto or otherwise.' His account of Brussels on 16-19 June is excellent—simply written, and not less picturesque for that—and it is specially interesting because it bears out with wonderful exactness the famous description in *Vanity Fair*. Even after two bodies of French prisoners, one of 1,500 and the other of about 5,000 men, had been brought into the city on the afternoon of the 18th, it was believed that 'everything was going as badly as possible.' Not until early on the 19th did Creevey learn the success of the allies, and then as he was collecting news the duke called him to him. It is impossible to read his report of what the duke said to him without sharing his admiration of the victorious general's 'gravity and seriousness at the loss of life he had sustained, his admission of his great danger, and the justice he did his enemy.'

With respect to the negotiations which ensued on Liverpool's resignation we get no fresh information. Creevey's friend, Lord Sefton, held what was no doubt the general opinion, that all the anti-catholics who refused to join the new ministry did so from personal dislike to Canning. In the case of Peel this was certainly untrue.<sup>7</sup> Brougham seems actually to have expected office; he declared that he had been offered the attorney-generalship, and that his not being in office was mischievous to the government. The coalition with Canning of a section of the whigs under Lord Lansdowne caused fresh disunion in the party. It was resented by the 'malignants,' by Grey and some of the old whigs, as well as by the remains of the 'mountain.' Brougham's support of the government excited their indignation, and Creevey reviles 'Wickedshifts' with much asperity. In 1828 Grey, at that time Creevey's warm friend, showed him the correspondence between the duke and Huskisson at the time of Huskisson's resignation, and he strongly approved of Wellington's conduct. Croker's opinion that Huskisson was 'hardly dealt with,' and Greville's that he was treated 'with some degree of harshness,' must not be accepted without remembering that Greville's narrative shows that the Canningite section acted too much as a party in the cabinet; the duke can scarcely be blamed for seizing an opportunity of putting an end to such a system.<sup>8</sup> When Grey came into office Creevey was provided with a comfortable berth as treasurer of the ordnance. His notices of the struggle for reform are unimportant. He was sure that 'Beelzebub' (Brougham) drove Grey out of office in 1834 for his own ambitious purposes, and Grey seems at first to have been of that opinion. Brougham was wildly jealous of Grey, and thought that he would himself be a much better prime minister; and Sefton told Creevey how he had accused him of using his influence with the *Times* against Grey in February 1831. Two months after Grey's resignation, however, Lady Grey told Creevey that she had changed her mind about 'that Achitophel,' and did not think that he meant 'to turn Lord G. out at that time,' and her opinion was confirmed by Lord Melbourne (ii. 287). Brougham's meddlesome interference on the subject of the coercion bill was the origin of the mischief, but Littleton's indiscretion and a lack of openness both in his conduct and

<sup>7</sup> Parker, *Life of Peel*, i. 460-8; Stapleton, *Political Life of Canning*, iii. 319-20.

<sup>8</sup> *Croker Papers*, i. 421; Greville, *Memoirs*, i. 133-6, ed. 1888.

that of Brougham and Lord Althorp seem to have been the real cause of it. Brougham must by that time have known that he had nothing to gain by the break-up of the government, and he recommended 'sticking to the last plank.'<sup>9</sup> The explanation of his conduct which he gave to Melbourne is so amazing that it may perhaps be accepted, as not inconsistent with his character; the omission of the meetings clauses from the coercion bill would have brought the session to an early close, and the sole reason of his interference was that he wanted to have time 'to go to the Rhine.' Creevey lived to be graciously received by the late queen, and notes that the royal evenings were 'the dullest possible.'

His papers abound in personal chatter and illustrations of manners. The picture they give of the drunkenness of the early part of the century is extraordinary. Sheridan, drinking himself to death, takes a bottle of hot white wine to allay his fever, drinks a bottle and a half at dinner, is called from his bed by the prince at two in the morning, and drinks a bottle of claret 'in a minute.' Grey, though blessed with a stronger head, twice appears in a state of intoxication, and the dull old 'Doctor,' Sidmouth, is said 'never to have been sober' during George IV's bacchanalian visit to Ireland. The weaknesses of the royal dukes are unsparingly exhibited. Impressed by the duty of providing an heir to the throne on the death of the princess Charlotte, the duke of Kent somewhat imprudently confided his ideas on the subject to Creevey. 'Ready to obey any call the country might make on him,' he would marry if the country paid him well enough, and provided for his mistress, in consideration of her faithfulness to him for twenty-seven years. The humours of 'King Jog,' Mr. Lambton, afterwards earl of Durham, his violent temper, and the meanness of his housekeeping afford a theme for many stories. A large house party at Lambton had little for dinner save a round of beef at a side table. On one of his visits Creevey broke into open revolt, for the course of fish consisted only of 'one small haddock and three small whittings;' that they were served on the same dish does not seem to have struck him as iniquitous. There is much more of a like sort.

Sir Herbert Maxwell deserves our thanks for providing us with these entertaining volumes. He tells us that his extracts do not amount to more than a fiftieth part of his materials. Selections are always somewhat unsatisfactory to the historical student. Many important matters on which we should have expected to find Creevey writing are not dealt with here. We must trust that Sir Herbert has not left out anything of historical value in order to make room for amusing gossip. A rather otiose introduction tells us little about Creevey's public career, though he deserves to be remembered for his efforts for economical reform, especially in 1812, when he complained that the marquis of Buckingham and Lord Camden were each getting 23,000*l.* a year as tellers of the exchequer in return for services rendered by their fathers. One incident in his life which should certainly not have been missed is his trial for libel. In a speech in parliament against the privileges of the East India Company he went out of his way to attack Robert Kirkpatrick, the inspector-general of taxes, whose appointment he declared to be due to private favour and to have aggravated distress in Liverpool. He stood for

<sup>9</sup> Littleton (Lord Hatherton), *Memoir of 1834*, ed. Reeve, p. 85.

Liverpool in conjunction with Brougham against Canning and Gascoigne in the autumn of 1812, and caused his attack on Kirkpatrick to be printed in the *Liverpool Mercury*. He was indicted for libel at the spring assizes at Lancaster before Sir Simon Le Blanc. Brougham defended him and pleaded privilege. The court declared that the case was ruled by 'The King *versus* Lord Abingdon' (1794); the privilege which covered words spoken in parliament did not apply to them when printed by the speaker. Creevey was fined 100*l.* Brougham moved for a new trial, but the court of king's bench refused a rule.<sup>10</sup> Creevey tried to get the house to take the matter up, but his motion of June 23 was unsupported and the house passed to the other orders of the day.<sup>11</sup> Sir Herbert's remarks explaining and connecting the various papers and many of his footnotes are helpful, though two or three of his footnotes on the ill effects of intemperance and bleeding might well be spared. Here and there his work shows signs of haste and perhaps of an equipment not quite sufficient for his task. The number of words left out in the letters as illegible is greater than we should have expected in documents of the time. A note should have explained that 'the superannuated Methodist at the head of the admiralty' (i. 36) in 1805 was Sir Charles Middleton, created Lord Barham in that year, and the absence of a note (ii. 160) pointing out how utterly Lord Brandon failed in his case against Lord Melbourne<sup>12</sup> is rather hard on the memory of both Melbourne and Lady Brandon, specially the latter. The 'Mrs. Leach' (i. 258) mentioned as advising the regent in 1816 is merely Brougham's contemptuous term for Mr. (Sir) John Leach, afterwards master of the rolls, who was appointed chief justice of Chester in 1817. This might have been pointed out, and in any case 'Mrs. Leach' should not appear in the index as a separate entry from Sir John, who, by the way, died unmarried. 'Plume [?]' in one of Brougham's letters of 1812 (i. 174) is, of course, Sir Thomas Plumer, who became attorney-general in that year, and Sir Herbert's note that Brougham's mention of 'the pope' of Holland House is 'obscure' (i. 249) should be amended by a reference to Dr. John Allen. He should have noted that the name of the author of the satirical verses which Creevey admired was Sir Charles, not Sir Thomas, Hanbury Williams (ii. 38). It is so unlikely that Creevey should have made this mistake that I am inclined to think that it must be an error of the copyist which did not strike Sir Herbert, though the name is familiar enough, at least to all readers of Horace Walpole's letters. Lastly, it is, I know, fatally easy to write one date for another, but it is unfortunate that Sir Herbert should not merely have given 1828 as the date of the general election of 1826, but should have noticed Creevey's loss of a seat at the election after the correspondence of August 1828.

WILLIAM HUNT.

*Bidrag till Tredje Koalitionens Bildningshistoria* (1803-1805). I. Af Dr. W. EKEDAHL. (Lund: Aktiebolaget Skånska Centraltryckeriet. 1902.)

DR. W. EKEDAHL'S labours in the Public Record Office of this country have long been known to historical students who work at our archives.

<sup>10</sup> *Annual Register*, lv. (1813), 268-9.

<sup>11</sup> Lord Colchester, *Diary*, ii. 442, 451.

<sup>12</sup> Torrens, *Life of Melbourne*, i. 326-7.

Some years ago he read an excellent paper before the Royal Historical Society.<sup>1</sup> The present work is an amplification and completion of his former studies. It bears witness alike to the width of his survey and the thoroughness of his research. I know of no work which, in the same space (278 pp.), covers the ground in so satisfactory a manner. The special value of the present volume consists in the scholarly use which the author has made of the British despatches relating to Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, and Sicily. All of these bear on the tangled affairs which ultimately had their outcome in the third coalition. I can find only one gap in Dr. Ekedahl's researches, and that, curiously enough, refers to Swedish policy. King Gustavus made a lengthy tour in Germany at the close of 1803, and had several conferences with our envoys there, especially with Drake at Munich. The reports of the conversations of the Swedish king are detailed at length in our Bavarian and other German archives for that time. Nothing very definite came of these overtures, but they evidently encouraged the Addington ministry to begin to seek for allies.

More definite negotiations went on between the courts of London and St. Petersburg when Pitt returned to power in May 1804; and it is on this period and the resulting treaty of 11 April 1805 that Dr. Ekedahl rightly bestows most attention. He is careful, however, to detail with due care and balance the causes of the outbreak of war in 1803; and in this inquiry he shows a knowledge of the colonial and commercial rivalries of England and France that is uncommon among continental historians. His work is very fully annotated, and the extracts from the British archives and those of Woronzow and Czartoryski, along with details from the Paget, Hardenberg, and other papers, add the touches of definiteness that are so valuable to the student. Among the works quoted and used we find, however, no reference to Professor Oncken's *Das Zeitalter des Kaiserreiches und der Befreiungskriege* or to the diaries of Sir George Jackson, the latter of which supply many facts as to the weak and wavering policy of Prussia in 1804-6. Of that policy Novosiltzoff wrote to Woronzoff, 10 July 1805—

Ce cabinet est fondé sur un principe d'isolement, sur un égoïsme affreux, et j'espère qu'ils verront tôt ou tard qu'il est bien pernicieux. Je ne sais en vérité ce qu'il y aura à faire avec eux, je ne prévois pas le moyen d'éviter à leur tomber sur le corps. Rien ne les émeut, ni appât, ni raison, ni menaces.

This passage, quoted by Dr. Ekedahl on p. 274, shows that the Russian policy of applying coercion to Prussia was not due, as Professor Oncken claims, solely to Czartoryski's secret design of partitioning Prussia for the benefit of Poland. It was an expedient to which not only Russian but also British statesmen came more or less reluctantly to turn; and possibly, if it had been tried betimes, events would have turned out very differently. Dr. Ekedahl has not continued his study to the time when Pitt sent Lord Harrowby to Berlin with the hope of deciding that power to join the allies. I trust that he will devote another volume to this and other phases of the third coalition. J. HOLLAND ROSE.

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions*, new series, vol. viii.

*The Life and Campaigns of Hugh, First Viscount Gough, Field Marshal.*  
By ROBERT S. RAIT. (Westminster: Constable. 1903.)

'Two things are certain:—they will do their work with spirit when brought to the mark; and the devil can't make them read.' Such was the opinion which Sir Charles Napier recorded of his cavalry officers when he was in command of the Northern District; and not very different was the impression which, a few years later, he formed of the general whom he had been sent out to India to supersede: 'Gough is a glorious old fellow, brave as ten lions, each with two sets of teeth and two tails; ' were his military genius as great as his heart, the duke would be nothing in comparison.' Combine these sentences, and you have the conception of Lord Gough which his countrymen have held since the day of Chilianwala. Mr. Rait has written this biography in order to show that the general who 'never was bate' was not, if I may use such a phrase, a mere rough-and-tumble fighter, but an able strategist and a skilful tactician. The book has already been recognised as a solid and valuable contribution to the literature of Anglo-Indian history, and cannot fail to raise our opinion of Gough's powers; but I do not think that it can be accepted as altogether convincing.

The first volume, of which the greater part is devoted to Gough's services in the Peninsular war and his operations in China, is naturally less interesting than the second; but it might have been made more attractive if Mr. Rait had practised the art of omission. His object, of course, was to impress upon his readers that in the Peninsula and in China Gough showed not merely courage, but caution, judgment, and skill, and thus to prepare them for the discovery that the charges which had been brought against his conduct of the Punjab campaigns were without foundation; but this object could have been better attained in fewer words. It is not easy so to describe the part which the hero of a biography, as a subordinate officer, played in a great war, that, while the narrative is clear, he remains the central figure; but it is not impossible. Nelson, in Southey's *Life*, from the time when he steps on board the 'Raisonnable' as a midshipman to the day when he hoists his broad pendant on the 'Captain,' always stands out as the hero of the book: Gough, in Mr. Rait's pages, is obscured by superfluous details. He was not a many-sided character, like Charles Napier, who could hardly make an entry in his diary without arresting the reader's attention; and very few of his letters are worth the space which Mr. Rait gives them. One, for example, printed on pp. 31-6 of the first volume, is simply what Gough himself called it—a 'tedious detail.' The conscientious reviewer, eager to press on to the narrative of the Sikh wars, is grateful for the small mercy which is vouchsafed to him on p. 60. Here he finds mention of a dinner which Gough gave in the Isla de Leon, during the bombardment of Cadiz, to celebrate the arrival of despatches from England. 'I was obliged,' he says, 'to give all the officers a let-off; several friends dined with me, and a hundred and four bottles of wine were drunk.' Mr. Rait's execution improves, indeed, as he goes on; but even the chapters relating to China are needlessly long. It is clear from the narrative that Sir Hugh's operations were carefully planned and skilfully executed; and the evidence which

Mr. Rait adduces fully justifies his contention that the general showed political wisdom: but could not the events of one year have been chronicled in less than 138 pages?

But it is pleasanter to find merits than faults. When Mr. Rait has left China behind and brings his hero back to India, he becomes more interested in his work, and therefore takes hold of and retains the interest of his readers. Even now, indeed, compression is occasionally required, for example, in the chapter entitled 'Multan and the Irregular Warfare:' even now, as in the account of the battle of Chilianwala, one occasionally desires more lucid, more vigorous, more artistic narrative; but our attention never flags. If Mr. Rait takes Colonel Malleson a little too seriously, he succeeds in proving that many of the charges which ill-informed writers have brought against Lord Gough are unfounded. Moreover abundant evidence is adduced to show that the commander-in-chief possessed at least one of the qualities which are essential to the character of a great general. His bravery was not merely of that kind which deserves the Victoria Cross. It was that rare virtue which Clausewitz had chiefly in mind when he said that 'courage above all things is the first quality of a warrior'—the stoutness of heart which remains calm amid unforeseen and accumulating difficulties, and which firmly adheres, notwithstanding all distractions, to a carefully considered plan.

Nevertheless, after reading the chapters in which Mr. Rait describes the Gwalior campaign and the Sikh wars, one cannot reason away the suspicion that his defence is not wholly satisfactory. It is easy to parry the attacks of Malleson; but to establish the thesis that Lord Gough's generalship was virtually above criticism—and this is what Mr. Rait apparently aims at—is a different matter. After all these years we have a right to expect not merely an *apologia*, but an impartial judgment; and Mr. Rait will pardon the suggestion that he hardly gives sufficient prominence to the adverse opinions of competent and responsible critics. Making every allowance for their lack of complete information, one finds it hard to believe that men like Lord Hardinge, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Charles Napier, Havelock, and, finally, Lord Wolseley, were wholly mistaken in the comparatively low estimate which they formed of Gough's generalship. The losses which he incurred were so heavy—the proportion of casualties at Chilianwala being actually greater than of those which were sustained by Havelock in the five days' fighting that culminated in the first relief of Lucknow, although on the last day he was not permitted by Outram to do what he thought best—that the doubt will arise whether Mr. Rait's explanations are sufficient, and whether many lives might not have been saved by wiser dispositions. Would Hamley or Henderson have sided with Gough or with Sir Harry Smith and Havelock on the question of the strategy which was adopted in the Gwalior campaign? I am inclined, with some diffidence, to suggest that here Gough accurately gauged the calibre of his enemy, and that the reasons which he stated in his letter to the duke of Wellington justified him in disregarding a maxim which he would have observed if he had had to deal with a European foe. It is possible that Napier, who never under-estimated his own importance, exaggerated the influence which the diversion that he contemplated would have exercised upon the Sutlej

campaign; and opinions will probably always remain divided on the question whether Gough was right in proposing to fight at Ferozeshah without waiting for Littler, or the governor-general in overruling him. Only an expert who knew all the relevant facts could give an authoritative opinion as to whether the tactics which Sir Harry Smith would have adopted on that occasion were better than Gough's, or whether he was justified in the strictures which he published upon Gough's leading at Sobraon; and I fear that I shall not help Mr. Rait by giving a silent vote in favour of the victor of Aliwal. But it may be questioned whether Mr. Rait is quite successful in his summary condemnation of the turning movement which Havelock suggested for the attack at Sobraon, or in the answer which he makes to the charge, partly based upon the criticisms of the Sikh generals, that, except at Gujerat, Gough failed to make sufficient use of his artillery. In this connexion there is one question which I should like to ask, and to which Mr. Rait could no doubt give a satisfactory answer. We read that at Gujerat 'the [British] advance was continued until the infantry were just beyond the Sikh range, when . . . the line halted and the British artillery proceeded to the front.' This wise plan does not appear to have been always adopted. Even at Chilianwala Gough had sixty guns against the sixty-two of the Sikhs; and it does not appear to me to be proved in Mr. Rait's book that in the earlier battles he made the best possible use of such artillery as he had.

As far as I am able to form an opinion, there has never been a fairer or truer estimate of Gough's generalship (although it might have been modified by fuller knowledge of details) than that which is to be found in the letters of Havelock, who was not extreme to condemn him even after the battle of Chilianwala, and whose opinion of his tactics at Gujerat perhaps anticipated the final verdict which history will pronounce upon Gough as he was at his best.

Here (he writes) the ground had been deliberately and effectively reconnoitred . . . the troops were brought up fresh to the contest, and if in their disposition there was nothing of the originality of genius, if there was none of that combination which doubles the power of every soldier in the field, yet . . . the means employed were all calculated to produce the desired effect, and did produce it.

It remains to point out a few minor defects. I hope that Mr. Rait will consent to substitute 'doubt' for 'dubiety,' which disfigures p. 4 of his first volume. The 'south-eastern angle,' rightly so called on p. 230, of Chinhai is apparently identical with what on p. 225 is called the 'south-west corner.' On p. 341 Mr. Rait calls Tantia Topi 'the most able rebel leader in the Mutiny,' a judgment which I venture to think that he would amend if he knew the history of the Mutiny as intimately as he knows that of the Sikh wars. I should say that Tantia, whose ability in running away was certainly amazing, was in other respects inferior both to the Moulvi of Fyzabad and to the Rani of Jhansi. On p. 357 the sepoys of the Bengal army are designated as 'these Bengalese:' most of them came from Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, and Behar; and there was hardly a Bengali among them. It is as misleading and as literally correct to speak of the Jats and Rajputs (p. 359) as 'peoples of Aryan ancestry' as it would be to speak of

the English as a people of 'non-Aryan ancestry.' Many if not most of us have some 'Iberian' blood in our veins; and the Jats and Rajputs can claim to have had 'Aryan' ancestors: but in the main they are of 'pre-Aryan' origin. The maps and plans are in many respects excellent; but it would be easy to improve them. The fort of Casa Vieja, mentioned on pp. 47-8, is not marked on the corresponding plan. In the plan of the assault on Canton, facing p. 198, I have looked in vain for the British camp, which is frequently mentioned in the narrative. The fortified camp mentioned on p. 221 is not marked on the plan which faces p. 224. Karnal, Hansi, Saharanpur, Bareilly, Charrak, Fatehgarh, and Ali-Sher-ke-Chuk are not to be found in any of the maps and plans. On p. 192 of the second volume we are told that at Ramnagar 'the Chenab is very broad;' but, according to the map which faces p. 270, this is the narrowest part of the river between Ramnagar and Wazirabad. The plan of the battle of Chilianwala has no scale, and does not indicate the ravines; moreover, when compared with the statement on p. 231, that Gilbert's brigades 'advanced steadily on the enemy's position at Lullianee,' it is not clear. Finally, the plan of the battle of Gujerat contradicts the statement on p. 272 that 'Gilbert's Division extended eastwards from the nullah.' But I have only called attention to these trivial matters in the hope that Mr. Rait's excellent book may, in a second edition, be made still more valuable.

T. RICE HOLMES.

*Mémoires de Langeron, Général d'Infanterie dans l'Armée Russe; Campagnes de 1812, 1813, 1814.* Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par L.-G. F. (Paris: Picard. 1902.)

BORN in Paris in 1763, the comte de Langeron served his apprenticeship in the army of Louis XVI; but he emigrated in 1790 and entered the Russian service, in which he spent the rest of his life. He was at the storming of Ismail, and distinguished himself in later wars against the Turks. He took part in the Austro-Prussian invasion of France in 1792, and was one of the Russian representatives at the allied headquarters in 1793-4. He commanded a division at Austerlitz, and a corps in Blücher's army throughout the war of liberation. Few men have had more varied military experience. His memoirs are in the archives of the French Foreign Office, and have hitherto remained unpublished with the exception of his sketch of the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, which was noticed in this Review (vol. xii. p. 379). The further instalment which has now been printed deals with the most eventful years of his life, and is a valuable contribution to military history. The operations of the army of Silesia have been seen too much through German glasses, and it is well to have a Russian general's version of them. The worth of the volume is enhanced by the introduction and notes of the editor, who discusses at some length the most important episodes—the passage of the Beresina and the battle of the Katzbach—and is in a position to correct or corroborate the author's statements by means of the manuscript reports of the French generals opposed to him.

Langeron was serving under Tchitchagoff in 1812, and each blamed the other for the orders which withdrew Tschaplitz from Zemin and



opened the road for Napoleon. When a Russian corps was placed under a Prussian commander-in-chief in 1813 there was sure to be some friction, and the fact that the commander of the corps was a Frenchman did not tend to smooth matters. He found the arrogance of the Prussians intolerable: *ils se souvenaient trop de la guerre de sept ans et trop peu de celle de 1806*. Gneisenau was chief of the staff, and he and Langeron disliked each other heartily. Shortly after the battle of the Katzbach Blücher wrote to the king of Prussia making formal complaint of Langeron's repeated disobedience, and adding that this was due not to ill-will but to incapacity: 'he loses his head for the moment and has no military judgment.' The king seems to have suspected prejudice, for York, who commanded the Prussian corps under Blücher, and had his own grievances against Gneisenau, was privately asked to give his opinion about Langeron; the result was that the latter retained his command. The editor of these memoirs shows clearly what may be gathered even from Müffling's writings, that Langeron was unfairly treated by Blücher's staff, that the brunt of the fighting at the Katzbach fell on him, and that Gneisenau wished to claim all the credit for the Prussians. Langeron seems to have been a respectable though not a brilliant corps commander. As a foreigner he was the more disposed to be careful of his troops, and he knew that Blücher had been told not to run risks, but that his temperament was venturesome. When Müffling urged him to take the offensive boldly, Langeron replied: 'Are you sure, colonel, that the commander-in-chief is not making use of my corps to cover his own retreat?' Such mistrust is not unusual among allies, and was exhibited by Gneisenau at Waterloo.

The memoirs are well written; they show the French skill in portraiture, and throw light incidentally on the merits and defects of Russian troops. We are told of a cavalry expedition which failed because all the officers left their men to secure more comfortable quarters, and all the men got drunk. Nevertheless Langeron felt bound to recommend the commander in due course for reward, for which he received a well-earned rebuke from Alexander. As a rule he is candid and shows no tendency to exaggeration, but his account of the storming of Montmartre rather shakes our confidence in him. He speaks of it as one of the most brilliant feats he had witnessed in nineteen campaigns, and compares it with the storming of Ismail. The Russian troops numbered some 8,000; the hill was held by a few hundred sapper firemen, and the action was cut short by news of the armistice which Marmont had concluded.

E. M. LLOYD.

*La Francia dalla Restaurazione alla Fondazione della terza Repubblica.*  
1814-70. Da GIUSEPPE BRIZZOLARA. (Milano: Hoepli. 1903.)

PROFESSOR BRIZZOLARA is familiar with his subject; his book is accurate, interesting, and impartial. He writes well and clearly, and does not over-tax the memory and patience of his reader by attempting to tell him everything in 650 pages. Yet had he called his book a 'Parliamentary History' the title would more closely have corresponded to the contents. Except when relating the reign of Napoleon III, during a great part of which representative institutions were practically non-existent, he pays

most attention to the debates in the chambers, to the composition of ministries, to the intrigues and changes in the cabinet. We are told very little about social and economic conditions, still less about the intellectual and literary movement, which was never more closely connected with politics than in the days of Chateaubriand and Béranger, of Bonald and Constant, of Lamartine and George Sand and Thiers and Victor Hugo, while under the third empire it was in books alone that the traditions of liberalism were handed down and developed.

Perhaps the best and certainly the most interesting parts of Professor Brizzolara's book are the first and last, the account of the reigns of Louis XVIII and of Napoleon III. To the former ruler he does full justice, crediting him with every wish to check the extravagances of the triumphant legitimists and to support the moderate policy of his favourite Decazes. Nor is he less fair to Louis Napoleon, since he even suggests a half-apology for what to a lover of Italy must always appear the basest of international crimes, the most cynical violation of the 'principles of 1789,' the destruction of the Roman republic by a government which had itself been raised to power by a popular revolt. Signor Brizzolara points out that intervention at Rome was probably the one and only way by which the President could secure the support of the country priests and their flocks; that it was urged by Thiers and the chauvinist liberals, and was condemned only by a small and select minority of the republicans. He allows that Napoleon III was at heart a friend of Italy, and anxious to further her interests against the counsels of his nearest advisers and the entreaties of the empress. But at no time did he feel strong enough to quarrel with the whole clerical party and to risk the alienation of the peasantry by withdrawing his support from the temporal power. Hence, while he was blamed at home by his enemies and by many of his friends for favouring the growth of Italian unity, the gratitude of the Italians for what he gave was cancelled by their disappointment that what they had most at heart should be withheld. Moreover the acquisition of Nice, by which the emperor sought to disarm his chauvinistic critics, threw an air of insincerity over his professedly disinterested zeal for the cause of nationalities. Professor Brizzolara also calls our attention to what was perhaps the best feature in the policy of Louis Napoleon, the interest he consistently showed in the welfare of the labouring classes and to the very substantial improvement in their condition effected during his reign. Much was done for the relief of the impotent poor, and much to deliver the peasants from their dependence on the local usurers. Manufactures and agriculture were directly encouraged and indirectly benefited by care for the development of railways and other means of communication. All this contrasted favourably with the neglect of the poorer classes shown by the monarchy of July, which sought only to win the favour of the bourgeoisie by appeals to their most selfish and material interests.

The free-trade policy of the emperor was particularly creditable; for, although the commercial treaties with England, and afterwards with Italy and Belgium, greatly stimulated French trade and production, the agriculturists and merchants who benefited were only languidly grateful, while the resentment of those who were injured by foreign competition

was loud and bitter. The emperor must from the first have known that by being wiser than his subjects he was likely to incur the same odium as did Vergennes and the government of Louis XVI when they met the overtures of Pitt more than halfway in 1784. We wish Professor Brizzolara had found space to tell us more about the economic development of France during the past century, and especially to explain why the condition of the peasantry, which, as Tocqueville observes, had remained almost stationary during the first generation after the great war, has since so greatly improved. But it is unreasonable for the reader to expect to find all that he may wish to learn about so long and full a period in a single volume, and the author may, on the whole, be congratulated on having successfully performed his task within his self-imposed limits.

P. F. WILLERT.

*The Impeachment and Trial of Andrew Johnson.* By D. M. DEWITT.  
(New York and London: Macmillan. 1903.)

No one, I think, can read Mr. Dewitt's very complete and interesting account of the presidency of Andrew Johnson without arriving at the conclusion that he has received hard measure at the hands of most historians. Granted that he injured his own cause by the vulgarity of his behaviour and the extravagance of his utterances, it by no means follows that, as Mr. Bryce asserts, 'his foolish and headstrong conduct made his removal desirable.' In fact Johnson was fighting for two objects which were by no means insignificant, the first the reconstruction of the south according to Lincoln's policy, the second the independence of the executive against the pretensions of congress. That the 'policy of amnesty, with a prompt return to civil government,' was the policy of Lincoln, and that Johnson herein only continued the work of his great predecessor, is manifest, and is fully recognised by Mr. T. C. Smith in the *Cambridge Modern History*. Moreover subsequent events fully proved the wisdom of this policy. After a period of military rule, political dominion of northern carpet-baggers, and 'Ku Klux Klan' amenities, the south has returned in fact, though not in theory, to the state of things which it was the intention of Lincoln and of Johnson to tolerate. It must be remembered further that, with the exception of a few honest fanatics, the majority of congress was much more interested in preserving a republican majority than in championing the cause of the negroes. The good sense and shrewdness of Johnson were well illustrated by his advice to the southern leaders to 'extend the elective franchise to all persons of colour who can read the constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and all persons of colour who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars and pay taxes thereon.' His advice was disregarded, with the result that an arbitrary majority in congress was given the excuse it wanted to identify national interests with the interests of their party. The constitutional aspect of the struggle between the president and the two-thirds majority of congress opens out questions of great difficulty. Undoubtedly the spirit of the American constitution, with its elaborate system of checks and balances between the executive, the legislature, and the judicial bodies, was violated by the views openly avowed by the impeachers of Johnson that the executive and judiciary, so

far from being co-ordinate with the legislature, were in effect subordinate. The bill cutting off the right of appeal to the supreme court in the McCordle case, passed over the veto of the president, involved a high-handed interference with the rights of American citizens.

On the whole, although in fact Andrew Johnson accepted all the measures which were passed by a two-thirds majority over his veto, enough had happened to justify his warning :

It is true that cases may occur in which the executive would be compelled to stand on his rights, and maintain them regardless of consequences. If congress should pass an act which is not only in palpable conflict with the constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure of the government, and if there be neither judicial remedy for the wrong it inflicts nor power in the people to protect themselves without the official aid of their elected defender—if, for instance, the legislative department should pass an act through all the forms of law to abolish a co-ordinate department of the government—in such a case the president must take the high responsibilities of his office and save the life of the nation at all hazards.

It is impossible here to discuss the eleven articles which furnished the impeachment. The voting began with the last, described as 'a mosaic of fragments of those already adopted,' the object being 'to catch the votes of doubtful senators.' It is difficult to understand what Mr. Smith means by saying that the senate 'on technical grounds failed to convict him by the narrow margin of one vote.' It was not 'technical grounds' but the weakness of the case for the prosecution which caused the republican 'cave' which led to the acquittal. It is hardly fair, moreover, to say that Johnson 'tried to remove Secretary Stanton, his bitter enemy, in apparent defiance of the Tenure of Office Act.' That act stated that cabinet officers 'should hold their offices respectively for and during the term of the president by whom they may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the advice and consent of the senate.' Stanton had not been appointed by Johnson, and therefore the contention of the president was that his case did not come within the provisions of the Act. Such too was the understanding of Senator Sherman when the bill was before the senate, and for this reason the managers of the impeachment never ventured to press to a vote the first article, which dealt with this charge.

It remains to add that Mr. Dewitt has a very lively style and brings out with great vividness the characters brought before us. He writes as a strong partisan, but quotes so abundantly from the original speeches that the reader can form his own conclusions. HUGH E. EGERTON.

As *Sources for Roman History, B.C. 133-70* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), Dr. A. H. J. Greenidge and Miss A. M. Clay have brought together and carefully arranged the most important materials for a period of the first importance in which we have no single guide, and are forced to rely upon broken lights from a considerable number of sources of very varying value. The arrangement is chronological, and though considerations of space have dictated a rather rigorous selection of passages bearing on the external history of the republic during these years the student will find practically every reference to its internal affairs reproduced here in a

form which greatly facilitates their comparative study. The means of checking Mommsen's narrative of this part of Roman history are provided in handy compass.

L.

Father Giuseppe Bonavenia's pamphlet on *La Silloge di Verdun e il Papiro di Monza* (Rome: Tipografia Cuggiani, 1903) is recommended to those who have interested themselves in the question which has agitated the world of Christian archæology at Rome for the last two years, whether Professor Marucchi has really discovered in the catacombs of Priscilla the spot where St. Peter, according to tradition, first baptised and exercised his ministry in Rome. The learned Jesuit's argument is mainly of a negative character; he thinks that the documents named in his title have come down to us in too confused a state to be of much topographical value. For the present we incline to the side of Marucchi, who, however, confesses that we must wait for conclusive evidence until the cemetery of Priscilla has been completely excavated.

G. McN. R.

The difficulty of compressing in a readable form and within the compass of a single small volume the long and complex story of industrial and social development in England is necessarily great, and Professor E. P. Cheyney is to be congratulated upon having, in his *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), given such a bird's-eye view that his readers will probably be tempted to go further. The book may be warmly recommended to any teacher needing such an introduction to the subject, and indeed to any one desirous of acquiring an elementary knowledge of the past. To each chapter a bibliography is attached, and there is a novelty in the shape of maps and illustrations drawn from excellent sources, which should render the book more useful than other works of the same class. The illustrations which show the working of the open field system and the complicated changes and improvements in manufacturing processes may be mentioned as particularly helpful. There are inevitably some slips of little importance upon which it is unnecessary to dwell, and some matters which have been but slightly touched. We could have wished for somewhat fuller treatment of the seventeenth century, for further details as to the working of the poor law and modifications in the matter of parochial settlements, and for some hint of that newer view of the later Navigation Acts for which we are indebted to American investigators. These and other topics we may hope to see included in that later edition for which a demand may be predicted.

E. A. McA.

In *Medieval England, 1066-1350* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1903), Miss Mary Bateson has written a book of so much greater originality and interest than are the majority of the volumes forming the series called the 'Story of the Nations' that it affords a fresh proof that the best popularisers of history are those who have worked most at its sources. Wisely refusing to add to the number of short political histories, she has approached her subject from the social point of view, and has described medieval English society with vigour, frankness, and abundant knowledge.

The book is so good that we regret that she has not sent her readers to fuller sources of information, and are not quite satisfied with her somewhat arbitrary conclusion of her subject in the year 1350. When the facts are so closely packed together some details must necessarily excite questioning, and it is hard to follow either branch of her statement that, 'except in Wales, the Dominicans played no great part on this side of the Channel.' It is not precise to say that the 'lowest part of the west front' of Lincoln Cathedral is the work of Remigius. The illustrations are numerous and in most cases adequate. M.

The subject of the first two of Mr. Oliver J. Thatcher's *Studies concerning Adrian IV*, printed from *The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, vol. iv. (Chicago: University Press, 1903), is the famous bull *Laudabiliter*, by which that pope is supposed to have empowered Henry II to invade Ireland. It may be doubted whether, after so much has been written on the question, it was worth while to go once again over the long controversy; and yet, as the literature is very extensive, and is scattered through a multiplicity of periodicals, Mr. Thatcher's undertaking is perhaps justified. That in his main conclusion he is right will probably be admitted by most people who have trodden the same weary field. But he has not a due sense of proportion in selecting his points, and he fights with equal vigour against all arguments adduced, whether serious or trivial. As for the substance of his treatise, he does little more than rewrite for English readers the masterly article by Scheffer-Boichorst in the fourth supplementary volume of the *Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichte* (1893), to which attention was twice called in this Review, vol. ix. pp. 412 and 628 f. (1894); and he accepts the judgment of that eminent critic that the bull is simply the 'exercise of some twelfth-century student, who was practising himself in the art of letter-writing.' He does well also to lay stress on the fact that the question of the genuineness of the bull has nothing whatever to do with the credibility of John of Salisbury's account of the pope's concession of Ireland to the English king; but this has been already sufficiently proved by Scheffer-Boichorst and by Mr. Round (*The Commune of London*, 1899, pp. 177 ff.) A new point is the argument from a letter of Adrian to Archbishop Theobald, dated at Benevento on 23 Jan. 1156, and quoted in Elmham's *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, that he hoped by means of the investiture of Ireland to dissuade Henry II from his opposition to appeals to Rome. This is a suggestion that deserves consideration. Mr. Thatcher's third essay successfully demolishes the genuineness of the congratulatory letter of an unnamed king to an unnamed pope on his election, which is printed among the letters of Peter of Blois, no. clxviii., and which is commonly supposed to have been addressed by Henry II to Adrian IV. This, he shows, is no doubt a student's exercise. He suggests that it belongs to a much later time even than Peter of Blois, and supports his view by the statement that he has been unable to find the letter in about sixty manuscripts of Peter's letters which he has examined. In conclusion Mr. Thatcher prints from an Admont manuscript the treatise of Gerhoh of Reichersberg *De Novitatibus huius Temporis*, of which the

historical portions only have been published by Sackur in the third volume of the *Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum* in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. The new parts consist chiefly of a polemic against the theological opinions of the disciples of Abailard and of Gilbert de la Porrée, whose tenets are somewhat unintelligently confounded. Mr. Thatcher has not bestowed sufficient pains on the business of verifying Gerhoh's references, even to familiar sources, such as the *Quicumque vult*. Gerhoh quotes John of Damascus from the old version of Burgundio of Pisa, not from the modern translation of Billius; had Mr. Thatcher looked at the Greek he would have seen that *Dominus*, on p. 47, line 9 from foot, ought to be *Deus*. A reference to Boethius, *De Trinitate*, i. 6, would have shown that *ipsum* on p. 65, lines 12 and 11 from foot, should be *idem*. A citation from Maximus of Turin (p. 65) is verified in St. Augustine, but no hint is given that the sermon in question is wrongly assigned. Gilbert's commentary on Boethius is repeatedly quoted by Gerhoh, but no attempt has been made to trace his citations. The statement in a note on p. 77 that Adrian IV 'was the son of a priest' is without authority; and to speak as in p. 78, n. 1, of the Maundy Thursday ceremonies as performed 'on Good Friday, after the mass,' is to show a strange ignorance of catholic usage. It is to be regretted that frequent misprints, and faults in punctuation which often destroy the sense, impose unnecessary obstacles to our appreciation of what is, after all, a very interesting contribution to the controversial literature of the twelfth century.

R. L. P.

Dr. R. R. Sharpe's *Calendar of Letterbooks preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London*, Letterbook B, c. 1275-1312 (London: printed by J. E. Francis, 1900), consists chiefly of a record of recognisances. It illustrates, however, a variety of matters dealing with the civic life and municipal government of London in the thirteenth century, such as inquests upon curfew-breakers and disorderly characters, walkers by night with swords and bucklers; with four jurors of each ward of the city to pronounce verdicts upon oath. We may read of punishments assigned for dicing in taverns after curfew; of millers drawn on hurdles to Newgate, and there replevished for the peace of the lord the king; of the letter patent for the holding of St. Botolph's fair; of the charter to the merchants of Douay, quitting them of murages; of the inquest of 'another' (*i.e.* unnatural) death of William de Wodestoke, who for the purpose of his work improvised a scaffolding out of a door and two boards, and 'the door revolving' fell to the ground, and, 'so languishing, died,' and 'the door was appraised at 8 pence;' and of other matters great and small. The editor, in his preface, gives an account of the chief historical conclusions that may be drawn from the *Letterbook*: perhaps the most interesting is the effort, renewed by the citizens without success from time to time, to get the coroner under civic jurisdiction. It was not till the reign of Edward IV that the king sold them the privilege for 7,000*l.* G. T. W.

Last year (vol. xviii. p. 608) we noticed an inventory of the state archives of Cagliari. We have now to welcome the appearance of a brief calendar

of the local records from 1323 to 1720, by Dr. Michele Pinna, which is a serviceable guide to their contents (*Indice dei Documenti Cagliaritani del regio Archivio di Stato dal 1323 al 1720*. Cagliari: Meloni & Aitelli, 1903).  
N.

The sixth volume of the *Calendar of Close Rolls* for the reign of Edward III (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1902) covers the years 1341-1343, and is chiefly valuable for the details it supplies as to the king's inquiry into the conduct of his ministers in the former year, and as to the finance of the period following his first costly and unsuccessful campaign abroad. The heavy fines exacted from his peccant officials in the various counties are in some cases recorded. Those of Norfolk, for instance, only got off on payment of 5,000 marks. The wages of the commissioners who carried out the inquiry were graduated according to their rank—2 marks a day for an earl, 20s. for a baron, one mark for a banneret, and 6s. 8d. for a knight. It is, however, in questions of taxation and finance that this volume will be most useful to the historian. A broad thread of wool runs right through it, and the king's obligations to the Bardi and other Italian banking houses are piling up ominously. The most important item outside the departments just referred to is a long petition in French, enumerating the shortcomings of the English government in Ireland, which appears to be here printed (pp. 508-16) for the first time. Considering the vast amount of matter that Mr. Hinds has had to deal with, errors are commendably few. The seigneur d'Albret is not very recognisable as the 'lord of le Breto' (p. 227), and we do not know why the Mauléon of a document on p. 501 is identified in the index with Châtillon-sur-Sèvre. Llanton (p. 771) should, of course, be Llantony. The long list of lands on pp. 121-2 might have been identified as those of Laurence Hastings, earl of Pembroke.  
J. T.

Dr. Walther Rachel's *Verwaltungsorganisation und Ämterwesen der Stadt Leipzig bis 1627* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902) is a singularly laborious study of German municipal administration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but the narrow limits which Dr. Rachel has imposed upon himself somewhat detract from the interest and importance of his work. As if actuated by a dread of the bold generalisations of his master, Professor Lamprecht, Dr. Rachel never leaves the plain, definite facts contained in the Leipzig archives; and but for one casual mention of Dresden and another of Nürnberg there is nowhere the least indication as to how far the administrative regulations herein so minutely detailed are characteristic of German towns as a whole. Not only has Dr. Rachel restricted himself to Leipzig, but to one aspect of Leipzig municipal history. There is no account of Leipzig's internal or external politics, of any struggles between *Rath* and *Gemeinde*, or between Leipzig and the ruler of Albertine Saxony or the neighbouring *Ritter*. The book is entirely and exclusively a description of the formal administration of Leipzig, of its municipal officers, its masons and carpenters, its town clerks and mayors, its brick yards, its sheep walks, its mills, and its weigh-houses. We are given exact details of how much and in what way



every municipal employé was paid, and the whole is a monument of patient research among the municipal archives. Yet the book has more than a local interest; many of the details in which it abounds illustrate general movements. We find traces of the encroachments of Roman law and civil lawyers on the old system, of the acquisition by Leipzig of the lands of the neighbouring gentry, and on the other hand of the inroads of territorial influence over Leipzig itself; indeed, the book closes with an account of how the elector of Saxony took the opportunity of confusion in the municipal finance to establish his control over it. We also have an interesting description of the way in which the municipality sought to control every kind of industry, of how offices multiplied and accumulated in the hands of a few, and of how municipal control broke down. Although Dr. Rachel's volume is a piece of technical, dry, and original work it will repay perusal by those who are attracted by the problems of modern municipalisation.

A. F. P.

M. Emile Rivoire has, under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, published (Geneva: H. Kündig, 1900) vol. i. of an edition of the complete Latin text of the *Registres du Conseil de Genève*. This book includes the first four volumes of the original registers, and extends from 1409 to 1461. At that time Geneva was a small city of no very great historical importance, so that the entries in these registers are almost exclusively of purely local interest. The volume is well printed and is enriched by a very detailed index of the names of all the places and persons mentioned in its pages. But this is all that the editor has done to help historical students, for marginal notes, footnotes, even an introduction, are totally absent. No doubt such helps would have taken up much room, but their complete absence will be a great drawback to any one wishing to study the work. It is difficult to imagine a German Historical Society issuing such a volume, which of course contains much that is valuable in itself, but lacks every kind of finger-posts. According to the preface there seems to be no intention of issuing a second volume within any measurable time.

O.

Father Conrad Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S. R. E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series ab anno 1431 usque ad annum 1503 perducta* (Münster: Regensberg, 1901) is a continuation of a work already noticed in this Review. What it adds to the *Series Episcoporum* of Gams is, as regards this volume, derived entirely from official documents at the Vatican. Though, of course, there is less room for correction of mistakes than in the previous volume, the present continuation is not without real value. To the dates of appointment are added the sums paid *pro servitio communi* to the holy see upon appointment. These were supposed to represent a third of the annual revenue of the *mensa episcopalis*. It is surprising to find how little these sums correspond with the known value of the sees, at least in the case of England. The archbishop of Canterbury pays as much (10,000 florins) as his far richer brother of York, and the even richer bishop of Lincoln pays only 5,000. Appendix I contains a list of bishops *in partibus* or other extraneous bishops who at various times acted as suffragans in various dioceses. That the list is exceptionally

long in the case of the enormous and wealthy English dioceses is only what might be expected. In England Irish bishops were often employed in this capacity. Appendix II contains a list of sees arranged in provinces. It is a pity (to mention a very small point) that the primatial sees should nowhere be distinguished from the metropolitical.

H. R.

M. Charles Joret's little study, *La Bataille de Formigny, d'après les Documents Contemporains* (Paris: Bouillon, 1903), is a modest but valuable contribution to the military history of the Hundred Years' War. The author's minute acquaintance with the ground, of which he gives a careful map, enables him to correct the accounts of the battle given by Cosneau and Beaucourt in some important respects, and he has brought together all the notices of Kyriel's defeat to be found in the historians of the fifteenth century.

J. T.

We are glad to record the appearance of a third edition of the second volume of Professor L. Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgange des Mittelalters* (Freiburg: Herder, 1904), the first edition of which we reviewed in 1890 (vol. v. p. 782). As the author's special merit lies in his unwearied researches into and copious notes from all contemporary literature, whether in print or in manuscript, in libraries or in archives, which can in any way illustrate his subject, each new edition means a considerable accession of new materials. The alterations and insertions, so far as we have compared the book with the first edition, mostly affect details; but they are very numerous, and the period from Pius II to Sixtus IV is one of such importance and interest that every trifling addition is precious.

P.

The *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, edited by Dr. Paul Fredericq *en zijne leerlingen*, threatens to become one of the bulkiest collections of the sixteenth century. The fifth volume (Gent: Vuylsteke, 1903), containing 485 pages, covers only three years and a quarter (September 1525–December 1528), and if this is the scale of those years of comparative moderation under Charles V, when he was himself at war with the papacy, what will it be in the days of Alva? Even by 1546 30,000 anabaptists alone are said to have suffered in Holland and Friesland. This volume is, however, full of interest; it opens with a list of heretics supplementary to that given in vol. iv., and the first entry, *vele aanhangers van Wiclef*, illustrates the oft-disputed permanence of Wyclif's influence. But Luther's rod soon swallowed that of Wyclif, and in time was overshadowed by the Anabaptist, though there are fewer traces of the origins of that movement in this volume than might have been expected. On pp. 184–5 we have an order by the Antwerp magistrates for the suppression of Tyndale's Testament, dated 16 Jan. 1527, which shows that Antwerp editions of that book had begun to appear earlier than has been thought.

A. F. P.

In *Die Jesuiten: eine historische Skizze* (Leipzig, 1904), Dr. H. Boehmer-Romundt treats in popular fashion and without notes the entire history of the order. He shows an exact knowledge of the original materials for the life of St. Ignatius, and judges the aims and successes of his society with independence and impartiality.

F. L.

Mr. John Murray is bringing out a new edition of *The Works of John Lothrop Motley*, in nine volumes. Of these the first, containing the first volume of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (London, 1903), has been sent to us. It is well printed and includes three portraits. Q.

Mr. Arthur Hassall's *Mazarin* (London: Macmillan, 1903) is mainly a history of diplomacy. Mazarin was essentially a diplomatist, and circumstances compelled him to be always exercising his talents. The history of his struggles with the Old and New Frondees is as complicated a history of skilful diplomatic intrigue on his part as the history of the combined war and diplomacy which ended in the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, in which the advantages gained by France were due quite as much to the astuteness of the subtle Italian cardinal as to the victories of Condé and Turenne. The tortuous history of the eighteen years of Mazarin's administration is placed clearly before the reader, with some repetitions which are perhaps unavoidable in dealing with so complicated a web of events on any other plan than the strictly chronological one. Mr. Hassall admits the charge of neglect of home affairs, which is the chief blot on Mazarin's rule. His nepotism and a tendency to prefer intrigue to bolder methods are the chief things which mark him off as a lesser man than Richelieu, and were the chief cause of the prolongation of his troubles. But his policy was singularly successful in the long run. It had the merit of embodying Richelieu's ideas in a permanent form in the league of the Rhine. Mr. Hassall believes that Mazarin was secretly united in marriage to Anne of Austria. It is certainly a theory which would explain much. Whether it be true or not, he laid the foundations of Louis XIV's power in Europe, and it was chiefly by his departure from the lines laid down by his political tutor that Louis XIV brought about its downfall. The book contains, in addition to a very necessary chronological table, useful genealogical trees of the family of Mazarin, and of Louis XIV and the great Condé.

W. E. R.

Mr. E. C. Molsbergen's *Frankrijk en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1648-1662* (Rotterdam: Wenk & Birkhoff, 1902), may be regarded as a continuation of Waddington's *La République des Provinces-Unies, la France, et les Pays-Bas Espagnols de 1630 à 1650*. It deals in detail with the relations of the two countries during the years when Mazarin governed the one and De Witt guided the policy of the other. The book is clearly written and rests on researches made in the Dutch archives and at the French foreign office. The manuscript despatches of the residents and ambassadors of both countries are quoted at considerable length. Incidentally it throws much light on the foreign policy of England during the period, especially on the question of the attitude of France during the war of 1652-4, and on that of England during the quarrel between Holland and France in 1657. One incident of particular interest first related in detail in these pages is the resumption of the plan for the division of the Spanish Netherlands between Holland and France, by which Mazarin endeavoured to allay the uneasiness of the Dutch at the progress of the French arms in Flanders in 1658 (p. 179).

The appendix contains a certain number of documents relating to the events of 1648-9, and the instructions given to Bellièvre on his mission to Holland in December 1650. R.

The first volume of the second series of *Venetianische Depeschen vom Kaiserhofe*, edited by A. F. Pribram (Vienna : Gerold, 1901), forming part of the series of historical publications issued by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Austria, contains despatches written by the Venetian envoys at Vienna from April 1657 to July 1661. As Dr. Pribram points out in his introduction, the reports of the Venetian agents are at this period a source of no great value for the history of northern and western Europe ; on the other hand they are authorities of the greatest value when they deal with the affairs of eastern Europe, in which the state of Venice was deeply interested. The information which they contain about occurrences in Hungary, Transylvania, Belgrade, and Constantinople is both accurate and detailed. The relations of Austria and Turkey were to the Venetians, engaged in their long struggle with the Turks, a question of paramount importance. Besides this the letters contain many descriptions of the life of the Austrian court and of the character of the emperor and his chief ministers. A number of the earlier letters are from the hand of Giovanni Battista Nani, the celebrated historian, but the greater part of the volume consists of those of his successor, Alvise Molin. The editor compares the accounts of events given by the two envoys, and points out that those of Nani show more clearness and insight, a firmer grasp of things, and a consistent desire to obtain first-hand knowledge of men and events. S.

The third and concluding volume of *Papers illustrating the History of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572-1792*, edited for the Scottish History Society by James Ferguson (Edinburgh : T. and A. Constable, 1901), contains, first, the Rotterdam papers, 1709-1782, and secondly the Remembrance, 'A Metrical Account of the War in Flanders, 1701-12, by John Scot, Souldier.' The Rotterdam papers consist of four folio volumes taken from the Scottish Church in Rotterdam in 1811. They contain baptism and marriage registers and communion rolls, together with some account books. These throw light incidentally upon the internal economy of the regiments, and show that throughout the whole period of their service a large proportion of those serving in the ranks were of genuine Scottish extraction, and also that they intermarried not a little with natives of the country. The 'Metrical Account of the War' contains an historical record of striking interest of the campaigns of Marlborough in the Netherlands, often in the form of a continuous diary from the pen of an eye-witness, who himself fought in the ranks. The manuscript is now in the possession of Mr. John Scott, C.B., of Halkhill, and was formerly in the Auchinlech library. It bears on the fly-leaf an autograph note of Lord Auchinlech (James Boswell), which concludes with the words, 'The book is wrote in homely Rhyme, but shows the poor Souldiour has had attention and genius too.' This praise is fully merited. The narrative is full of terse and vigorous descriptions not merely of battles, sieges, and marches, but of the appearance of the towns

and the ways of the people. The picture given, for instance, of Hertogenbosch, the Buss of Brabant, as the writer calls it, with its streets and bridges and windmills (pp. 319-21), is very graphic. Among the military pieces one of the most remarkable for its fulness of detail is the story of the siege of Lille in 1708 (pp. 417-51) and of the battle of Ramillies (pp. 376-81). In 1703 Scot was taken prisoner at Maestricht, and with his fellow captives was marched to Amiens, where he remained until he was exchanged twenty-two weeks later. His account of the treatment he received and of the kindness of the duke of Berwick to his 'countrie men' gives a more vivid insight into what actually occurred in the campaigning of those days than is to be found in despatches or read even in the most elaborate of memoirs and histories. This volume has a short introduction briefly indicating the nature of the contents and the sources from which they have been derived. Four illustrations show the colours of the brigade prior to 1782, and the uniforms of Houston's, Stuart's, and Dundas's regiments in 1775. There is a complete index to all proper names occurring in the text.

G. E.

Although the title of Mr. W. R. Smith's work, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1903), is substantially the same as that of Mr. McCrady's book issued by the same publishers, the historians themselves deal with different matter. The present volume contains an elaborate examination of the land system and of the government during the period in which South Carolina was a royal province. The chapters on 'Colonial Rights' and on 'Financial History' are of special value. Mr. Smith, differing herein from some of the younger school of American historians, believes that 'we may safely affirm that the real history of the revolt dates from the founding of the first English settlement in Virginia. . . . The general character of the conflict was the same in all, a reproduction of the constitutional history of the mother country.' But in England the outcome of the constitutional history was the evolution of responsible or party government, a conclusion to which neither the representatives of the people nor the representatives of prerogative tended in America. The continuous invasion of the province of the executive by committees of the legislature was not the direction in which the English people made good their liberties. The American precedents led dangerously near to anarchy, and when their system of government was finally evolved it was in striking contrast with the system which had silently developed in the mother country. It is, however, not necessary to agree with Mr. Smith's general view to recognise the very great value of his complete study of the constitutional and financial history of the times which preceded the Revolution.

H. E. E.

Under the title of *Three Frenchmen in Bengal; or, the Commercial Ruin of the French Settlements in 1757* (London: Longmans, 1903) Mr. S. C. Hill treats of MM. Renault, Law, and Courtin, chiefs of the French factories at Chandernagore, Cossimbazar, and Dacca respectively. Mr. Hill, who is in charge of the records of the government of India, has found in the archives at Paris and at the British Museum unpublished documents

which supplement the information to be derived from the Indian records, and enable him to give something like a continuous account of the downfall of the French settlements on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. He begins with the siege of Chandernagore by Clive and Admiral Watson; but the most interesting chapter is that which deals with the adventures of Law, and consists mainly of extracts (translated) from his memoir. Mr. Hill points out that there were two Laws, Jean and Jacques François, who have been mixed up by French writers and by Colonel Malleson. They were brothers (nephews of John Law, the financier), and both were colonels. Jean was the chief of Cossimbazar factory. Driven away from there by Siraj-ud-daula to please the English, he made his way with a small body of men to Delhi, helped the Mogul army to besiege Patna, and surrendered to the English after the battle of Suan (or Gaya) in 1761. He gives a most vivid picture of Siraj-ud-daula and his court. We also get interesting glimpses of Clive and his dealings with the Nawab.

E. M. LL.

The valuable appendix to Dr. J. L. Windenberger's work entitled *La République Confédérative des Petits Etats: Essai sur le Système de Politique Etrangère de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris: Picard, 1900), includes fragments of Rousseau's writings, printed for the first time, from the libraries of Geneva and Neuchâtel, with specimen pages in facsimile. The Genevan manuscripts include the first draft of the *Social Contract*; the library of Neuchâtel has a longer list and more that is novel. Between them the two libraries have the original manuscripts of most of Rousseau's works. In the light more especially of the Genevan fragments it seemed clear to Dr. Windenberger that Rousseau was conscious of a gap in his political theories, and had cherished the hope of filling it up. The theories had not been applied beyond the relations of members to each other and to their own state. There remained unconsidered (or insufficiently considered) the relation of nations to each other. A people may be sovereign within itself, but this may avail it little if it is confronted with powerful rivals (p. 51). How can the small states, which are Rousseau's ideal, preserve their existence against the ambition of the larger and stronger? The answer is by a scheme of alliance between the small states. Rousseau, in a note to the *Social Contract*, had hinted that he might work out this idea more fully at a later time, and there is the evidence of a contemporary (the count d'Antraigues) for the general line which he would have followed (pp. 54-5). He projected a book on 'Political Institutions,' which Dr. Windenberger tries to restore for us (pp. 65 *seq.*) Certain ideas (*e.g.* war is a relation of state to state, not man to man) are already familiar; we are not brought very much further than the general conclusion (p. 237) that after the social contract must come the international contract. It cannot come, more's the pity, in the way of religion, and it cannot come in the way of the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, or by amiable and too sanguine cosmopolitanism. It must come from a confederated republic of small states. Dr. Windenberger is learned, critical, and clear. He lays his finger on most of the weak spots. At this interval from Rousseau it is easy for us to discover such. For example, we can all wonder now that Rousseau, unlike Fichte in his

political Utopia, makes so little account of commerce as a possible cause of contention and possible means of union. J. B.

The well-known account by K. P. Moritz of his visit to England in 1782 has been re-edited with a literary introduction by Otto zur Linde (*Reisen eines Deutschen in England*. Berlin, 1903). F. L.

In a discourse delivered on 3 Aug. 1903 Professor Otto Gierke discusses *Die historische Rechtschule und die Germanisten* (Berlin, 1903). The historical law school founded in 1814 placed itself in opposition to the rationalistic law of nature. While, however, Savigny, and still more Puchta, sought to restore unadulterated Roman law, and to abolish the German principles which had become established in legal theory and practice in spite of the 'reception' of Roman law, the Germanists, with the aid of the philologists and medieval historians, combated the school of Savigny as one only in name historical, but in reality based on Romanistic prepossessions. They won the day in the assemblies of 1846-7, which were the prelude to the national parliament of 1848. Professor Gierke's lively address illustrates the development of historical study as well as of the national movement in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. F. L.

In *Napoleon's Captivity in Relation to Sir Hudson Lowe* (London: Bell, 1903) Mr. R. C. Seaton has given to the world in an ampler and more interesting form the substance of the work *Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon*, which we noticed in 1899 (vol. xiv. p. 402). New materials have meanwhile come to light, and the time seems to have arrived for a complete statement of the essentials of the St. Helena question of 1815-21. Even now the great storehouse of trustworthy information is Mr. Forsyth's work, *History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena*, published in 1853. But, as that work is out of print, besides being bulky and not very readable, it is well to have in a single volume the gist of it, together with extracts drawn from more recent sources of information. Mr. Seaton first passes in review the early part of Lowe's life, and shows from the testimony of Sir Robert Wilson, Sir John Moore, and the people of some of the Ionian islands, which Lowe administered during the early part of the British occupation, that he earned the esteem and affection of his brothers in arms and of those whom he governed. The same was true of his relations to Blücher and Gneisenau during the campaigns of 1813-4, when he was attached to their headquarters. A proof of his firmness is given in his refusal to carry out the behest of the prince of Orange shortly before the campaign of 1815, when, for some reason not fully known, the Dutch government wished to place obstacles in the way of the Prussian army when about to enter its territory. Doubtless it was his firmness and his earlier experience of Italians and Corsicans that pointed out Lowe as the best guardian of Napoleon at St. Helena. To enter into a discussion of the many tangled questions connected with the Napoleonic exile would take far more space than can be allotted to this notice. It must, therefore, suffice to say that Mr. Seaton handles these topics with good sense and fairness.

He does not blink the fact that Lowe occasionally made mistakes, doubtless arising from his extreme care to prevent an escape which was at all times feasible, but he shows that, on the whole, the case against the governor is based on prejudice or ignorance, and not infrequently on deliberate malice.

T.

On 25 Nov. 1903 Professor K. von Amira addressed the Munich Academy of Sciences on Konrad von Maurer (*Gedächtnisrede*, published with the *Abhandlungen* of the Academy). He pointed out that in his work *Ueber das Wesen des ältesten Adels der deutschen Stämme* (1846) Maurer was the first to treat legal history by the comparative method; afterwards he devoted himself to the study of antiquity by means of the institutions of those Teutonic nations which were least influenced from without. Grimm indeed persuaded him to write in 1853-5 on the Anglo-Saxons, but all Maurer's most important work belongs to the domain of Scandinavian antiquities, especially in connexion with law, the church, and literature. In the course of a sympathetic and judicial estimate Amira illustrates the problems and methods of Teutonic legal history.

F. L.

In *Select Statutes and other Documents illustrative of the History of the United States, 1861-1898* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1903), Mr. W. Macdonald completes the series of which *Select Charters* and *Select Documents* formed the previous parts. With a certain dramatic impressiveness the volume opens with the proclamation of April 1861, calling for 75,000 volunteers, and closes with the treaty of Paris, December 1898, under which the United States entered formally upon the scene of international relations as a world power. As is natural, the Civil War casts its shadow over the contents of the volume, more than half of it dealing, directly or indirectly, with matters arising from that struggle. The full text of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message is given. Mr. Macdonald's head notes are as brief and as informing as in the previous volumes. Altogether the collection will be found of great value to students of American history. It should be noted that exigencies of space forbade the inclusion of certain subjects, e.g. the public lands and the tariff.

H. E. E.

It is, one must suppose, impossible for Frenchmen to write about Egypt *sine ira aut studio*. Out of the wreck of Napoleonic predominance their position in the Nile land was almost the only thing saved for national consolation under the revived monarchy and the second empire; and it was destined to give the final proof of their collective insufficiency in imperial matters. Not that a Frenchman understands the matter so. At best he grasps, like M. Jules Cocheris in his *Situation Internationale de l'Égypte et du Soudan* (Paris: Plon, 1903), half the truth when he inveighs against his own foreign ministers who held office at such epochs as those of the treaty of London, the rebellion of Arabi, and the incident of Fashoda. But to blame his government is quite another thing to blaming himself. Just as in the Revolution he was always convinced that, if he could find the right formula, he must lead the world, so now he seems equally sure that, given a minister worthy of the nation, there is



that in the French people which must prevail. All untoward events are the result of the treachery or cowardice of individuals within or the diabolical machinations of peoples without. To account for the success of the latter he has to advance the most fantastic theories, and to ascribe to foreign statesmen more than human prevision and less than human conduct. If the British Foreign Office, for example, could even conceive, not to say execute, the half that some Frenchmen believe it to have conceived and executed, it would not be France alone that it would be overwhelming with its diplomacy, but the whole European Concert. If they would only believe it, Downing Street has been just as short-sighted and as opportunist as the Quai d'Orsay. But it has had at its disposal what French ministries have not had in anything like the same degree, men of first-rate calibre, capable of seizing opportunities and using events. There is a list of the more recent of them in this very book. Whom during this period has France had to compare with these? It is a racial matter. For half a century she has lacked great men of action; and it is for just that half-century that she has been talking of the 'disinterestedness' of her policy. In the day of her strength we heard little of it. M. Cocheris, like all his countrymen, recurs ever and again to the glories of the Napoleonic era, but fails to remember on how different a basis those glories rested from these pleas of international law, sanctioned by a Concert of Powers. M. Cocheris has made an exhaustive study of the treaties and other state papers relating to Egypt since the treaty of London; he knows British public men and affairs better than most of his countrymen. He might have written a very valuable book if he had confined himself to a juristic examination. As it is, he has let himself be drawn into general politics and the most amazing exposition of causes and motives. If, unlike his co-nationalists on the staff of a defunct Egyptian journal, he cannot quite believe the Mahdi and the Khalifa to have been paid British agents, he can still credit Mr. Wilfrid Blunt with having been a cat's-paw of the Foreign Office; Arabi with a previous and comprehensive understanding with Sir Garnet Wolseley; Gordon with having been deliberately sacrificed to the end that the Egyptian tenure of the Soudan might be replaced by a British conquest. The author's exposition of international law, as it regards Egypt, is academically correct enough; but most of the documents quoted have long been dead letters, and indeed in the absence of effective sanction never had at any time much bearing on the actualities of the case. V.

The second part of the eighth volume of H. F. Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, entitled *Der Atlantische Ozean* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1903), is a continuation of the seventh, although the division between the two is not strictly chronological. Thus the part dealing with science, art, and culture gives a sketch from the Renaissance down to the present time. The first four parts, however, deal in order with the general course of events from the beginning of the French Revolution. The first part, by Dr. Kleinschmidt, is concerned with western Europe in the time of the Revolution, of Napoleon I, and of the reaction; the second, by Dr. von Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, treats of European reforms, political and social, between 1830 and 1859; the third, by Dr. Friedjung, com-

prises the union of Italy and of Germany from 1859 to 1866; the fourth, by Dr. Egelhaaf, is concerned with the years 1866-1902; the fifth, by Dr. Richard Mayr, who contributed the economic section of the seventh volume, takes up contemporary intellectual and artistic movements; the sixth, by Dr. Karl Weule, considers the historical significance of the Atlantic Ocean, and thus brings us round, in an extensive cycle, to the history of America, with which the whole work began. Probably the parts that will be found most useful to the student are those which deal with important events of recent history, such as the Franco-German war of 1870-1, the emancipation of Greece and Italy, the various constitutional changes in France. Naturally we find that France dominates the first part, Germany the third and fourth. The sketch of intellectual progress attempts too little and too much. We have a large number of names of reformers, authors, and books, but no general framework. None of the contributors shows a very profound knowledge of English institutions or of the leaders in social and intellectual progress in this country. Some interesting speculations are suggested as to the part to be played in the history of succeeding generations by the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean of the future.

We have also received the English translation of the second volume of this work (*The World's History*. London: Heinemann, 1904), on *Oceania, Eastern Asia, and the Indian Ocean*. English readers will be especially gratified to have an account of the relations of China, Japan, and Corea down to 1902.

In 1901 the Association Internationale des Académies discussed at its meeting in Paris a plan laid before it by the Bavarian Academy for the publication of a *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*. The Association resolved that the scheme should be shaped and worked out in detail by a committee selected from the academies specially interested in the enterprise, and that at the next meeting in London (1904) definite arrangements should be made for its execution. The committee practically resolved itself into the representatives of two academies, Professor Krumbacher and Professor Jireček. It is, in fact, to the initiation of Professor Krumbacher that the plan was originally due. The need of a *Corpus* of this kind has been acutely felt by all students who have worked at the medieval history of eastern Europe. The only attempt at such a collection is the *Acta et Diplomata* of Miklosich and Müller, an incomplete work, without indexes, ill-designed, and now impossible to procure. The Bavarian Academy has just published a programme of the plan and scope of the proposed *Corpus*,<sup>1</sup> drawn up by Professors Jireček and Krumbacher, and evidently very carefully thought out. In planning such a work it is a matter of great difficulty to circumscribe its compass and lay down limits which are practical and yet not illogical. To devise a purely theoretical scheme is easy enough, but there are always practical considerations which necessitate a compromise with theory. The earlier limit of date is to be the reign of Constantine, but 1453 (1460) is not to be the later; posterior documents,

<sup>1</sup> *Plan eines Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters, und der neueren Zeit* (Munich, 1903).

even as late as the nineteenth century, will be included, provided they contain evidence as to older documents of the Byzantine period, or illustrate the survival of Byzantine foundations (especially monasteries) or Byzantine institutions, or are framed on the model of Byzantine diplomata. The indispensable condition for the admission of a document into the *Corpus* will be that it should be in the Greek language, the sole exceptions being translations of Greek *Urkunden* or confirmations of such by foreign governments. On the other hand composition in the Greek language will be a sufficient qualification; the collection will not be restricted to documents issued by emperors, patriarchs, imperial officials, &c.; it will be open to public records in Greek from neighbouring states—Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary, Roumania, the Two Sicilies, &c. The imperial novels of a general character and the acts of ecclesiastical synods will naturally be excluded; and of course private letters will not be admitted. But public documents that are preserved through quotation in historical literature or in private epistles will be included. The charters of monasteries founded by private persons (τυπικὰ κτητορικά)—which contain much valuable material for social history—will also have their place in the *Corpus*. As for documents on stone, sepulchral inscriptions and *Bauinschriften* (for instance, the records on the walls of Constantinople) are to be shut out, and the general rule will be that only those can be admitted which present copies of *Urkunden* not contained in another form. The late Greek papyri which pour in every year from Egypt offer a practical difficulty; they need a *Corpus* for themselves, yet they cannot be left out of account in the present undertaking, owing to their inestimable importance for the history of Byzantine diplomatic. The suggestion accordingly is that a series of typical specimens (*die Haupttypen*), arranged in chronological order, should be printed, and Professor Wilcken has promised to select and edit them.

The size of the *Corpus* is estimated at about eighteen volumes, large octavo, of 500 or 600 pages, and the distribution of the documents is to be, as in the *C. I. L.*, geographical. The cost of collecting and preparing the material for the press is calculated at 4,500*l.*, which means 300*l.* a year, if the execution of the work is spread over fifteen years, assuming that the publishers of the work defray the expenses of the printing, &c. This sum ought not to exceed the resources of the academies of Europe, and it is to be hoped that at the approaching congress in London the Bavarian plan may be as warmly supported as it deserves.

To the statement of the scheme is appended an extensive catalogue (not claiming to be complete) of the existing *byzantinische und neu-griechische Urkunden*, carefully prepared by Dr. Paul Marc, and valuable in itself quite apart from the scheme which it is designed to illustrate.

J. B. B.

## *Notices of Periodical Publications*

- Catalogue of Greek hagiographical manuscripts of the monastery of S. Salvator at Messina* [now in the university library of the town]: by H. DELEHAYE.—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 1.
- On the manuscripts from the Philipps library recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale*: by H. OMONT [who describes, with extracts, forty-nine manuscripts in 114 volumes].—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- On a leaf of the sixth-century papyrus of St. Augustine's sermons* [once at Narbonne, now partly in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 11641, partly at Geneva] stolen from the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés and carried to St. Petersburg: identified, with a facsimile, by L. TRAUBE. L. DELISLE adds *correspondence of Pierre Pithou and Nicolas le Fèvre* [1577-1604] relative to their search for manuscripts.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- H. J. Lawlor's work on the manuscripts of Jonas' Vita Columbanii*: by B. KRUSCH [who commends the author's account of the eight English manuscripts, but thinks his own treatment of the entire question much better than Dr. Lawlor's].—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- The Arabic authorities for the Spanish expedition of Charles the Great* [778]: by R. BASSET.—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 2. *March*.
- The grant of immunity by Lewis the Pious for the monastery of Inden, or Cornelimünster* [817]: by E. STENGEL [who reconstructs the text from a confirmation by Otto the Great, compared with diplomas of Lewis the Pious and with one of Lewis the Younger].—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- On Benedictus Levita's collection of canons* [and its relation to canonical compilations associated with Freising and Mainz]: by E. SECKEL.—N. Arch. xxix. 2 (continued from xxvi. 1).
- The library of the abbey of Micy in the ninth and tenth centuries*: by A. PONCELET [who demolishes the opinion of P. Arnauld that the account of it in Letaldus' *Miracula S. Maximini* dates from the twelfth century].—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 1.
- Two fragments of bulls on papyrus of Silvester II* [999] and *Leo IX* [1052] for the church of Puy: by M. PROU.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- A letter attributed to pope Leo IX?* [in an eleventh-century manuscript belonging to the monastery of St. Peter at Salzburg: printed by abbat W. HAUTHALER [who considers it probably a school exercise]].—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- Guilbert of Nogent and his historical method*: by B. MONOD.—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 1. *Jan*.
- Twenty-six papal bulls* [1121-1396] from the Brondolo collection now at Nuremberg: printed by J. KNÖPFLE. [Most of them relate to the monastery of Brondolo, but some to other places and persons—the church of St. Vitus at Melfi (1175), the parish church of Andernach (1184-5), the Cistercian order (1255), the church of St. Boniface at Halberstadt (1259), the church of Ebsdorf (dio. Verden), the church of Reckenz (1274), the archbishop of Ravenna (1333), and the Augustinian hermits (1354)].—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 4.
- Five unpublished bulls of Eugenius III, Lucius III, Celestine III, and Innocent III* [1147-1198]: printed from the archives of the Meuse by A. LESORT and M. PRÉVOST.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- Franciscan literature* [a review of recent lives, books, and editions concerning St. Francis].—Edinb. Rev. 407. *Jan*.

- The Catalan Atlas of Charles V* [1375]: by C. DE LA RONCIÈRE [who holds that its basis, the planisphere drawn in Majorca by Angelino Dulcert in 1339, is not of Catalan origin, but probably Genoese].—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- Memoir by Abraham de Wicquefort*, resident of the elector of Brandenburg at the French court [on public affairs between 1646 and 1659]: printed by A. WADDINGTON. [The memoir was written in the Bastille after his dismissal in 1659].—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.
- Contract for the establishment of a Swedish 'factorie-comptoir' at Amsterdam* [1663]: printed by J. E. ELIAS.—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.
- The Berlin despatches of Rébenac*: by R. FESTER [who thinks that from 1680 to 1684 they are a valuable secondary authority for the history of Brandenburg, but from 1685 are of service for French history only. He examines in particular the light they throw on the ambassador's system of bribery, and discusses the Schwiebus arrangement and the activity of the Jesuits].—Hist. Zft. xcii 1.
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- Ethical values in history*: by H. C. LEA [controversing Lord Acton's view that historical personages should be judged by a fixed standard of morality].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 2. Jan.
- Monotheism in Semitic religions*.—Church Qu. Rev. 114. Jan.
- The primacy of the Roman see as attested by archæological evidence*: by the rev. A. S. BARNES.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 49. Jan.
- Minucius Felix*.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 49. Jan.
- The hagiography of Salona* according to recent archæological discoveries: by H. DELEHAYE.—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 1.
- The invention of gunpowder*: by R. GARNETT [who suggests that it may be traced to Libanius, a magician in the time of Honorius].—Athenaeum, 3983. Febr. 27.
- St. Salonus of Geneva*: by M. BESSON [who maintains that his works have been wrongly attributed to a non-existent bishop of Vienne of the same name].—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch., 1904, 1.
- Some theological aspects of the iconoclastic controversy*: by Miss A. GARDNER [who treats principally of John of Damascus and Theodore of Studium].—Hibbert Journ. ii. 2. Jan.
- On the story of Boemund of Antioch's captivity in Ordericus Vitalis*: by J. LAIR.—Bull. Soc. Antiquaires de Normandie, xxii. p. 87.
- The Cathari and their practice of 'consolamentum'*: by J. GUIRAUD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 1. Jan.
- Miscellaneous notes on the dealings of Italian bankers with the English kings, chiefly in the thirteenth century*: by R. J. WHITWELL.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- Note on a Basle merchant at Genoa in 1216*: by G. CARO.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch., 1903, 4.
- The cardinal priest of Capua* [sent by Gregory X to Rudolf of Habsburg at Basel in 1275]: by R. STERNFELD [who considers Capua to be a mistake for Padua, and identifies the envoy with Simon Paltineri of Padua, cardinal of St. Martin].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.
- Financial dealings between Strassburg and Winterthur* [1314-1479]: by K. HAUSER, with documents.—Jahrb. Schweiz. Gesch. xxviii.
- The Baltic trade and the Hanse towns from 1350 to 1450*: by E. DAENELL [illustrating English commerce and navigation to Norway and the Baltic, especially to Danzig, and the struggle against the Hanseatic monopoly].—Hans. Geschichtsbl., xxx. p. 3.
- The emperor Charles V and his court*: by A. RODRIGUEZ VILLA [continued to 19 Aug. 1527].—Boletin R. Acad. Hist. xlv. 1.
- Margaret of France, duchess of Berry and afterwards duchess of Savoy* [daughter of Francis I]: by H. PATRY [who claims her for a protestant], with two portraits.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 1. Jan.
- Cardinal Ludovico Simonetta* [datary of Pius IV and legate to the Council of Trent]: by E. SOL.—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr. xxvi.

- Scottish officers in Sweden* [1573-1627]: by A. F. STEUART.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 2. Jan.
- Queen Elizabeth and the Hanse towns*: by K. HÖHLBAUM [who prints a *declaratio causarum*, which he attributes to Walsingham, defending the capture by sir Francis Drake in April 1589 of the sixty ships which the Hanse towns had sent in the preceding year from the Baltic to the mouth of the Tagus in support of Spain. Owing to the death of Suderman in 1591 the Hanseatic answer prepared by him was never issued].—Hans. Geschichtsbl. xxx. p. 135.
- The Merchant Adventurers at Hamburg*: by W. E. LINGELBACH [who traces the decline of the company during the seventeenth century and to its extinction in 1806].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 2. Jan.
- Naturalisation in England and the American colonies*: by A. H. CARPENTER.—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 2. Jan.
- Royalist and Cromwellian armies in Flanders, 1657-1662*: by C. H. FIRTH.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- The merchants of St. Gall at Marseilles and Lyons, and their troubles* [1681-1697]: by T. RIVIER.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 1. Jan.
- Bourienne's mission at Hamburg* [1805-1810]: by G. SERVIÈRES. I.—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 2. March.
- The Prussian co-operation at Waterloo*: by J. H. ROSE [who argues that Wellington gave no definite promise of help to the Prussians before Ligny; that he received distinct assurances of an early advance from Blücher on 18 June, but that this advance was delayed by the caution of Gneisenau; that the Prussian troops helped Wellington mainly by relieving him of the pressure of 14,000 men between 4.30 and 6.30, but, accepting the opinion of M. Houssaye, that the final defeat was decided by the repulse and retreat of the Imperial Guard].—Monthly Rev. 42. March.
- The Eastern Question in 1856-1859*.—Russk. Star. Febr.
- Napoleon III at Magenta*: by G. BAPST [who gives a detailed account of the battle, partly from unpublished materials].—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 2. March.
- Theodor Mommsen*: by K. J. NEUMANN.—Hist. Zft. xcii. 2.

### France

- St. Méen*: by F. DUINE [who prints the life from the Dol breviary of 1519 and gives an elaborate bibliography of the saint].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 2.
- The entries in the Roman Liber Censuum relating to France*: by C. DAUX [who comments on them according to their topographical arrangement].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 1. Jan.
- Jehan Boine Broke, burgess and draper of Douai* [c. 1310?]: by G. ESPINAS.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 1.
- Statistics of the customs tariff under Philip of Valois*: by H. MORANVILLÉ.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxiv. 5, 6.
- Charles V of France and the Great Schism*: by H. KAISER.—Hist. Zft. xcii. 1.
- The fiscal measures of the Avignon popes in Brittany during the Great Schism*: by G. DE LESQUEN and G. MOLLAT [on the arrears of the dioceses of Saint-Malo and Nantes, from the Vatican archives].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 2 (continued from xviii. 2, 4).
- Girot Davy of Bayeux and his relations with the English government* [1419-1438]: by E. ANQUETIL.—Bull. Soc. Antiquaires de Normandie, xxii. p. 136.
- Jean de Chantepie* [the leader of the Norman insurgents who tried to expel the English from Caen in 1434]: by G. VILLERS.—Bull. Soc. Antiquaires de Normandie, xxii. p. 128.
- The catholic reaction at Orléans* [1563-1565]: by P. DE FÉLICE.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. lii. 6. Nov.
- Memorial of the protestants of Toul to Charles IX* [1571]: printed, with the king's reply, by H. DANNREUTHER.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. lii. 6. Nov.
- Arrêts of the council of state affecting the reformed religion under Louis XIII* [1611]: printed by H. STEIN.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 1. Jan.

- The district of Redon*: by L. DUBREUIL [on the situation in the district before 1789 and the formation of the district].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 2.
- An unpublished account of the events of 5-6 October 1789* at Versailles and Paris: printed from a manuscript at Upsala by L. MAURY.—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 2. *March.*
- The Swiss club at Paris*: by G. TOBLER [from the minutes of its proceedings beginning in June 1790].—Jahrb. Schweiz. Gesch. xxviii.
- Fragments of the memoirs of Charles Engelbert Oelsner on the French Revolution*: printed by A. STERN [June 1792].—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 1. *Jan.* (continued from lxxxiii. 2).
- The conventionnel Prieur [de la Marche] on mission [1793-4]*: by P. BLIARD.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 1. *Jan.*
- The concordat of 1801*: by D. M. O'CONNOR.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 49. *Jan.*

### Germany and Austria-Hungary

- The charters for the see of Worms and their confirmation by Otto I and Otto II*: by J. LECHNER [who maintains their spuriousness against the criticism of K. Uhlirz].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.
- The oldest Bohemian chronicle*: by J. PEKAŘ (continued).—Český Čas. Histor. *Jan.*
- Recent literature concerning Christian, the Bohemian historian*: by B. BRETHOLZ [chiefly in criticism of J. Pekař's arguments for an early date].—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- German handicraft and trade in the middle ages*: by F. PHILIPPI [who argues that guilds originated for the purposes of dealing in goods, not of the handicrafts themselves].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.
- The earliest municipal document of Treves [1149]*: printed by G. KENTENICH.—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- Classes and courts in the Sachsenspiegel*: by P. HECK.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. und Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 1.
- An examination of the so called chronicle of Dalimil*: by M. JEŘÁBEK.—Český Čas. Histor. *Jan.*
- Studies on John of Victring*: by F. SCHNEIDER. II: The manuscripts and composition of the *Liber certarum Historiarum*; the *Anonymus Leobiensis*.—N. Arch. xxix. 2 (continued from xxviii. 1).
- On the Reformatio of the emperor Sigismund* by H. WERNER.—N. Arch. xxix. 2.
- On the peace of Szegedin and the battle of Varna [1444]*: by J. BLEYER.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.
- John Pistorius and his attitude towards the doctrine of ubiquity*: by HABLITZEL.—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 4.
- Military diaries from the headquarters of the League [1620]*: printed by S. RIEZLER.—Abhandl. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch. (hist. Kl.), xxiii. 1.
- The ecclesiastical policy of Brandenburg on the Lower Rhine, in the early part of the seventeenth century*: by F. SCHRÖDER. II.—Hist. Jahrb. xxiv. 4.
- Friedrich von Spee, S. J. [† 1635], and the witches at Würzburg [an account of his attack on the inquisition]*.—Church Qu. Rev. 114. *Jan.*
- Prussian strategy in the seven years' war*: by R. KOSER.—Hist. Zft. xcii. 2.
- Hanover and Prussia from 1795 to 1803; a study in neutrality*: by G. S. FORD.—Columbia Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Econ. xviii. 3.
- Three Letters of Heinrich Leo [1835-1844]*: printed by C. VARRENTTRAPP.—Hist. Zft. xcii. 1.
- Engelbert Mühlbacher*: by O. REDLICH.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.

### Great Britain and Ireland

- A proposal for a bibliography of English history since the end of the middle ages*: by G. W. PROTHERO.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- The intellectual influence of English monasticism between the tenth and the twelfth century*: by Miss R. GRAHAM.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- The development of industry and commerce in Wales during the middle ages*: by E. A. LEWIS.—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.

- The succession of the bishops of Dunkeld*: by bishop J. DOWDEN. I: c. 1114-1250.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 2. Jan.
- The English Premonstratensians*: by the right rev. F. A. GASQUET [who gives an account of the foundation and early growth of the order of white canons, and describes the dispute between the abbat of Prémontré and the English houses relative to the former's claim to talliages, 1310-1315. The paper has since appeared, with some rearrangement, in the preface to the writer's *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia*, i.]—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- Note on the charters of Oseney abbey* [now at Christ Church, Oxford]: by the rev. H. E. SALTER [who brings evidence for the return of the empress Matilda to England in 1149].—Athenaeum, 3980. Febr. 6.
- On the beginnings of Gothic architecture in England*: by the comte DE LASTEYRIE [who argues against J. Bilson's view that it may be traced back to c. 1095. He thinks it possible that the Gothic style may have been used in Normandy as early as about 1130, and holds that the earliest examples of it may be found elsewhere than in the Île de France].—Bull. Soc. Antiquaires de Normandie xxii. p. 29.
- English monasteries and the wool trade in the thirteenth century*: by R. J. WHITEWELL.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 1.
- The early history of burghs in Scotland*: by sir J. D. MARWICK. I.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 2. Jan.
- The barons' letter to the pope* [1301]; plates of the seals, with explanations, continued.—The Ancestor, 8. Jan.
- Early fourteenth-century costume*, illustrated from the Royal MS. 14 E. iii.—The Ancestor, 8. Jan.
- Evidence of the admission by officers of arms of the right to bear arms by prescription from 1394 to 1671*: by W. P. BAILDON.—The Ancestor, 8. Jan.
- Notes on the succession of the bishops of St. Andrews*: by bishop J. DOWDEN. III: 1403-1571.—Journ. Theol. Stud. 18. Jan.
- Bondmen under the Tudors*: by A. SAVINE [who infers their considerable number from preserved records of manumissions].—Trans. R. Hist. Soc., N.S., xvii.
- The Ipswich apprentice books* [29 Hen. VIII-3 Eliz., and 1582-1651]: by M. B. HUTCHINSON.—Notes and Queries. Jan. 16.
- Bishop Chaderton and the recusants in the diocese of Chester*: by dom B. CAMM.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 49. Jan.
- The Jews and the English Law*: by H. S. Q. HENRIQUEZ [who maintains, against L. Wolf, that no change was made in their legal status during the Commonwealth].—Jew. Qu. Rev. 62. Jan.
- The fiscal policy of Scotland before the union*: by W. R. SCOTT.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 2. Jan.
- Jacobite songs*.—Edinb. Rev. 407. Jan.
- Notes from the domestic accounts* [1711-1732] of James Lawrie, minister of Kirk-michael, Ayrshire: by the rev. H. G. GRAHAM.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 2. Jan.
- The family of Angelo* [Tremamonté]: by the rev. C. SWYNNERTON.—The Ancestor, 8. Jan.
- Captain Bligh of the 'Bounty'*: by A. DENMAN [who prints extracts from letters of Thomas Denman Ledward, surgeon's mate and then surgeon of the ship, 1787-9].—Notes and Queries. Dec. 26.
- Thomas Creevey and his contemporaries* [1769-1838]: by T. E. KEBBEL.—Quart. Rev. 397. Jan.
- The history of the British army* [on recent works]: by E. M. LLOYD.—Quart. Rev. 397. Jan.
- Mr. Morley's Life of Gladstone*: by GOLDWIN SMITH.—North Amer. Rev. clxxvii. 6 clxxviii. 1. Dec., Jan.
- W. E. H. Lecky*: by the hon. EMILY LAWLESS.—Monthly Rev. 41. Febr.

### Italy

- The Roman Campagna*: by G. TOMASSETTI, continued [on the Vie Labicana and Prenestina].—Arch. R. Soc. Rom, di Stor. Patr. xxvi.



- The Tabularium of S. Maria Nova from 982 to 1200*: by P. FEDELE, concluded.—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr. xxvi.
- The itinerary of archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury [990] and the road from Rome to Lucca by way of Siena*: by J. JUNG [who makes a minute topographical examination of the route and illustrates it by the help of other recorded journeys; with remarks on early English visits to Rome, Romfeoh, and the English *schola* in Rome. Prefixed is a chapter on Lucca as the chief town of Tuscany in the earlier middle ages].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 1.
- The Greek monasteries in South Italy*: by the rev. K. LAKE. IV: The libraries of the Basilian monasteries.—Journ. Theol. Stud. 18. Jan.
- Studies on the early constitution of the commune of Florence* [previous to the rise of the *primo popolo*]: by P. SANTINI, concluded.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 4.
- The podestà of Siena*: by F. SCHWILL [tracing the decline of the podestà into a purely judicial officer].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 2. Jan.
- The organisation of the woollen industry at Florence*: by G. BONOLIS.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 4.
- The origin of the Parte Guelfa and its relation to the commune*: by R. CAGGESE [showing how the relation of the Parte to the constitution varied according to the political circumstances of the several cities].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 4.
- The statutes of the canons of Cremona in 1247*: printed by F. NOVATI.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xl.
- On the principal sources for the biography of Stefanardo de Vicomercato*: by G. CALLIGARIS.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xl.
- A customs tariff of 1317 between Florence and Bologna* [with an elaborate schedule of the duty on each article imported]: by L. FRATI.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 4.
- Papal rule in the Patrimony*: by M. ANTONELLI, continued to 1353.—Arch. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr. xxvi.
- Antonio Carabello, humanist of Bergamo in the fifteenth century*: by A. SEGARAZZI [who prints two of his speeches].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xl.
- Ludovico Sforza and the republic of Venice from the autumn of 1494 to the spring of 1495*: by A. SEGRE, concluded.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 3rd ser., xl.
- A proposal made by Vittorio Amedeo II [1718] to cede his claims on Sicily to the emperor in return for possession of the duchy of Parma and the reversion of Tuscany*: by E. ROBIONY.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxii. 4.
- The kingdom of Naples in the time of Charles of Bourbon*: by M. SCHIPA, concluded.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 4.
- Unpublished letters of Bernardo Tanucci to Ferdinando Galiani [July 1763–March 1764]*: printed by F. NICOLINI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 4.
- The end of the Neapolitan republic*: by H. HÜFFER. II. [The writer holds that, though (as Ruffo was fully aware) the capitulation was legally invalid, and therefore could not be executed, still the Englishmen were to be blamed because, as it was impossible to restore the *status quo ante*, they did not use the opportunity for an act of grace towards the republicans. The blame he distributes among Nelson and the several Neapolitan authorities.].—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 1. Jan.
- Girolamo Pignatelli, prince of Moliterno, and his career from 1799 to 1848*.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxviii. 4.
- Italian policy and the Vatican*: by F. SANTINI.—Monthly Rev. 41, 42. Febr., March.

### Netherlands

- The early form of government of Dordrecht*: by J. L. VAN DALEN.—Bijdr. vaderl. Geschied., 4th ser., iii. 3, 4.
- Fragments of Dordrecht accounts* [of the latter part of the thirteenth century and later]: printed by J. L. VAN DALEN.—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.
- The finances of the town of Gouda in the fifteenth century*: by J. HEINSIUS.—Bijdr. vaderl. Geschied., 4th ser., iii. 3, 4.
- Memorial of a party among the citizens of Amsterdam against the magistracy [1564, 1565]*: printed by the late A. J. M. BROUWER ANCHER and J. C. BREEN.—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.

- Four letters of Willem van Oldenbarnevelt to Hugo Grotius* [1629-1633]: printed by H. C. ROGGE [with a letter of Philip IV, 1634].—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.
- Mémoire touchant le négoce et la navigation des Hollandois* [Amsterdam, June 1699]: printed by P. J. BLOK [who shows that the original dates from 1696-1697, and examines its relation to the *Mémoires sur le commerce des Hollandois*, by Pierre Daniel Huet, bishop of Avranches, published in 1717].—Bijdr. en Mededeel. hist. Genootsch. xxiv.
- Schiedam in the time of the Patriots* [1778-1787]: by K. HEERINGA.—Bijdr. vaderl. Geschied., 4th ser., iii, 3, 4.

### Russia

- Diplomatic relations between Moscow and the Holy See in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*.—Russk. Star. Dec.
- Antonio Possevino, S. J.*: by P. PIERLING [giving details of his residence in Russia and Poland].—Russk. Star. Dec.
- The false Demetrius and prince Adam Wiszniewecki* [in whose house the pretender first made himself known]: by P. PIERLING.—Russk. Star. Jan.
- The first guerilla chief in the war of 1812*: by D. MIASOYEDOV. [He is stated to have been a certain Nicholas Leslie, of Scotch descent].—Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.
- The riot of the Dekabrists* [1825], from the recollections of an old inhabitant.—Istorich. Viestnik. Jan.
- Extracts from the diary of M. Korf* [illustrating the early part of the reign of Nicholas I].—Russk. Star. Febr.
- Characteristics of the emperor Nicholas I*: by E. PAKHOLKOVA.—Istorich. Viestnik. Dec.
- Two letters of count M. Muraviev to prince Dolgorukov* [on the condition of affairs in Poland at the time of the insurrection of 1863].—Russk. Star. Dec.

### Spain and Portugal

- The Jews and the inquisition in Spain and Portugal*: by E. N. ADLER [who gives a supplementary list of autos de fé, 1542-1794].—Jew. Qu. Rev. 61. Oct.
- The expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the plans of Charles III for their secularisation*: by F. ROUSSEAU.—Rev. Quest. Hist. lxxv. 1. Jan.

### Switzerland

- The Augustinian monastery and hospice of S. Maria in Silvaplana*, in the Upper Engadine: by J. G. MAYER [who prints documents, 1228-1390, from originals in its archives].—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch., 1904, 1.
- The foreign investments of the treasury of Bern in the eighteenth century*: by J. LANDMANN. I.—Jahrb. Schweiz. Gesch. xxviii.
- The Swiss coinage at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century*: by J. STRICKLER.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 1.
- The troubles in Nidwalden after the overthrow of the act of mediation and the transfer of Engelberg to Obwalden*: by R. DURRER.—Jahrb. Schweiz. Gesch. xxviii.

### America and Colonies

- The beginnings of Maryland* [1631-1639]: by B. C. STEINER [a more elaborate treatment of the subject than has hitherto appeared].—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Science, xxi. 8-10.
- The jurisdiction of the vicariate apostolic of London over the West Indies* [and the continent of North America, 1685-1819], from documentary materials: by the rev. T. HUGHES, S.J.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 49. Jan.
- The English statutes in Maryland*: by Sr. G. L. SIOUSSAT.—Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Science, xxi. 11, 12.
- French influence on the adoption of the federal constitution*: by C. A. DUNIWAY [who proves that no attempt was made by French agents to oppose its adoption].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 2. Jan.

# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Early Norman Castles of England*

### PART II.

31. **PONTEFRACT.**—This castle is not spoken of in Domesday Book by its French name, but there can be hardly any doubt that it is 'the castle of Ilbert,' which is twice mentioned and several times alluded to in the *clamores*, or disputed claims, which are enrolled at the end of the list of lands in Yorkshire belonging to the tenants in chief.<sup>1</sup> The existence of Ilbert's castle at Pontefract in the eleventh century is made certain by a charter (only an early copy of which is now extant) in the archives of the duchy of Lancaster, in which William Rufus at his accession regrants to Ilbert de Lacy 'the custom of the castelry of his castle, as he had in the Conqueror's days and in those of the bishop of Bayeux.'<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Holmes remarks, this carries us back to four years before the compilation of Domesday Book, since Odo, bishop of Bayeux, whom William had left as regent during his absence in Normandy, was arrested and imprisoned in 1082. Another charter, which is a confirmation by the second Ilbert de Lacy of the ecclesiastical gifts of Ilbert I and Robert, his son, states that the chapel of St. Clement in the castle of Pontefract was founded by Ilbert I in the reign of William II.<sup>3</sup>

Pontefract is called Kirkby in some of the earlier charters, and this was evidently the English (or rather the Danish) name of the place. It lay within the manor of Tateshall, which is supposed to

<sup>1</sup> D. B. i. 373 b.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Holmes's *History of Pontefract*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Monast. Angl.* v. 128.

be the same as Tanshelf, a name still preserved in the neighbourhood of, but not exactly at, Pontefract. Tanshelf claims to be the Taddenescylf mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where Edgar received the submission of the Yorkshire Danes in 947.<sup>4</sup> There is no proof that the hill at Kirkby was fortified before the Conquest, but it would be equally difficult to prove that it was not. It was a steep headland rising out of the plain of the Aire, and needing only to be scarped by art and to have a ditch cut across its neck to be almost impregnable. It lay scarcely a mile east of the Roman road from Doncaster to Castleford and the north. Kirkby is not mentioned in the Survey, but Tateshall was a rather large manor, having soke in seven other places and over some odd carucates in three other places. It had belonged to King Edward.

It is no part of our task to trace the fortunes of this famous castle, which was considered in the middle ages to be the key of Yorkshire.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the labels affixed to the walls we venture to assert with some confidence that none of the masonry now visible belongs to Norman times, except the remains of the chapel of St. Clement's. The structural history of the castle was probably this: Ilbert de Lacy, one of the greatest of the Norman tenants in chief in Yorkshire,<sup>6</sup> built in this naturally defensive situation a castle of earth and wood, like other Norman castles, exceptional only in having a motte at each end. Whether he found the place already defended by earthen banks, and by a ditch cut across the headland, we do not attempt to decide, but analogy makes it almost certain that the mottes were his work, and were crowned by wooden towers. The western motte, which was at least partially scraped out of the soft sandstone rock, is now disguised by the remarkable keep which has been built up round it. This keep consists at present of two enormous round towers and the ruins of a third; but, as a fourth side is vacant, it may reasonably be conjectured that there was a fourth roundel.<sup>7</sup> If the plan was a quatrefoil it exactly resembled that of the keep of York, which is now ascertained to belong to the reign of Henry III; and the very little detail that is left, or has been preserved by drawings, confirms this view. Probably the keep at Pontefract was copied from the royal experiment at York, though it differed from it in

<sup>4</sup> It is not necessary to discuss the meaning of the name Pontefract, since, for whatever reason it was given, it was clearly bestowed by the Norman settlers.

<sup>5</sup> 'Castrum de Pontefracto est quasi clavis in comitatu Ebor.' (Letter of Ralph Nevill to Henry III, *Foedera*, i. 429, cited by Holmes, *Pontefract*, p. 194.)

<sup>6</sup> The Conqueror had given him more than two hundred manors in Yorkshire (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xiv. 17).

<sup>7</sup> Four roundels are indicated in the plate given in Fox's *History of Pontefract*, 'from a drawing in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.' But the drawing is so incorrect in some points that it can hardly be relied upon for others. There were only three round towers in Leland's time, but one of them may have been masked by constructions on the platform.

that it actually revetted the motte itself. There is no ditch now round the motte, but we venture to think that the ditch is indicated by the position of the postern in Piper's Tower, which seems to mark its outlet. It appears to have been partly filled up during the great siege of Pontefract in 1648; <sup>8</sup> but it must have been partially obliterated by the formation of the platform from which the motte now rises, which was probably no part of the original work. Excavation only can decide this question.

The eastern motte has not even been noticed by the many writers on Pontefract Castle; yet it seems evident that the hill now at the east end is not made up entirely of the ruins of John of Gaunt's magnificent building there, by which the motte was probably as completely revetted as its western fellow had been at an earlier period. Even a vestige of the ditch probably remains in the deep sallyport on the north side.

These two mottes are probably alluded to in an inquisition of 1361 copied by Dodsworth, which says that 'the foresaid castell within the wall is worth nothing yearly, because it needs much reparation of the walls, houses, and motes.'<sup>9</sup> If 'mote' here represents the Latin *mota*, we have to remark that *mota* in medieval documents always means a motte, and never a ditch, for which *fossatum* is the invariable word. The learned Muratori has some sharp criticism of Spelman for translating *mota* as *moat* in his *Glossary*.<sup>10</sup>

It is generally said that the area of Pontefract Castle is seven acres, but the measurements of the bailey given by Holmes work out to about three. Probably the measurement of seven acres includes the barbican or Main Guard, and an outer bailey which once covered the approach on the south side. The shape of the main bailey is an irregular oval, determined by the hill on which it stands.

The value of the manor of Tateshall had fallen at the time of the Survey from 20*l.* to 15*l.*, an unusual circumstance in the case of a manor which has become the site of an important castle; but the number of ploughs in the manor had decreased by half, and we may infer that Tateshall had not recovered from the great devastation of Yorkshire in 1068.

32. RAYLEIGH.—'In this manor Sweyn has made his castle.'<sup>11</sup> Sweyn was the son of Robert Fitz Wymarc, one of the Norman favourites of Edward the Confessor. Robert was sheriff of Essex under Edward and William, and Sweyn appears to have succeeded

<sup>8</sup> Drake's account of the siege says that there was a hollow place betwixt Piper's Tower and the Round Tower, all the way down to the well; the gentlemen and soldiers all fell to carrying earth and rubbish, and so filled up the place in a little space (quoted in Holmes's *Manual of Pontefract Castle*).

<sup>9</sup> 'Notes on the Wapentake of Osgoldcross' (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxviii. 262).

<sup>10</sup> *Antiquitates Italicae*, ii. 504.

<sup>11</sup> "In hoc manerio fecit Suenus suum castellum" (D. B. ii. 43 b).

his father in this office.<sup>12</sup> Sweyn built his castle on land which had not belonged to his father, so Rayleigh cannot be the Robert's castle of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to which some of the Norman adventurers fled on the triumph of Earl Godwin. There is a fine motte at Rayleigh, and a semicircular bailey attached; the ditch round the whole is still well marked. There is not a vestige of masonry, and it is probable that there was never anything there but a wooden castle. But the castle is mentioned as late as the reign of Henry II.<sup>13</sup> The whole area of the castle, including the ditches and banks, is about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres. The value of the manor had risen since the Conquest. It was only a small manor, with no soke.

33. RHUDDLAN.—The whole passage about Rhuddlan in Domesday Book is worth quoting.

Earl Hugh [of Chester] holds Roelent of the king. Englefield lay there in the time of King Edward, and it was entirely waste. Earl Edwin held it. When Earl Hugh received it it was still waste. Now he has in demesne half the castle which is called Roelent, and is the *caput* of this estate. Robert of Roelent holds of Earl Hugh half of the same castle and of the borough, in which Robert has ten burghers' houses and half of the church. . . . There is a new borough there and eighteen burghers' houses. . . . In this manor of Roelent a castle has lately been built, which is also called Roelent.<sup>14</sup>

Rhuddlan of course is in Flintshire, but the victorious campaign of Earl Harold in 1063 had added a considerable part of North Wales to the dominion of England, and what is now Flintshire is reckoned in the Survey as part of Cheshire. As such it had formed part of the earldom of Edwin. King Griffith, who made himself master of all Wales towards the end of Edward the Confessor's reign, had a 'palace' at Rhuddlan, probably a wooden hall, which was burnt by Harold in 1063.<sup>15</sup> After this Rhuddlan remained waste or uninhabited till William's days, as Domesday Book very clearly tells us.<sup>16</sup> Though the name Englefield seems to show that there

<sup>12</sup> Freeman, *N. C.* ii. 329, and iv. note H.

<sup>13</sup> Pipe Rolls, xiii. 134, xix. 23; and in 27 Henry II.

<sup>14</sup> 'Hugo comes tenet de rege Roelent. Ibi T. R. E. iacebat Englefield, et tota erat vasta. Edwinus comes tenebat. Quando Hugo comes recepit similiter erat vasta. Modo habet in dominio medietatem castelli quod Roelent vocatur, et caput est huius terrae. . . . Robertus de Roelent tenet de Hugone comite medietatem eiusdem castelli et burgi, in quo habet ipse Robertus 10 burgenses et medietatem ecclesie. . . . Ibi est novus burgus et in eo 18 burgenses. . . . In ipso manerio est factum noviter castellum similiter Roeland appellatum' (D. B. i. 269 a, 1).

<sup>15</sup> A.-S. C. 1063. See also Freeman, *N. C.* ii. 683.

<sup>16</sup> Domesday says that Robert de Roelent held Nortwales under the king, and also Ros and Reweniou; the last two districts roughly correspond to the modern shire of Denbigh. The line of Anglo-Norman advance in North Wales is indicated by the mottes of Rhuddlan, Hawarden, Mold, Basingwerk, Caergwrl, Wrexham, Yale, and Dernion, and those of Aberlleinog, Conway, Aber, Bangor (?), and Carnarvon, where Hugh Lupus, the Norman earl of Chester, is said to have built castles. Some of these

was some English settlement in the district, it is plain that there was no fortification at Rhuddlan before the 'castle newly erected' by Earl Hugh and his vassal Robert de Roelent.<sup>17</sup> The motte of this castle still stands, to the south of the magnificent castle of Edward I, together furnishing a notable proof of the progress made between the eleventh century and the thirteenth century. In Gough's time the motte was still 'surrounded with a very deep ditch, including the abbey, and falling into that of the castle.' Nothing can be seen of this ditch now, except on the south side of the motte, where a deep ravine enters from the river. It is, therefore, impossible to recover the area or shape of the bailey. The motte is now called Abbot Hill, and not Tut Hill,<sup>18</sup> as it was called in Gough's time. As from Gough's description it was within the precincts of the priory of Black Friars, founded in the thirteenth century, it is extremely probable that Edward I gave the site of the old castle to the Dominicans when he built his new one.<sup>19</sup> The fact that the work in the Edwardian castle is all of one date suggests that it was built on a new site.

The value of the manor and berewicks of Rhuddlan, of which there were a great many, for Rhuddlan was the centre of a large district, had risen from nothing to 23*l.* 13*s.*

The mention of the *novus burgus* by the Survey calls for a few words. Our older antiquaries, finding that the word *burgenses* was commonly used in Domesday Book in connexion with a site where a castle existed, formed the mistaken idea that a *burgus* necessarily implied a castle. But a *burgus* was the same thing as a *burh*, that is, a *borough* or fortified town. It may have existed long before the castle, or it may have sprung up after the castle

mottes may be of the time of Henry II, as Basingwerk probably is. Dernion Castle is mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II (ii. 26), and is possibly Rug, at the head of the valley of Edeyrnion, where there is a motte. Domesday Book says that Rainald, a man of Earl Roger's (probably Rainald de Bailleul, the builder of Oswestry Castle), has two *finēs* in Wales, Chenlei and Derniov (i. 255 a, 1). Yale Castle was undoubtedly on the motte Tomen y Roddwy, which Leland noticed halfway between Vale Crucis and Ruthin. It is commonly attributed to Owen Gwynedd in the twelfth century, because he occupied it then. For Ros and Reweniou see Mr. W. H. Stephenson's map of England before the Norman Conquest, in Poole's *Historical Atlas*.

<sup>17</sup> Ordericus refers as follows to the building of Rhuddlan Castle: 'Decreto regis oppidum contra Guallos apud Rodelentem constructum est, et Roberto, ut ipse pro defensione Anglici regni barbaris opponeretur, datum est.'

<sup>18</sup> Tut or toot hill means 'look-out' hill, and is not unfrequently given to abandoned mottes. The word is still used in mining works. Cf. Christison's *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Such presentations of old castle sites, and of old wooden castles, to the church were not uncommon. We have seen how the site of Montacute Castle was given to

Cluniac monks (*ante*, p. 238). Thicket Priory, in Yorkshire, occupied the site of the castle of Wheldrake; and William de Albini gave the site and materials of the old castle of Buckenham, in Norfolk, to the priory which he founded there. The materials, but not the site, of the wooden castle of Montferriand were given in Stephen's reign to Meaux Abbey, and served to build some of the monastic offices.

was built. The latter case was very common, for a nobleman who built a castle would almost certainly build a *burgus* near it, because it was to his advantage to do so. In exchange for the protection offered by the borough wall or bank he could demand *gablum*, or rent, from the burghers; he could compel them to grind their corn at his mill and bake their bread in his oven; he could exact tolls on all commodities entering the borough, and if there was a market he would receive a certain percentage on all sales. The borough was, therefore, to him an important source of revenue. The immediate establishment of a borough at Rhuddlan, as soon as the castle was built on the deserted banks of the Clwydd, is a very interesting fact. In some places a 'new borough' is clearly a new suburb, doubtless having its own fortifications, built specially for the protection of the Norman settlers, as at Norwich and Nottingham. This cannot have been the case at a place so entirely waste (*tota vasta*) as Rhuddlan.

34. RICHARD'S CASTLE.—There can be little doubt that this is the castle referred to in Domesday Book under the name of Avreton.<sup>20</sup> Richard's Castle is not far from Overton (Avreton), on the northern border of Hereford. It is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the castle of Richard Scrob, one of Edward the Confessor's Norman favourites and his sister's son. At the time of the survey Richard was dead, and the castle was held by his son Osbern, and it is noted that he pays 10s., but the castle is worth 20s. to its owner. Its value was the same as in King Edward's time, a fact worth noting, as it coincides with the assumption that this was a pre-Conquest castle. There is a motte at Richard's Castle, and a small bailey which is roughly square with rounded corners. The fragments of masonry which remain on the motte are later than the eleventh century.<sup>21</sup> The whole area of the castle is about three acres. Avreton was not the centre of a soke, but appears to have lain in the manor of Ludford.

35. RICHMOND.—As in the case of Pontefract, this other great Yorkshire castle is not mentioned by name in Domesday Book, nor is there any allusion to it except a casual mention in the Recapitulation that Earl Alan has 199 manors in his castlery, and that besides the castlery he has forty-three manors.<sup>22</sup> The castle, however, must have been built at the date of the Survey, which was completed only a year before William I's death; for during William's lifetime Earl Alan, the first holder of the fief, gave *the*

<sup>20</sup> 'Isdem Osbernus habet 23 homines in castello Avreton et reddit 10 solidos. Valet ei castellum hoc 20 solidos' (D. B. i. 186 b).

<sup>21</sup> Clark, *Medieval Military Architecture*, ii. 402.

<sup>22</sup> 'Comes Alanus habet in sua castellata 199 maneria. . . . Praeter castellariam habet 43 maneria' (D. B. i. 381 a, 2).



chapel in the castle of Richmond to the abbey of St. Mary at York, which he had founded.<sup>23</sup> The name of course is French, and it seems impossible now to discover what English vill name it has displaced.<sup>24</sup> It is certainly a case in which the Norman castle was not placed in the seat of the former Saxon proprietor, but in the site which seemed most defensible to the Norman owner. The lands of Earl Alan in the wapentake of Gilling had belonged to the Saxon Earl Edwin, and thus cannot have fallen to Alan's share before Edwin's death in 1071. The Genealogia published by Dods-worth in the *Monasticon* (from a manuscript compiled in the reign of Edward III) says that Earl Alan first built Richmond Castle, near his chief manor of Gilling, to defend his people against the attacks of the disinherited English and Danes.<sup>25</sup> The passage has been modified by Camden, who says that Alan 'thought himself not safe enough in Gilling;' and this has been interpreted to mean that Alan originally built his castle at Gilling, and removed it to Richmond; but it does not really bear this meaning.<sup>26</sup>

Richmond Castle differs from most of the castles in our Domesday list in that it has no motte. Yet it would be rash to assert that it never had one. The ground plan, indeed, is exactly that of a motte and bailey castle. At the apex of the large triangular bailey may be seen in old maps a smaller roundish enclosure, just large enough to be the base of a motte. This ward, in the middle ages, formed the barbican to the castle; it can now only just be traced. We have already seen that at Chepstow and Gloucester the mottes were transformed into barbicans. But we shall not venture to insist that there was once a motte at Richmond; the proof is insufficient. It is possible that the powerful earl who founded the castle designed from the first to have a stone keep, though the design was not carried out for some eighty years. The present keep is attributed by the Genealogia cited above to Earl Conan,

<sup>23</sup> This is stated in a charter of Henry II, which carefully recapitulates the gifts of the different benefactors to St. Mary's (*Mon. Angl.* iii. 548). It is curious that the charter of William II, the first part of which is an insipidum of a charter of William I, does not mention this chapel in the castle.

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Skaife, the editor of the *Yorkshire Domesday*, thinks that it was at Hinderlag, but without giving his reasons. But Hinderlag, at the time of the Survey, was in the hands of an under-tenant (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* pt. lii. pp. 527, 530).

<sup>25</sup> 'Hic Alanus primo inceptit facere castrum et munitionem iuxta manerium suum capitale de Gilling pro tuitione suorum contra infestationes Anglorum tunc ubique exhaeredatorum, similiter et Danorum, et nominavit dictum castrum Richmond suo ydiomate Gallico, quod sonat Latine divitem montem, in editiori et fortiori loco sui territorii situatum' (*Mon. Angl.* v. 574).

<sup>26</sup> There are no remains of fortification at Gilling, but about a mile and a half away there is, or was (nothing could be heard of it on a recent visit), an oval enclosure called Castle Hill, of which a plan is given in McLaughlan's paper, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vi. It had no motte. Mr. Clark says, 'The mound at Gilling has been removed;' it probably never existed except in his imagination.

who reigned from 1148 to 1171.<sup>27</sup> Some entries in the Pipe Rolls make it probable that it was finished by Henry II, who kept the castle in his own hands after the death of Conan.<sup>28</sup> There are some indications at Richmond that the first castle was of stone and not of earth and wood. The walls do not stand on earthen banks; the Norman curtain can still be traced on two sides of the castle, and on the west side it seems of early construction, containing a great deal of herring-bone work, and might possibly be the work of Earl Alan.

According to the measurements given in the old plan published by Clarkson<sup>29</sup> the whole area of the castle contained only about three and a half acres, including the annexe known as the Cockpit. Other authorities give the area as five acres. The Cockpit was enclosed in Norman times, for it has a Norman gateway in its wall.

As we do not know the name of the site of Richmond before the Conquest, and as the name of Richmond is not mentioned in Domesday, we cannot tell whether the value had risen or fallen. But no part of Yorkshire was more flourishing at the time of the Survey than this wapentake of Gilling, which belonged to Earl Alan; in no district, except in the immediate neighbourhood of York, are there so many places where the value has risen. Yet the greater part of it was let out to under-tenants.

36. ROCHESTER.—Under the heading of Aylsford, Kent, the Survey tells us that ‘the bishop of Rochester holds as much of this land as is worth 17*s.* 4*d.* in exchange for the land in which the castle sits.’<sup>30</sup> Rochester was a Roman castrum, and portions of its Roman wall have recently been found.<sup>31</sup> The fact that various old charters speak of the *castellum* of Rochester has led some authorities to believe that there was a castle there in Saxon times, but the context of these charters shows plainly that the words *castellum Roffense* were equivalent to *castrum Roffense* or Hrofesceastre.<sup>32</sup> Otherwise there is not a particle of evidence for the existence of a castle at Rochester in pre-Norman times, and the passage in Domesday Book quoted above shows that William’s castle was a new erection, built on land obtained by exchange from the church.

<sup>27</sup> The Genealogia in the *Monasticon* (v. 574) says from 1166 to 1170; the chronicles given at the beginning of Morice’s *Bretagne* give the dates as above.

<sup>28</sup> Henry spent 51*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* in 1171 on ‘operationes domorum et turris,’ and 30*l.* 6*s.* in 1174 on ‘operationes castelli et domorum.’

<sup>29</sup> Clarkson’s *History of Richmond*.

<sup>30</sup> D. B. i. 2 b: ‘Episcopus de Rouecestre, pro excambio terrae in qua castellum sedet, tantum de hac terra tenet quod 17 sol. et 4 den. valet.’

<sup>31</sup> See Mr. George Payne’s paper on ‘Roman Rochester,’ in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi. Mr. Hope tells me that parts of all the four sides are left.

<sup>32</sup> Thus Egbert of Kent, 765, gives ‘terram intra castelli moenia supranominati, id est Hrofescestri, unum viculum cum duobus jugeribus’ (Kemble, i. 138); and Offa speaks of the ‘episcopum castelli quod nominatur Hrofescester’ (Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 60).

Outside the line of the Roman wall, to the south of the city, and west of the south gate, there is a district called Boley or Bullie Hill, which at one time was included in the fortifications of the castle. It is a continuation of the ridge on which the castle stands, and has been separated from it by an artificial ditch of Roman date. This ditch once entirely surrounded it, and though it was partly filled up in the eighteenth century its line can still be traced. The area enclosed by this ditch was about three acres; the form appears to have been oblong. In the grounds of Satis House, one of the villas which have been built on this site, there still remains a conical artificial mound, much reduced in size, as it has been converted into a pleasure ground with winding walks, but the retaining walls of these walks are composed of old materials, and towards the river-side there are still vestiges of a wall.<sup>33</sup> We venture to think that it cannot reasonably be doubted that this Boley Hill and its motte formed the original site of the (probably) wooden castle of William the Conqueror. Its nature, position, and size correspond to what we have already observed as characteristic of the first castles of the Conquest. It stands on land which originally belonged to the church of St. Andrew, as Domesday Book tells us William's castle did.<sup>34</sup> The very name may be interpreted in favour of this theory.<sup>35</sup> And that there was no Roman or Saxon fortification on the spot is proved by excavations, which have shown that both a Roman and a Saxon cemetery occupied portions of the area.<sup>36</sup>

It is well known that between the years 1087 and 1089<sup>37</sup> the celebrated architect Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, built a new stone castle for William Rufus 'in the best part of the city of Rochester.'<sup>38</sup> This castle, of course, was on the same site as the

<sup>33</sup> See an extremely valuable paper on 'Medieval Rochester,' by the Rev. Greville M. Livett, in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi.

<sup>34</sup> See the charter of Coenulf, king of Mercia, giving to Bishop Beornmod three ploughlands on the southern shore of the city of Rochester, from the highway on the east to the Medway on the west (*Textus Roffensis*, p. 96).

<sup>35</sup> The name Boley may very probably represent the Norman French Beaulieu, a favourite Norman name for a castle or residence. Professor Hales suggested that Boley Hill was derived from Bailey Hill (cited in Mr. Gomme's paper on 'Boley Hill,' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xvii.). The oldest form of the name is Bullie Hill, as in Edward IV's charter, cited below, p. 427.

<sup>36</sup> Roman urns and lachrymatories were found in the Boley Hill when it was partially levelled in the eighteenth century to fill up the castle ditch (*History of Rochester*, p. 281). At the part now called Watts's Avenue Mr. George Payne found 'the fag end of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery:' *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi.

<sup>37</sup> Mr. Round remarks that the building of Rochester Castle is fixed, by the conjunction of William II and Lanfranc in its history, to some date between September 1087 and March 1089 (*Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 339). Possibly, therefore, it was in this new castle that Bishop Odo began his rebellion against Rufus in 1088. Ordericus says that 'cum quingentis militibus intra Rofensem urbem se conclusit.'

<sup>38</sup> 'In pulchriore parte civitatis Hronecestre' (*Textus Roffensis*, p. 145). Mr. Freeman and others have remarked that the special mention of a stone castle makes it probable that the first castle was of wood.

present one, though the splendid keep was not built till the next reign.<sup>39</sup> But if what we have maintained above be correct the castle of Gundulf was built on a different site from that of the castle of William. Nor are we without evidence in support of this. What remains of the original Norman wall of Gundulf's castle (and enough remains to show that the circuit was complete in Norman times) does not stand on earthen banks; and this, though not an absolute proof, is a strong suggestion that there was no earthen bank belonging to some previous castle, when Gundulf began his building.<sup>40</sup> But, further, Mr. Livett has shown in his paper on *Medieval Rochester*<sup>41</sup> that in order to form a level plateau for the court of the castle the ground had to be artificially made up on the north and east sides, and in these places the wall rests on a foundation of gravel, which has been forcibly rammed to make it solid, and which goes through the artificial soil to the natural chalk below. Now what can this rammed gravel mean but an expedient to avoid the danger of building on freshly heaped soil? Had the artificial platform been in existence ever since the Conquest, it would have been solid enough to build upon without this expense. It is therefore at least probable that Bishop Gundulf's castle was built on an entirely new site.

It seems also to be clear that the Boley Hill was included as an outwork in Bishop Gundulf's plan, for the castle ditch is cut through the Roman wall near the south gate of the city.<sup>42</sup> Mr. Livett remarks that King John appears to have used the hill as a point of vantage when he attacked the city in 1215, and thinks this was probably the reason why Henry III's engineers enclosed it with a stone wall when they restored the walls of the city.<sup>43</sup> Henry III's wall has been traced all round the city, and at the second south gate it turns at right angles, or nearly so, to enclose Boley Hill.<sup>44</sup> It is not improbable, as Mr. Livett suggests, that

<sup>39</sup> It is now attributed to Archbishop William of Corbeuil, to whom Henry I gave the custody of the castle in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, with permission to make within it a defence or tower such as he liked (Continuator of Florence). Gervase of Canterbury says 'idem episcopus turrim egregiam aedificavit.' Both passages are cited by Hartshorne, *Arch. Journ.* xx. 211. Gundulf's castle cost about 60*l.*, and can scarcely have been more than an enclosing wall with perhaps one mural tower. See Mr. Round's *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 340, and Mr. Livett's paper, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi.

<sup>40</sup> Two common friends of Rufus and Gundulf advised the king that in return for the grant of the manor of Hedenham and the remission of certain moneys 'episcopus Gundulfus, quia in opere caementario plurimum sciens et efficax erat, castrum sibi Hrofense lapideum de suo construeret' (*Textus Roffensis*, p. 146).

<sup>41</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. xxi.

<sup>42</sup> See Mr. Livett's paper, as above, p. 49.

<sup>43</sup> There are several entries in the Close Rolls relating to this wall of Henry III in the year 1225.

<sup>44</sup> Mr. Beale Poste says that the ancient boundary wall of this addition appears to have been met with some years since in digging the foundations of the Rev. Mr. Conway's house, standing parallel to the present brick walls and about two feet within them ('Ancient Rochester as a Roman Station,' *Arch. Cant.* ii. 71). The

the drawbridge and *bretasche*, or wooden tower, ordered in 1226 for the southern side of Rochester Castle<sup>45</sup> were intended to connect the Boley Hill court with the main castle. In 1722 the owner of the castle (which had then fallen into private hands) conveyed to one Philip Brooke 'that part of the castle ditch and ground, as it then lay unenclosed, on Bully Hill, being the whole breadth of the hill and ditch without the walls of the castle, extending from thence to the river Medway.'<sup>46</sup>

The general opinion about the Boley Hill is that it is a Danish earthwork, thrown up by the Danes when they besieged the city in King Alfred's reign. But the words in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'They beset the chester and wrought another fastness *around themselves*,'<sup>47</sup> give no countenance to this view, but suggest that the earthwork constructed by the Danes on this occasion was a simple circumvallation, such as they are known to have made at Bamfleet, Shoebury, and Milton.<sup>48</sup> There is not a particle of evidence that the Danes in England ever threw up mounts of the class we are considering, and the 'traditions' which in some places connect these earthworks with the Danes are probably mere echoes of the fancies of bygone antiquaries. Moreover at Rochester the Danes would have had to pass under the bridge (which is known to have existed both in Roman and Saxon times) in order to get to the Boley Hill; and even if their ships were small enough to do this they would hardly have been so foolish as to leave a bridge in their possible line of retreat. It is, therefore, far more likely that their 'fastness' was somewhere to the north of the city.<sup>49</sup>

It is a remarkable thing that until very recently the Boley Hill had a special jurisdiction of its own, under an officer called the baron of the Bully, appointed by the recorder of the city. This appears to date from a charter of Edward IV in 1460, which confirms the former liberties of the citizens of Rochester, and ordains that they should keep two courts leet and a court of pie-powder annually on the Bullie Hill. The anonymous historian of Rochester remarks that it was thought that the baron represented the first officer under the governor of the castle before the court leet was instituted, and is supposed to be the person to whose care the security of it (the Bullie Hill) was entrusted under the governor of

continuator of Gervase of Canterbury says (ii. 235) that at the siege of Rochester in 1264 Simon de Montfort captured the outer castle up to the keep ('forinsecum castellum usque ad turrim'), and Mr. Livett thinks this outer castle must have been the Boley Hill.

<sup>45</sup> Close Rolls, ii. 98 b.

<sup>46</sup> Hasted's *Kent*, iv. 163.

<sup>47</sup> 'Ymbesætan tha ceastre and worhton other fæsten ymb hie selfe' (A.-S. C. anno 885).

<sup>48</sup> See Mr. Spurrell's paper on 'Early Sites and Embankments' in *Arch. Journ.* vol. xlii., and Mr. St. John Hope's paper on 'English Fortresses,' *ibid.* lx. 72.

<sup>49</sup> See *ante*, p. 211. Mr. Hope suggests the east side, as the north was a marsh.

the castle.<sup>50</sup> This is probably much nearer the truth than the theory which would assign such thoroughly feudal courts as those of court leet and pie-powder to an imaginary community of Danes residing on the Boley Hill. When we compare the case of the Boley Hill with the somewhat similar cases of Chester and Norwich Castles we shall see that what took place in Edward IV's reign was probably this: the separate jurisdiction which had once belonged to an abandoned castle site was transferred to the citizens of Rochester, but, with the usual conservatism of medieval legislation, it was not absorbed in the jurisdiction of the city.

The value of Rochester at the time of the Survey had risen from 100s. to 20*l.* The increase in trade, arising from the security of traffic which was provided by William's castles on this important route, no doubt accounts in great measure for this remarkable rise in value.

37. ROCKINGHAM.—Here also the castle was clearly new in William's reign, as the manor was uninhabited (*wasta*) until a castle was built there by his orders, in consequence of which it produced a small revenue at the time of the Survey.<sup>51</sup> The motte, now in great part destroyed, was a large one, being about 100 feet in diameter at the top; attached to it is a bailey court of irregular but rectilateral shape (determined by the ground), covering about 3¼ acres. It is divided into three wards on different levels,<sup>52</sup> which may not be all original. The first castle would undoubtedly be of wood, and it is probable that John was the first builder of the 'exceeding fair and strong' keep which stood on the motte in Leland's time,<sup>53</sup> as there is an entry in the Pipe Roll of the thirteenth year of his reign for 126*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* for the work of the new keep.<sup>54</sup> This keep, if Mr. Clark is correct, was a polygonal shell keep, with a timber stockade surrounding it.<sup>55</sup>

Rockingham was only a small manor of one hide in Saxon times, though its Saxon owner had sac and soke. It stands in a forest district, not near any of the great ancient lines of road, and was probably built for a hunting seat.

38. SHREWSBURY.—The passage in Domesday Book relating to this town has been called by Mr. Round one of the most important

<sup>50</sup> *History of Rochester* (published by Fisher, 1772), p. 285.

<sup>51</sup> 'Wasta erat quando Rex W. iussit ibi castellum fieri. Modo valet 36 solidos' (D. B. i. 220).

<sup>52</sup> Clark, *M. M. A.* ii. 426.

<sup>53</sup> 'I markid that there is a stronge Tower in the Area of the Castell, and from it over the Dungeon Dike is a Drawbridge to the Dungeon Toure' (*Itin.* i. 14).

<sup>54</sup> 'In operat. nove turris et nove camere in cast. 126 l. 18 s. 6 d.'

<sup>55</sup> Mr. Clark admits that there is no masonry of the Conqueror's time, though he thinks that the curtain which now runs up the motte may be late Norman. He afterwards says that there is probably no masonry of the twelfth century; what there is is of Henry III's or Edward I's time (*M. M. A.* ii. 426, 428).

in the Survey, and it is of special importance for our present purpose. 'The English burghers of Shrewsbury say that it is very grievous to them that they have to pay all the geld which they paid in King Edward's time, although the castle of the earl occupies [the site of] 51 houses, and another 50 are uninhabited.'<sup>56</sup> It is incomprehensible how, in the face of such a clear statement as this, that the new castle occupied the ground of 51 former houses, any one should be found gravely to maintain that the motte at Shrewsbury Castle was an English work; for if the motte stood there before, what was the clearance of the houses made for? The only answer could be, to enlarge the bailey court. But this is exactly what the Norman would not wish to do; he would want only a small area for the small force at his disposal to defend. Shrewsbury was doubtless a *burh* (that is, a fortified town) in Saxon times; probably it was one of the towns fortified by Ethelfleda, though it is not mentioned by name in the list of those towns furnished by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>57</sup> These ancient walls were certainly only of earth and wood, for a writ of 1231 says that the old stockade and the old bretasche of the old ditch of the town of Shrewsbury are to be granted to the burghers for strengthening the new ditch.<sup>58</sup>

The castle of Shrewsbury was built on the neck of the peninsula on which the town stands, and on the line of the town walls. The oval motte, which still remains, stands, as usual, on the line of the castle banks, and slopes steeply down to the Severn on one side. Its proximity to the river made it liable to damage by floods. Thus we find Henry II spending 5*l.* on the repair of the motte,<sup>59</sup> and in Edward I's reign the abbot's mill is accused of having caused damage to the extent of 60 marks to the motte. But the men of the hundred exonerate the mill, and from another passage the blame appears to lie on the fall of a great wooden tower.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> 'Dicunt Angligeni burgenses de Sciropesberie multum grave sibi esse quod ipsi reddunt totum geldum sicut reddebant T. R. E., quamvis castellum comitis occupaverit 51 masuras et aliae 50 masurae sunt vastae' (D. B. i. 252).

<sup>57</sup> Ethelfleda is said to have founded the church of St. Alkmund in Shrewsbury.

<sup>58</sup> 'Mandatum est vicecomiti Salopie quod veterem palum et veterem bretaschiam de vetere fossato ville Salopie faciat habere probis hominibus ville Salopie ad novum fossatum eiusdem ville, quod fieri fecerant, efforcandum et emendandum' (Close Rolls, 1231, p. 508). The honest men of the city are also to have 'palum et closturam' from the king's wood of Lichewood, 'ad hirucones circa villam Salopie faciendas ad ipsam villam claudendam' (*ibid.*) 'Hirucones' are probably the same as 'heritones,' or 'hericias,' a defence of stakes, generally on the counterscarp of the ditch.

<sup>59</sup> Pipe Rolls, 19 Henry II, p. 108: 'In op. castelli de Salop<sup>be</sup> in mota 5*l.*'

<sup>60</sup> Hundred Rolls, ii. 80: 'Dampnum mote castri Salopp' ad valenciam 60 marcarum, sed non recolligunt totum evenisse per molendinum abbatis Salopp', quia 30 annis elapsis mota castri fuit fere deteriorata sicut nunc est.' 'Dicunt quod unus magnus turris ligneus (*sic*) qui edificatur in castro Salopp' corruit in terram tempore domini Uriani de Sancto Petro tunc vicecomitis, et meremium eius turris tempore suo et temporibus aliorum vicecomitum postea ita consumatur et destruitur quod

This can hardly have been other than the wooden keep on the motte, and thus we learn the interesting fact that as late as Edward I's reign the castle of Shrewsbury had only a wooden keep. The present tower on the motte is the work of Telford.

The bailey of Shrewsbury Castle is rectilinear, and according to Hulbert's plan is roughly octagonal in outline. The walls stand on banks, which show that the first wall was of timber. The Norman entrance arch seems to render it probable that it was in Henry II's reign that stone walls were first substituted for a wooden stockade, and the Pipe Rolls contain several entries of sums spent by Henry on this castle.<sup>61</sup> But the first mention of stone in connexion with the castle is in the reign of Henry III.<sup>62</sup> In the reign of Edward I a *jarola*, or wooden wall, which had been raised above the outer ditch in the time of the barons' war, was replaced by a stone wall.<sup>63</sup> But this probably refers to the second bailey, now destroyed, which lay to the south of the castle. In the time of Charles I the castle still had a wooden palisade on the counterscarp of the ditch.<sup>64</sup> The two large drum towers on the walls, and the building between them, now converted into a modern house, belong to a much later period than the walls. The area of the present castle, including the motte, is perhaps somewhat under three acres.

The value of the town of Shrewsbury had risen since the Conquest.<sup>65</sup>

39. STAFFORD.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that Ethelfleda of Mercia built the *burh* of Stafford in 913, and consequently we find that both in King Edward's and in King William's time Stafford was a *burgus*, or fortified town. Florence of Worcester, who is considered to have used a superior copy of the Chronicle as the foundation of his work, says that Ethelfleda built an *arx* on the north bank of the Sowe in 914. *Arx*, in the earlier chronicles, is often only a bombastic expression for a walled town, as, for example,

nihil de illo remansit, in magnum damnum domini Regis et deteriorationem eiusdem castris' (p. 105).

<sup>61</sup> Pipe Rolls, 11 Henry II, p. 89; 12 Henry II, p. 59; 20 Henry II, p. 108. There is a payment of 18l. 12s. 4d. in 'custamento murorum de Salopesbiria', which may refer to the castle.

<sup>62</sup> Payment to those who dig stone for the castle of Shrewsbury (Close Rolls, i. 622 b). This is in 1224. There is also a payment of 50l. for works in the castle in 1223 (*ibid.* 533 b).

<sup>63</sup> A *jarola* had been made at the castle in the time of the great war, above the outer ditch ('super forinsecum fossatum'), at the expense of the men of the town; this the burghers sold for 40s., which they added to the king's money coming from the ferry, by the king's brief, to build a stone wall there (Hundred Rolls, ii. 80). A *jarola* or *garuillum* is a stockade; apparently derived from a Celtic word for oak.

<sup>64</sup> Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*, i. 450.

<sup>65</sup> D. B. i. 152, 1a: 'Inter totum reddebat civitas ista per annum 30l. Duas partes habebat rex et vicecomes tertiam. Precedenti anno huius descriptionis reddidit 40 l. comiti Rogerio.'



when Ethelwerd says that Ethelfleda's body was buried in St. Peter's porch in the *arx* of Gloucester. But the statement led many later writers, such as Camden, to imagine that Ethelfleda built a *tower* in the town of Stafford; and these imaginings have created such a tangled skein of mistake that we must bespeak our readers' patience while we attempt to unravel it.

Domesday Book only mentions Stafford Castle under the manor of Chebsey, a possession of Henry de Ferrers. Its words are, 'To this manor *belonged* the land of Stafford, in which the king commanded a castle to be built, which now is destroyed.'<sup>66</sup> Ordericus also says that the king placed a castle at Stafford, on his return from his third visit to the north, in 1070.<sup>67</sup> Now the language of Domesday appears to us to say very plainly that in the manorial rearrangement which followed the Conquest some land was taken out of the manor of Chebsey, which lies immediately to the south of the borough of Stafford, to furnish a site for a royal castle.<sup>68</sup> It is exactly in this position that we now find a large oblong motte, similar to the other mottes 'of the Conquest, and having had the usual bailey court attached to it.'<sup>69</sup> It lies about a mile and a half south-west of the town, near the main road leading into Shropshire. The position was an important one, as the castles of Staffordshire formed a second line of defence against the North Welsh, as well as a check to the great palatinate earls of Shropshire.<sup>70</sup> The motte itself stood on high ground, commanding a view of twenty or thirty miles round, and both Tutbury and Caus Castles could be seen from it. Between it and the town lies a stretch of flat ground which has no doubt been formerly a swamp, and which accounts for the distance of the castle from the town; while the fact that it lies to the south of the Sowe proves that it has no connexion with Ethelfleda's earthwork. There is no dispute that this motte was the site of the later *baronial* castle of Stafford, the castle besieged and taken in the wars of Charles I's reign; the point we have to prove is that it was also the castle of Domesday Book.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> 'Ipse Henricus tenet Cebbesio. Ad hoc manerium pertinuit terra de Stadford, in qua rex precepit fieri castellum, quod modo est destructum' (D. B. i. 249 a).

<sup>67</sup> 'Apud Estafort alteram [munitionem] locavit' (Ord. Vit. p. 199).

<sup>68</sup> It should be said that Mr. Eyton interprets the passage differently, and takes it to mean that the castle was built on land in the borough of Stafford belonging to the manor of Chebsey. But he himself says that 'the site of Stafford Castle, within the liberties, though not within the burgh of Stafford, would suggest a royal foundation;' and he believes this castle (the one on the motte) to have been that garrisoned by Henry I and made a residence by Henry II (*Domesday Studies*, p. 21).

<sup>69</sup> This bailey was still discernible in Stukeley's time, and was 'fenced with a deep ditch' (*Itin.* ii. note 3). There is now a modern building on the motte.

<sup>70</sup> *Salt Archaeological Society*, vol. viii., 'The Manor of Castre or Stafford,' by Mazzinghi, a paper abounding with valuable information, to which the present writer is greatly indebted.

<sup>71</sup> In the 'Addenda' to Mr. Eyton's *Domesday of Staffordshire* (p. 135) the learned editor says that there are two Stafford castles mentioned in Domesday, in two

If the first castle of Stafford was of earth and wood, like most of William's castles, there would be nothing wonderful in its having many destructions and many resurrections. This castle was clearly a royal castle, from the language of Domesday. As a royal castle it was probably committed to the custody of the sheriff, who appears to have been Robert de Stafford,<sup>72</sup> ancestor of the later barons of Stafford, and brother of Ralph de Toesny or Toden, one of the great nobles of the Conquest. Ralph de Toesny joined the party of Robert Curthose against Henry I in 1101, and it is conjectured that his brother Robert was involved in the same rebellion, and thus lost the shrievalty of Staffordshire, for in that year we find the castle held for the king by William Pantolf, a trusty companion of the Conqueror.<sup>73</sup> It is very unlikely that this second castle of Stafford was on a different site from the former; and an ingenious conjecture of Mr. Mazzinghi's helps us to identify it with the castle on the motte. In that castle, when it again emerges into light in the reign of Henry II, we find a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas, which Robert de Stafford gives to the abbey of Stone,<sup>74</sup> and the king confirms the gift. The worship of St. Nicholas came greatly into fashion after the translation of his remains from Asia Minor to Bari, in Italy, in 1087. William Pantolf visited the shrine at Bari, got possession of some of the relics of St. Nicholas, and with great reverence deposited them in his own church of Noron, in Normandy.<sup>75</sup> It is, therefore, extremely probable that William Pantolf founded the chapel of St. Nicholas in the castle of Stafford during the time that the castle was in his custody.<sup>76</sup> But about the situation of the chapel of St. Nicholas there is no doubt, as its history is traceable down to the sixteenth century. It stood in the bailey of the castle outside the town. This castle was, therefore, certainly identical with that of Henry II, and most probably with that of Henry I and William I.

So far, as we have seen, Stafford Castle was a royal castle. It is true that in the reign of Henry II's predecessor, Stephen, we find the castle again in the hands of a Robert de Stafford, who speaks of it as 'castellum meum.'<sup>77</sup> Apparently the troubles of Stephen's reign afforded an opportunity to the family of the first Norman different hundreds. We have carefully searched through the whole Staffordshire account, and, except at Burton and Tutbury, there is no other castle mentioned in Staffordshire except this one in Chebsey.

<sup>72</sup> Dugdale conjectured that Robert was sheriff of Staffordshire. He had large estates round the town of Stafford (*ibid.* p. 61).

<sup>73</sup> Mazzinghi, *Salt Arch. Soc. Trans.* viii. 6; Eyton, *Domesday Studies*, p. 20.

<sup>74</sup> *Monasticon*, vi. 223: 'Ecclesiam S. Nicolai in castello de Stafford.'

<sup>75</sup> Ordericus, vii. 12. See also vii. 13, p. 220 (ed. Le Prévost).

<sup>76</sup> Mazzinghi, *Salt Arch. Soc. Trans.* viii. 22.

<sup>77</sup> In a charter to Stone Abbey, *Salt Collections*, vol. ii. That the castle he speaks of was the one outside the town is proved by his references to land 'extra burgum.'

sheriff to get the castle again into their hands. But under the stronger rule of Henry II the crown recovered its rights in Stafford Castle, and the gift of the chapel in the castle evidently cannot be made without the consent of the king. The gaol which Henry II caused to be made in Stafford was doubtless in the castle of Stafford.<sup>78</sup> John repaired the castle,<sup>79</sup> and ordered bretasches, or wooden towers, to be made and finished in the forest of Arundel, and taken to Stafford,<sup>80</sup> a statement which gives us an insight into the nature of the castle in John's reign. But it was the tendency of sheriffdoms to become hereditary, and in many cases they did so, as Dr. Stubbs has pointed out.<sup>81</sup> This seems to have been the case at Stafford. In the reign of Edward I a local jury decided that Nicholas, baron of Stafford, held the castle of Stafford from the king *in capite*, by the service of three and a half knights' fees; <sup>82</sup> and in 1348 Ralph, baron of Stafford, obtained a license from Edward III 'to fortify and crenellate his manses of Stafford and Madlee with a wall of stone and lime, and to make castles thereof.'<sup>83</sup> The indenture made with the mason a year previously is still extant, and states that the castle is to be built upon the *moële* in the manor, whereby the motte is evidently meant.<sup>84</sup> Besides, the deed is dated 'at the chastel of Stafford,' showing that the new castle in stone and lime was on the site of an already existing castle.

We might spin out further evidence of the identity of the site of William's castle with that of the present one from the name of the manor of Castel, which grew up around it, displacing the equally suggestive name of Montville, which we find in Domesday Book.<sup>85</sup> Against the existence of a castle in the town we have the silence of Speed and Leland, who only mention the present castle,<sup>86</sup> and the statement of Plot, who wrote about the end of the seventeenth century that 'he could not hear any footsteps remaining' of a castle in Stafford.<sup>87</sup> We may, therefore, safely conclude that it was only due to the fancy of some Elizabethan antiquary that in an old map of that time a spot to the north of the town is marked with the

<sup>78</sup> The Pipe Rolls contain several entries relating to this gaol at Stafford. It is clear from several of the documents given by Mr. Mazzinghi that the king's gaol of Stafford and the king's gaol of the castle of Stafford are equivalent expressions.

<sup>79</sup> Pipe Rolls, 2 John.

<sup>80</sup> Close Rolls, i. 69.

<sup>81</sup> *Constitutional History*, i. 272.

<sup>82</sup> Cited in *Salt Arch. Soc. Trans.* vi. pt. i. p. 258.

<sup>83</sup> Patent Rolls, 22 Edward III, cited by Mazzinghi, p. 80.

<sup>84</sup> *Salt Arch. Soc. Trans.* viii. 122. It was undoubtedly at this time that the oblong stone keep on the motte, which is described in an escheat of Henry VIII's reign (see below, n. 87), was built.

<sup>85</sup> *Salt Arch. Coll.* viii. 14.

<sup>86</sup> Speed's *Theatre of Britain*; Leland, *Itin.* vii. 26.

<sup>87</sup> The Stafford escheat of Henry VIII's reign, which describes the town, also makes no mention of any castle in the town (Mazzinghi, p. 105).

inscription, 'The old castle, built by Edward the Elder, and in memorie fortified with reel walls.'<sup>88</sup>

The value of Stafford town had risen at the time of the Survey, as the king had 7*l.* for his share, which would make the whole revenue to king and earl 10*l.* 10*s.*, as against 9*l.* before the Conquest.<sup>89</sup> The property of the canons of Stafford had risen from twenty shillings to sixty shillings.

40. STAMFORD.—This was one of the boroughs fortified by Edward the Elder, and consequently we find it a royal burgus at the time of the Survey. But Edward's *burh*, the Chronicle tells us, was on the south side of the Welland; the northern *burh*, on the other side, may have been the work of the Danes, as Stamford was one of the towns of the Danish confederacy of the Five Boroughs. The Norman castle and its motte are on the north side, and five *mansiones* were destroyed for the site.<sup>90</sup> There is at present no appearance of masonry on the motte, which is partly cut away, and what remains of the castle wall is of the thirteenth century. It is, therefore, probable, though not certain (certainty can only be obtained by excavation), that the *turris*, or keep, which surrendered to Henry II in 1153, was of wood.<sup>91</sup> Henry gave the castle to Richard Humet, constable of Normandy, in 1155.<sup>92</sup> It was a very exceptional thing that Henry should thus alienate a royal castle, and special circumstances must have moved him to this act. The castle was destroyed in Richard III's time and the materials given to the convent of the Carmelite friars. It appears to have been within the walls, but with a bailey reaching down to the river. The shape of the bailey is quadrangular; the area may be guessed as from two to three acres.

It is curious that the burh of Edward the Elder, on the south side of the river, continues to the present day to be a distinct liberty and parish from the town on the north side.<sup>93</sup>

Stamford had risen enormously in value since the Conquest. 'In King Edward's time it paid 15*l.*; now it pays for feorm 50*l.*, and for the king's other dues 28*l.*'<sup>94</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Salt Arch. Soc. Trans.* viii. 231.

<sup>89</sup> There must be an error in the first statement of the Stafford revenue in Domesday, which says that the king and earl have only 7*l.* between them, as it is contradicted by the later statement, as above (D. B. 246 a and 247 b, 2).

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 336 b, 2. There were 141 'mansiones' T. R. E. 'et modo totidem sunt praeter 5 quae propter operationem castelli sunt wastae.' From a passage in the Domesday of Nottingham it would seem that a 'mansio' was a group of houses.

<sup>91</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, i. 156 (Rolls Series).

<sup>92</sup> Peck's *Antiquarian Annals of Stamford*; he gives the charter, p. 17.

<sup>93</sup> *Beauties of England and Wales; Lincolnshire.*

<sup>94</sup> D. B. 336 b, 2: 'T. R. E. dabat Stanford 15*l.*; modo dat ad firman 50*l.* De omni consuetudine regis modo dat 28*l.*'

41. STANTON (Stanton Long, in Shropshire).—At the time of the Survey the Norman Helgot was lord of Corve Dale, and had his castle at Stanton.<sup>95</sup> A slight rise had taken place in the value, perhaps due to the erection of the castle on a site which was previously waste. The castle was afterwards known as Helgod's Castle, or (by corruption) Castle Holdgate. The motte still exists; quite separate from it is a circular tower, which now forms part of a farmhouse. The Ordnance map indicates a part of the earthworks of the bailey, but not enough to calculate its size; but it was evidently only a small castle. The manor of Stanton was an agglomeration of four small manors which had been held by different proprietors in Saxon times, so it was not the centre of a soke.

42. TREMATON.—'The count [of Mortain] has a castle there and a market rendering 101 shillings.'<sup>96</sup> Two Cornish castles are mentioned in Domesday, and both of them are only on the border of that wild Celtic country; but while Launceston is inland Trematon guards an inlet on the south coast. The position of Trematon Castle is exceedingly strong naturally. The bailey is a sort of rounded triangle, and covers rather more than an acre of ground.<sup>97</sup> The motte is inside it, and now carries an oval keep of the thirteenth century.<sup>98</sup> The rest of the masonry is of the same period. In spite of the establishment of a castle and a market the value of the manor of Trematon had gone down at the time of the Survey, which may be accounted for by the fact that there were only ten ploughs where there ought to have been twenty-four. It was only a small manor and not a *burgus*.

43. TUTBURY.—The first castle here appears to have been built by Hugh d'Avranches, the first Norman earl of Chester, for Ordericus says that in 1070 William gave to Henry Gualchelin de Ferrers the castle of Tutbury, which Hugh d'Avranches had formerly had.<sup>99</sup> The Survey simply states that Henry de Ferrers has the castle of Tutbury, and that there are forty-two men living by their merchandise alone in the borough round the castle.<sup>100</sup> There is no statement in Domesday as to the value of the manor T. R. E., but T. R. W. it was 4*l.* 10*s.* Henry de Ferrers mentions this castle in his charter to the priory of Tutbury, in which he states

<sup>95</sup> 'Ibi habet Helgot castellum, et 2 carucas in dominio, et 4 servos, et 3 villanos, et 3 bordarios et 1 Francigenam cum 3½ carucis. Ibi ecclesia et presbyter. T. R. E. valebat 18 solidos: modo 25 sol. Wastam invenit' (D. B. i. 258 b).

<sup>96</sup> 'Ibi habet comes unum castrum et mercatum, reddentes 101 solidos' (D. B. i. 122).

<sup>97</sup> *Beauties of England and Wales*.

<sup>98</sup> Murray's *Guide to Cornwall*. Mackenzie states that the keep is Norman, and a shell keep.

<sup>99</sup> Ordericus, p. 522.

<sup>100</sup> 'Henricus de Ferrers habet castellum de Toteberie. In burgo circa castellum sunt 42 homines de mercato suo tantum viventes' (D. B. i. 248 b).

that he and his wife built the church of St. Mary at Tutbury from the foundations.<sup>101</sup> We have already observed that we generally find near a Norman castle a church which bears traces of Norman foundation or restoration.

At Tutbury the keep was placed on an artificial motte, which itself stood on a hill of natural rock.<sup>102</sup> There were two baileys attached; the motte was placed so as to command the town. The general shape of the bailey is roughly triangular; with the motte it covers about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres. There is now a sham ruin on the motte, where there formerly stood a stone keep, which was ruinous in Queen Elizabeth's reign.<sup>103</sup> A description of that reign seems to show that it was a shell keep, as it says: 'The castle is situated upon a round hill, and is circumvironed with a strong wall of astiler [ashlar?] stone. . . . The king's lodging therein is fair and strong, bounded and knit to the wall. And a fair stage hall of timber, of a great length. Four chambers of timber, and other houses well upholden, within the walls of the castle.'<sup>104</sup> Extensive restorations were made by John of Gaunt, and Clark says that the masonry extant is chiefly his work. The account above cited shows how many of the buildings were still of timber in Elizabeth's reign.

Tutbury was the centre of an honour in Norman times, and the castle was an important one throughout the middle ages. But in Saxon times it does not seem to have been even a manor, and there is no mention of ploughs. The borough was probably the creation of the castellan.

44. WALLINGFORD.—There is good reason to suppose that in the vallum of the town of Wallingford we have an interesting relic of Saxon times. It is one of the *burhs* enumerated in the 'Burghal Hidage;' it was undoubtedly a fortified town at the time of the Conquest,<sup>105</sup> and is called a *burgus* in Domesday Book; but there appears to be no evidence to connect it with Roman times, except the discovery of a number of Roman coins in the town and its neighbourhood. But no Roman buildings or pavements have ever been found.<sup>106</sup> The Saxon borough was built on the model of a Roman chester, a square with rounded corners. The rampart, which still exists in great part, is entirely of earth, and must have been surmounted with a wooden wall, such as was still existing at Portsmouth in Leland's time.<sup>107</sup> The accounts of Wallingford in

<sup>101</sup> *Mon. Angl.* iii. 393.

<sup>102</sup> Clark, *M. M. A.* i. 17-81.

<sup>103</sup> Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, i. 49.

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in *Beauties of England and Wales; Staffordshire*, p. 1129.

<sup>105</sup> William of Poitiers calls it an 'oppidum,' p. 141.

<sup>106</sup> Hedges, *History of Wallingford*.

<sup>107</sup> 'The Towne of Portsmouth is murid from the Est Tower a forowgh lenght with a Mudde Waulle armid with Tymbre' (*Itin.* iii. 113).

the great Survey are very full and important. 'King Edward had eight virgates in the borough of Wallingford, and in these there were 276 haughs paying 11*l.* of rent. Eight have been destroyed for the castle.'<sup>108</sup> This Norman castle was placed in the N.E. corner of the borough. At present its precincts cover thirty acres,<sup>109</sup> but this includes garden grounds, and no doubt represents later enclosures. No ancient plan of the castle has been preserved, but from Leland's description there appear to have been three wards, each defended with banks and ditches.<sup>110</sup> The inner ward, which was doubtless the original one, is rudely oblong in shape. Leland says: 'All the goodly buildings, with the towers and dungeon, be within the third dyke.' The motte, which still exists, was on the south-eastern edge of this ward—that is, it was so placed as to overlook both the borough and the ford over the Thames.<sup>111</sup> It was ditched around, and is said to have had a stone keep on the top; but no foundations were found when it was recently excavated. It was found to rest on a foundation of solid masonry several feet thick, sloping upwards towards the outside, so that it must have stood in a kind of stone saucer.<sup>112</sup> The masonry which remains in other parts of the castle is evidently none of it of the early Norman period, unless we except a fragment of wall which contains courses of tiles. Numerous buildings were added in Henry III's reign; the wall and battlements were repaired, and the *hurdicium*, which had been blown down by a high wind, was renewed.<sup>113</sup> But the motte and the high earthen banks show clearly that the first Norman castle was of wood.

The value of the royal borough of Wallingford had considerably risen since the Conquest.

45. WARWICK.—Here again we have a castle built on land which the Conqueror obtained from a Saxon convent, and which consequently cannot have been the site of a castle previously.

<sup>108</sup> 'In burgo de Walingeford habuit rex Edwardus 8 virgatas terrae; et in his erant 276 hague reddentes 11 libras de gablo. . . . Pro castello sunt 8 destructae' (D. B. i. 56).

<sup>109</sup> Hedges, *History of Wallingford*, i. 139.

<sup>110</sup> Leland's *Itinerary*.

<sup>111</sup> Camden speaks of the motte as being in the middle of the castle, but in reality it is on the edge of the inner ward.

<sup>112</sup> Hedges, *History of Wallingford*, i. 189. It is to be inferred that the fragment of a round building which stands on the top of the motte must be modern; it is thick enough to be ancient.

<sup>113</sup> Close Rolls, i. 1223. *Hurdicium* is from the same root as 'hoarding,' and probably refers to the wooden galleries placed on the highest part of towers and walls to defend the base.

*Note*.—If we divide the 276 haughs mentioned in D. B. between the 114 acres enclosed by the rampart, we shall find it gives them an average of about 1 rood 26 perches; multiply this by 8 (the number destroyed for the castle), and we get an area of 3 acres, which is just about the average area of an early Norman castle.

Only a small number of houses was destroyed for the castle,<sup>114</sup> and this points to the probability, which is supported by some other circumstances, that the castle was built outside the town; it has already been remarked that houses outside the walls had to pay geld along with those in the town, and were thus reckoned as being in the town.<sup>115</sup> Warwick of course was one of the boroughs fortified by Ethelfleda, and it was doubtless erected to protect the Roman road from Bath to Lincoln, the Foss way, which passes near it. Domesday Book, after mentioning that the king's barons have 112 houses in the borough, and the abbot of Coventry 36, goes on to say that these houses belong to the lands which the barons hold outside the city, and are rated there.<sup>116</sup> This is one of the passages from which Professor Maitland has concluded that the boroughs planted by Ethelfleda and her brother were organised on a system of military defence, whereby the magnates in the country were bound to keep houses in the towns.<sup>117</sup> Ordericus, after the well-known passage in which he states that the lack of castles in England was one great cause of its easy conquest by the Normans, says: 'The king *therefore* founded a castle at Warwick, and gave it in custody to Henry, son of Roger de Beaumont.'<sup>118</sup> Putting these various facts together, we may fairly assert that the motte which still forms part of the castle at Warwick was the work of the Conqueror, and not, as Mr. Freeman believed, 'a monument of the wisdom and energy of the mighty daughter of Alfred.'<sup>119</sup> Dugdale, who also asserted the motte to be Ethelfleda's work, was only copying Rous, a very imaginative writer of the fifteenth century.

The motte of Warwick is mentioned several times in the Pipe Roll of Henry II; it then carried wooden structures on its top.<sup>120</sup> In Leland's time there were still standing on this motte the ruins of a keep, which he calls by its Norman name of the Dungeon. It appears to have been of fourteenth-century work.<sup>121</sup> There is not a scrap of masonry of Norman date about the castle. The motte, and the earthen bank which still runs along one side of the

<sup>114</sup> 'Abbas de Couentreu habet 36 masuras, et 4 sunt wastae propter situm castelli' (D. B. i. 238 a, 1).

<sup>115</sup> See *ante*, p. 233, under Huntingdon. There are many instances in Domesday Book.

<sup>116</sup> 'Hae masurae pertinent ad terras quas ipsi barones tenent extra burgum, et ibi appreciatae sunt' (D. B. i. 238).

<sup>117</sup> Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 189.

<sup>118</sup> Ordericus, p. 184: 'Rex itaque castellum apud Guarevicum condidit, et Henrico Rogerii de Bello Monte filio ad servandum tradidit.' Mr. Freeman remarks that no authentic records connect Thurkil of Warwick with Warwick Castle (N. C. iv. 781).

<sup>119</sup> N. C. iv. 190.

<sup>120</sup> 'In operatione unius domus in mota de Warewich et unius bretaschie, 5 l. 7 s. 11 d.' (Pipe Rolls, 20 Henry II.)

<sup>121</sup> Parker, *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages*.



court, show that the first castle was a wooden one. The bailey is oblong in shape, the motte being outside it; its area is about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  acres.

The value of Warwick had risen since the Conquest from 30*l.* to 60*l.*

46. WIGMORE.—It has been usual to identify this place with the *Wigingamere* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, though the slightest attention to the narrative of the Chronicle is sufficient to show how absurd this identification is. Edward the Elder had pushed his conquests into the eastern Danelagh until he had received the submission of the Danes in Essex, Herts, Beds, and Northants, and a peace was concluded in 915.<sup>122</sup> Edward utilised the three years of quiet which followed in fortifying the boroughs of Bedford, Maldon, Towcester, and Wigingamere. But the building of these last two boroughs appears to have aroused the suspicions of the Danes that further conquests were intended. To forestall any such plans, they broke the peace; those of Northampton and Leicester vainly attacked Towcester, and at a later period in the same year those of East Anglia and Essex made an equally unsuccessful assault on Wigingamere. Towcester is on Watling Street, and its fortification might well have boded an advance to the north-west; but, as Wigingamere appears to have specially drawn upon itself the wrath of East Anglia and Essex, it should probably be looked for on or near the Icknield Way, at some point near its junction with the Ermine Street.

But, to return to Wigmore, in Herefordshire, which it is not likely that Edward ever visited, for in fact it was out of his beat, as Western Mercia was under the management of his sister Ethelfleda, we have the strongest indication that the Norman castle at Wigmore was a new erection, since Domesday Book tells us that William Fitz Osbern built it on waste land called Mereston.<sup>123</sup> This express statement disposes of the fable in the 'Fundationis Historia' of Wigmore that the castle of Wigmore had belonged to Edric the Wild, and was rebuilt by Ralph Mortimer.<sup>124</sup> Wigmore had only been a small manor of two taxable hides in Saxon times. Whereas it had been then unproductive, at the date of the Survey there were two ploughs in the demesne, and the borough attached to the castle yielded 7*l.*

The bailey of Wigmore Castle is an amorphous half-moon; its area, including the motte, does not much exceed two acres. Traces

<sup>122</sup> We follow the chronology of Florence of Worcester, who is generally believed to have used a more accurate copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle than any now extant.

<sup>123</sup> 'Willelmus comes fecit illud castellum in vasta terra quae vocatur Mereston.' 'Burgum quod ibi est reddit 7*l.*' (D.B. i. 183). This is another instance of the building of a borough close to a castle, and the revenue which was thus obtained.

<sup>124</sup> *Mon. Angl.* vi. 349.

remain of a second and a third bailey. On the motte are foundations of a circular or polygonal keep,<sup>125</sup> certainly not of the early Norman period.

47. WINCHESTER.—We include Winchester among the castles mentioned or alluded to in Domesday Book, because we think it can be proved that the *domus regis* mentioned under Alton and Clere is the castle built by William on the site outside the west gate of the city, where the present county hall is the only remaining relic of any castle at all.<sup>126</sup> Under the head of Aulton we are told that the abbot of Hyde had unjustly gotten the manor in exchange for the king's house, because by the testimony of the jurors it was already the king's house.<sup>127</sup> That *excambio domus regis* should read *excambio terrae domus regis* is clear from the corresponding entry under Clere, where the words are *pro excambio terrae in qua domus regis est in civitate*.<sup>128</sup> The matter is put beyond a doubt by the confirmatory charter of Henry I to Hyde Abbey,<sup>129</sup> where the king states that his father gave Alton and Clere to Hyde Abbey *in exchange for the land on which he built his hall in the city of Winchester*. Where then was this hall, which was clearly new, since fresh land was obtained for it, and which must not therefore be sought on the site of the palace of the Saxon kings? The 'Liber Winton,' a roll of Henry I's time, which gives a sort of inventory of the city of Winchester, says that twelve burgesses' houses had been destroyed and the land was now occupied by the king's house.<sup>130</sup> Another passage says that a whole street *outside the west gate* was destroyed when the king made his ditch.<sup>131</sup> These passages justify the conclusion of Mr. Smirke that the king's house at Winchester was neither more nor less than the castle which existed in medieval times outside the west gate.<sup>132</sup> Probably the

<sup>125</sup> Clark, *M. M. A.* ii. 531.

<sup>126</sup> Ordericus says: 'Intra moenia Guentae, opibus et munimine nobilis urbis et mari contiguae, validam arcem construxit, ibique Willelmum Osberni filium in exercitu suo precipuum reliquit' (ii. 166). The *intra moenia* is not to be taken literally, any more than the *mari contigua*. It is strange that Mr. Freeman should have mistaken Guenta for Norwich, since under 1067 Ordericus translates the Winchester of the A.-S. C. by Guenta.

<sup>127</sup> 'De isto manerio testatur comitatus quod iniuste accepit [abbas] pro excambio domus regis, quia domus erat regis:' D. B. i. 43 a, 1.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* i. 43 a, 2.

<sup>129</sup> *Mon. Angl.* ii. 444: 'Sicut rex Willielmus pater meus ei dedit in excambium pro terra illa in qua aedificavit aulam suam in urbe Winton.'

<sup>130</sup> 'Pars erat in dominio et pars de dominio abbatis; hoc totum est post occupatum in domo regis' (p. 534). This passage throws light on the fraud of the abbot of Hyde, referred to above.

<sup>131</sup> 'Extra portam de Vuest . . . ibi iuxta fuit quidam vicus; fuit diffactus quando rex fecit facere suum fossatum' (p. 535).

<sup>132</sup> *Archaeol. Inst.*, Winchester volume, p. 51.

reason why it is spoken of so frequently in the earliest documents as the king's house or hall, instead of the castle, is that in this important city, the ancient capital of Wessex, where the king 'wore his crown' once a year, William built, besides the usual wooden tower on the motte, a hall suitable to the royal greatness, and that the splendid hall of Henry III, which is still standing, had its precursor in the earliest Norman times. The palace of the Saxon kings stood, where we might expect to find the palace of native princes, in the middle of the city; according to Milner it was on the site of the present Square.<sup>133</sup> William may have repaired this palace, but that he constructed two royal houses, a palace and a castle, is highly improbable. The castle became the residence of the Norman kings, and the Saxon palace appears to have been neglected.<sup>134</sup>

We see with what caution the Conqueror placed his castle at the royal city of Wessex outside the walls. Milner tells us that there was no access to it from the city without passing through the west gate.<sup>135</sup> The motte of the castle appears to have been standing in his time, as he speaks of the artificial mount on which the keep stands.<sup>136</sup> It is frequently mentioned in medieval documents as the *beumont* or *beau mont*. It was placed in the north-east corner of the bailey—that is, so as to overlook the city—and was surrounded with its own ditch.<sup>137</sup> The bailey was triangular in shape. With its ditches and outer banks it covered six acres, according to the commissioners who reported on it in Elizabeth's reign; but the inner area cannot have been much more than three acres. When masonry was substituted for woodwork may be inferred from the sums spent on this castle by Henry II. The Pipe Rolls show entries to the amount of 1,150*l.* during the course of his reign; the work of the walls is frequently specified, and stone is mentioned.

Domesday Book does not inform us whether the value of Winchester had risen or fallen since the Conquest.

48. WINDSOR.—Here we have another of the interesting cases in which the geld due from the tenant of a manor is lessened on account of a castle having occupied a portion of the land.<sup>138</sup> The

<sup>133</sup> *History of Winchester*, ii. 194.

<sup>134</sup> Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and brother of King Stephen, pulled down the royal palace close to the cathedral, which presumably was the old Saxon palace, and used the materials to build Wolvesey Castle. See Giraldus Cambrensis, vii. 46. He could hardly have dared to do this if the palace had been still used by the Norman kings.

<sup>135</sup> *History of Winchester*, ii. 210.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* p. 195.

<sup>137</sup> In the Liberate Roll, 35 Henry III (quoted in Turner's *Domestic Architecture*, i. 231), is an order for the repair of the ditch between the great tower and the bailey.

<sup>138</sup> 'Radulfus filius Seifrid tenet de rege Clivor. Heraldus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendebat pro 5 hidis, modo pro 4½ hidis, et castellum de Windesores est in dimidia

Survey tells us that the castle of Windsor sits in half a hide belonging to the manor of Clewer, which had become royal property as part of the spoils of Harold. It was now held of the king by a Norman tenant-in-chief, but whereas it was formerly rated as five hides it was *now* (that is, probably, since the castle was built) rated as four and a half hides. Of course we are not to suppose that the castle occupied the whole half-hide, which might be some sixty acres; but it extinguished the liability of that portion. At Windsor, however, we have no occasion to press this argument as a proof that the castle was new, since it is well established that the palace of the Saxon kings at Windsor was at least two miles from the present castle and town, in the village long known as Old Windsor, which fell into decay as the town of New Windsor sprang up under the Norman castle.<sup>139</sup> The manor of Windsor was given by Edward the Confessor to the convent of Westminster, but recovered by William the Conqueror.<sup>140</sup> But, as the Survey shows us, he did not build his castle in the manor of Windsor, but in that of Clewer. He built it for a hunting seat,<sup>141</sup> and it may have been for the purpose of recovering forest rights that he resumed possession of Old Windsor; but he placed his castle in the situation which he thought best for defence. For even a hunting seat in Norman times was virtually a castle, as many other instances show.

It is needless to state that there is no masonry at Windsor of the time of the Conqueror, or even of the time of his son Henry I, in spite of the statement of Stowe that Henry 'new builded the castle of Windsor.' This statement may perhaps be founded on a passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which says that Henry held his court for the first time in the New Windsor in 1110, where the reference must be to the castle.<sup>142</sup> But it is probable that the first stone castle at Windsor was built by Henry II, who spent 1,670*l.* on it in the course of his reign. One of his first acts after his

hida' (D. B. i. 62 b). The Abingdon history also mentions the foundation of Windsor Castle, and gives some interesting details about castle guard. 'Tunc Walingaforde et Oxenforde et Wildesore, caeterisque locis, castella pro regno servando compacta. Unde huic abbatiæ militum excubias apud ipsum Wildesore oppidum habendas regio imperio iussum' (ii. 3, R. S.)

<sup>139</sup> Leland, iv. i. 47. See also Tighe's *Annals of Windsor*, pp. 1-6. Until recently there was a farmhouse surrounded with a moat at Old Windsor, which was considered to mark the site of Edward's *regia domus*.

<sup>140</sup> Edward's grant of Windsor to Westminster is in *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 227. Domesday does not mention the rights of the church, but says the manor of Windsor was held of the crown T. R. E. and T. R. W. Camden professes to give William's charter of exchange with the convent of Westminster (*Brit.* i. 151).

<sup>141</sup> The charter given by Camden states that this was one of the reasons for the exchange of land.

<sup>142</sup> An entry in the Pipe Roll of Henry I seems to show that he was the first to enclose the *burgus* of Windsor. 'In 1 virgata terrae quam Willelmus fil. Walteri habet in escambio pro terra sua quae capta est ad burgum' (p. 127).

accession was an exchange of land at Windsor, which seems to have been for the purpose of a vineyard, possibly the origin of the second bailey.<sup>143</sup> At present the position of the motte is central to the rest of the castle, but this is so unusual that it suggests the idea that the upper ward is the oldest, and that the motte stood on its outer edge. Henry II surrounded the castle with a wall, at a cost of about 140*l*.<sup>144</sup> The other entries in the Pipe Rolls probably refer to the first stone shell keep on the motte, and there is little doubt that the present Round Tower, though its height has been raised in modern times, and its masonry re-dressed and re-pointed so as to destroy all appearance of antiquity, is in the main of Henry II's building.<sup>145</sup> The frequent payments for stone show the nature of Henry's work.

Although so much masonry was put up in Henry II's reign, the greater part of what is now visible is not older than the time of Henry III. The lower bailey seems to have been enlarged in his reign, as the castle ditch was extended towards the town, and compensation given for houses taken down.<sup>146</sup> The upper and possibly ancient ward is rectangular in shape, and with the motte and its ditch covers about seven acres.<sup>147</sup> The state apartments, a chapel, and the Hall of St. George are in the upper ward, showing that this was the site of the original hall and chapel of the castle. The charter of agreement between Stephen and Henry in 1153 speaks of the *motte* of Windsor as equivalent to the castle.<sup>148</sup> Repairs of the motte are mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II.<sup>149</sup>

The value of the manor of Clewer had fallen since the Conquest; that of Windsor, which was worth 15*l*. T. R. E., but after the Conquest fell to 7*l*., was again worth 15*l*. at the date of the Survey.<sup>150</sup>

#### 49. YORK.—William the Conqueror built two castles at York,

<sup>143</sup> *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, which contains an abstract of the missing Pipe Roll of 1 Henry II, has an entry of 12*s*. paid to Richard de Clifwar for the exchange of his land, and regular payments are made later. There was, however, another enlargement of the bailey in Henry III's reign (Tighe, p. 21).

<sup>144</sup> 'In operat. muri circa castellum 11*l*. 10*s*. 4*d*. Summa denar. quos idem Ricardus [de Luci] misit in operatione predicta de predicta ballia 128*l*. 9*s*.' (Pipe Roll, 20 Henry II, p. 116.)

<sup>145</sup> Mr. St. John Hope, whose forthcoming *History of Windsor Castle*, written by the King's command, is eagerly expected, has kindly read over the proofs of this paper, and has supplied me with several valuable corrections.

<sup>146</sup> Tighe's *Annals of Windsor*, p. 21.

<sup>147</sup> There is a singular entry in the Pipe Roll of 7 Richard I, 'pro fossato proster-nando quod fuit inter motam et domos regis,' clearly the ditch between the motte and the bailey. Mr. Hope informs me that this can only refer to the northern part of the ditch, as the eastern portion was only filled up in 1824. Mr. Hope thinks that the castle area has always included the lower bailey.

<sup>148</sup> *Foedera*, vol. i.

<sup>149</sup> Pipe Rolls, 30 Henry II.

<sup>150</sup> D. B. i. 62 b, 2; 56 b, 2.

and the mottes of both these castles remain, one underneath the keep of York Castle (known as Clifford's Tower), the other, on the south side of the Ouse, still bearing the Norman name of the Baile Hill, or the Old Baile.<sup>151</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle implies, though it does not directly state, that both these castles were built in 1068, on the occasion of William's first visit to York. The more detailed narrative of Ordericus shows that one was built in 1068, and the other at the beginning of 1069 on William's second visit.<sup>152</sup> Both were destroyed in September 1069, when the English and Danes captured York, and both were rebuilt before Christmas of the same year, when William held his triumphal Christmas feast in York.

This speedy erection, destruction, and re-erection would be sufficient to suggest that the castles of William in York were, like most other Norman castles, hills of earth with buildings and stockades of wood, especially when we find these hills of earth still remaining on the known sites of the castles. And we may be quite sure that the Norman masonry, which Mr. Freeman pictures as so eagerly destroyed by the English, never existed.<sup>153</sup> But the obstinate tendency of the human mind to make things out older than they are has led to these earthen hills being assigned to Britons, Romans, Saxons, Danes, anything rather than Normans. A single passage of William of Malmesbury, in which he refers to the *castrum* which the Danes had built at York in the reign of Athelstan, is the sole vestige of basis for the theory that the motte of Clifford's Tower is of Danish origin.<sup>154</sup> The other theories have absolutely no foundation but conjecture. If Malmesbury was quoting from some older source which is now lost, it is extremely probable that the word *castrum*, which he copied, did not mean a castle in our sense of the word at all, but was a translation of the word *burh*, which almost certainly referred to a vallum or wall constructed round the Danish suburb outside the walls of York. Such a suburb there was, for there in 1055 stood the Danish church of St. Olave, in which Earl Siward was buried, and the suburb was long known as the Earlsburgh or Earl's Burh, probably because it was the residence of the Danish earls of Northumbria.<sup>155</sup> But this suburb was not anywhere near Clifford's

<sup>151</sup> It is needless to remark that *baile* is the Norman word for an enclosure or courtyard; Low Latin *ballium* or *ballia*.

<sup>152</sup> Ordericus, ii. 188 (ed. Le Prévost).

<sup>153</sup> *Norman Conquest*, iv. 270. Mr. Freeman has worked out the course of events connected with the building and destruction of the castles with his usual lucidity. But he never grasped the real origin of mottes, though he emphatically maintained that the native English did not build castles.

<sup>154</sup> 'Ethelstanus castrum quod olim Dani in Eboraco obfirmaverant ad solum diruit, ne esset quo se tutari perfidia posset' (*Gesta Regum*, ii. 134).

<sup>155</sup> Widdrington, *Analecta Eboracensia*, p. 120. It was this suburb which Alan, earl of Richmond, gave to the abbey of St. Mary at York, which he founded.

Tower, but in quite a different part of the city. To prove that both the mottes were on entirely new sites, we have the assurance of Domesday Book that out of the seven shires or wards into which the city was divided one was laid waste for the castles; <sup>156</sup> so that there was clearly a great destruction of houses to make room for the new castles.

What has been assumed above receives striking confirmation from excavations made recently (1903) in the motte of Clifford's Tower. At a depth of thirteen feet were found remains of a wooden structure, surmounted by a quantity of charred wood.<sup>157</sup> Now the accounts of the destruction of the castles in 1069 do not tell us that they were burnt, but thrown down and broken to pieces.<sup>158</sup> But the keep which was restored by William, and on the repair of which Henry II spent 15*l.* in 1172,<sup>159</sup> was burnt down in the frightful massacre of the Jews at York Castle in 1191.<sup>160</sup> The excavations disclosed the interesting fact that this castle stood on a lower motte than the present one, and that when the burnt keep was replaced by a new one the motte was raised to its present height, 'an outer crust of firmer and more clayey material being made round the older summit, and a lighter material placed inside this crater to bring it up to the necessary level.' This restoration must have taken place in the third year of Richard I, when 28*l.* was spent 'on the work of the castle.'<sup>161</sup> This small sum shows that the

'Ecclesiam Sancti Olavii in quâ capud abbatiae in honorem Sanctae Mariae melius constitutum est, et burgum in quo ecclesia sita est' (*Mon. Angl.* iii. 547). For the addition of new boroughs to old ones see *ante*, p. 240, under 'Norwich.' Although Athelstan destroyed the fortifications of this burh, they were evidently renewed when the Danish earls took up their residence there, for when Earl Alan persuaded the monks from Whitby to settle there one inducement which he offered was the fortification of the site, 'loci munitionem' (*Mon. Angl.* iii. 545).

<sup>156</sup> 'In Eburaco civitate T.R.E. praeter scyram archiepiscopi fuerunt 6 scyrae; una ex his est wasta in castellis' (D. B. i. 298).

<sup>157</sup> *Notes on Clifford's Tower*, by George Benson and H. Platnauer, published by the York Philosophical Society.

<sup>158</sup> 'Thone castel tobræcon and towurpan' (A.-S. C. See Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 270.)

<sup>159</sup> 'In operatione turris de Euerwich 15*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*' (Pipe Roll, 19 Henry II, vol. xix. 2.) We assume that the second keep of William lasted till Henry's reign.

<sup>160</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 107.

<sup>161</sup> 'In operatione castri 28*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*' (Pipe Roll, 3 Richard I.) Under the year 1193, after relating the tragedy of the Jews at York Castle, Hoveden says: 'Deinde idem cancellarius [William de Longchamp] tradidit Osberto de Lunchamp, fratri suo, comitatum Eboracensem in custodia, et precepit firmari castellum in veteri castellario quod rex Willelmus Rufus ibi construxerat' (iii. 34). The expression *vetus castellarium* would lead us to think of the Old Baile, which certainly had this name from an early period; and Hoveden, being a Yorkshireman as well as a very accurate writer, was probably aware of the difference between the two castles. But if he meant the Old Baile, then both the castles were restored at about the same time. 'Rufus' must be a slip, unless there was some rebuilding in Rufus's reign of which we do not know.

new keep also was of wood; and remains of timber work were in fact found on the top of the motte during the excavations, though unfortunately they were not sufficiently followed up to determine whether they belonged to a wooden tower or to a platform intended to consolidate the motte.<sup>162</sup> It is extremely likely that this third keep was blown down by the high wind of 1228, when two shillings was paid 'for collecting the timber of York Castle blown down by the wind.'<sup>163</sup> In its place arose the present keep, one of the most remarkable achievements of the reign of Henry III.<sup>164</sup> The old ground plan of the square Norman keep was now abandoned, and replaced by a quatrefoil. The work occupied thirteen years, from the 30th to the 43rd Henry III, and the total sum expended was 1,927*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*, equal to about 40,000*l.* of our money. This remarkable fact has slumbered in the unpublished Pipe Rolls for nearly 700 years, never having been unearthed by any of the numerous historians of York.

The keep was probably the first work in stone at York Castle, and for a long time it was probably the only defensive masonry. The banks had certainly only a wooden stockade in the early part of Henry III's reign, as timber from the forest of Galtres was ordered for the repair of the breaches in the *palicium* in 1225.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Messrs. Benson and Platnauer are of the former opinion. 'The existence of a second layer of timber work seems to show that the fortification destroyed was rebuilt in wood' (*Notes on Clifford's Tower*, p. 2).

<sup>163</sup> 'Pro mairemio castri Ebor. prostrato per ventum colligendo, 2 s.' (Pipe Roll, 19 Henry III). It is, of course, a conjecture that this accident happened to the keep; but the keep would be the most exposed to the wind, and the *scattering* of the timber, so that it had to be collected, is just what would happen if a timber structure were blown off a motte.

<sup>164</sup> As this is the first time that this statement has been published, it will be well to give the evidence on which it rests. The keep of York is clearly Early English in style, and of an early phase of the style. It is, however, evident to any one who has carefully compared our dated keeps that castle architecture always lags behind church architecture in development, and must therefore be judged by different standards. We should, therefore, be prepared to find this and most other keeps to be of later date than their architecture would suggest. Moreover, the expenditure entered to York Castle in the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John is quite insufficient to cover the cost of a stone keep. The Pipe Rolls of Henry III's reign decide the matter, as they show the sums which he expended annually on this castle. It is true they never mention the *turris*, but always the *castrum*; we must also admit that the *turris* and *castrum* of York are often sharply distinguished in the writs, even as late as Edward III's reign (Close Rolls, 1334). On the other hand extensive acquaintance with the Pipe Rolls proves that though the medieval scribe may have an occasional fit of accuracy he is generally very loose in his use of words, and his distinctions must never be pressed. Take, for instance, the case of Orford, where the word used in the Pipe Rolls is always *castellum*, but it certainly refers to the keep, for there are no other buildings at Orford. Other instances might be given in which the word *castellum* clearly applies to the keep. It should be mentioned that in 1204 John gave an order for stone for the castle (Close Rolls, i. 4 b), but the amounts which follow the bill for it in the Pipe Rolls show that it was not used for any extensive building operations.

<sup>165</sup> 'Mandatum est Galfredo de Cumpton forestario de Gauteris quod ad pontem et domos castri Eboraci et breccas palicii eiusdem castri reparandos et emendandos



As late as Edward II's reign there was a *pelum*, or stockade, round the keep, on the top of a *murus*, which was undoubtedly an earthen bank.<sup>166</sup> At present the keep occupies the whole top of the motte except a small *chemin de ronde*, but the fact so frequently alluded to in the writs, that a stockade ran round the keep, proves that a small courtyard existed there formerly, as was usually the case with important keeps. Another writ of Edward II's reign shows that the motte was liable to injury from the floods of the river Foss.

It is difficult to say what the original area of York Castle was; it was certainly not large, as the present court, which covers about four acres, represents a modern enlargement in 1825. This enlargement has altered the ground plan of the bailey, which appears from an ancient drawing to have been of that common amorphous outline of which it is difficult to say whether it is a flattened circle or a rounded square. The motte was placed considerably outside the Roman walls of York, but on the line of what is believed to have been the Anglo-Saxon rampart; it is so placed as to overlook the city. The bailey was entirely outside the city rampart.

The value of the city of York, in spite of the sieges and sacks which it had undergone, and in spite of there being 540 houses 'so empty that they render nothing at all,' had risen at the date of the Survey from 53*l.* in King Edward's time to 100*l.* in King William's.<sup>167</sup> This extraordinary rise in value can only be attributed to increased trade and increased exactions, the former being promoted by the greater security given to the roads by the castles, the latter due to the tolls on the highroads and waterways, which belonged to the king,<sup>168</sup> and the various 'customs' belonging to castles, which, though new, were henceforth equally part of his rights.

50. THE BAILE HILL, YORK.—There can be no doubt whatever that this still existing motte was the site of William's second castle at York. It bore the name of the Old Baile at least as early as the fourteenth century, perhaps even in the twelfth.<sup>169</sup> In 1326 a dispute arose between the citizens of York and Archbishop William de Melton as to which of them ought to repair the wall around the Old Baile. The mayor alleged that the district was under the express jurisdiction of the archbishop, exempt from that of the city; the archbishop pleaded that it stood within the ditches of the city.<sup>170</sup> The meaning of this dispute can only be under-

Viccomitem Eborac. maeremium habere faciat in foresta de Gauteris per visum,' &c. (Close Rolls, ii. 61 b.)

<sup>166</sup> Order to expend up to 6 marks in repairing the wooden peel about the tower of York Castle, which peel is now fallen down (*Cal. of Close Rolls, 17 Edward II, p. 25*).

<sup>167</sup> D. B. i. 298 a.

<sup>168</sup> D. B. i. 298 b.

<sup>169</sup> See the passage from Hoveden already quoted, *ante*, p. 446, note 161.

<sup>170</sup> Drake's *Eboracum*, app. xlv.

stood in the light of facts which have recently been unearthed by the industry and observation of Mr. T. P. Cooper, of York.<sup>171</sup> The Old Baile, like so many of William's castles, originally stood outside the ramparts of the city. The original Roman walls of York (it is believed) enclosed only a small space on the eastern shore of the Ouse, and before the Norman Conquest the city had far outgrown these bounds, especially to the east and south, and a new vallum had been made, enclosing an area at least double the size of the Roman castrum, on the western bank of the Ouse. This was the Micklegate suburb, in which lay 'the shire of the archbishop.' This vallum was of earth, with a stockade on top, and it continued to be so till at least the reign of Henry III, if not later.<sup>172</sup>

The evidence of the actual remains renders it more than probable that this rampart turned towards the river at a point 500 feet short of its present angle, leaving the old castle and its bailey entirely outside.<sup>173</sup> This is exactly how we should expect to find a castle of William the Norman's in relation to one of the most turbulent cities in the realm; and, as we have seen, the other castle at York was similarly placed. By the time of Archbishop Melton the city was already enclosed in the new stone walls built in the thirteenth century, and these walls had been carried along the west and south banks of the Old Baile, so as to enclose that castle within the city. The archbishop, therefore, had a good pretext for trying to lay upon the citizens the duty of maintaining the Old Baile. The cause appears to have gone against him, but he stipulated that whatever he did in the way of fortification was of his own option, and was not to be accounted a precedent. A contemporary chronicler says that he enclosed the Old Baile first with stout planks, eighteen feet long, afterwards with a stone wall,<sup>174</sup> an interesting proof that wooden fortifications were still used in the reign of Edward III.

Though the base court of the Old Baile is now built over, its area and ditches were visible in Leland's time,<sup>175</sup> and can still be

<sup>171</sup> Mr. Cooper's forthcoming work on the *Walls of York* will contain a mass of new material from documentary sources, which will shed a quite unexpected light on the history of the York fortifications. I am indebted to Mr. Cooper for some of the extracts from the Close Rolls given or referred to above relating to York Castle.

<sup>172</sup> 1167. was spent by the sheriff in fortifying the walls of York in the 6th year of Henry III. After this there are repeated grants for murage in the same and the following reign. There are some Early English buttresses in the walls, but the majority are later. No part of the walls contains Norman work.

<sup>173</sup> The details of this evidence, which consist mainly in (1) a structural difference in the extended rampart, (2) a subsidence in the ground marking the old line of the city ditch, will be found in the forthcoming work of Mr. Cooper.

<sup>174</sup> 'Locum in Eboraco qui dicitur Vetus Ballium, primo spissis et longis 18 pedum tabulis, secundo lapideo muro fortiter includebat' (T. Stubbs, in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, ii. 417, R. S.)

<sup>175</sup> 'The plote of this castelle is now caullid the Olde Baile, and the area and diches of it do manifestley appere' (*Itin.* i. 60).

guessed at by the subsidence of the houses built on the line of the city moat and of the present wall where it crosses the site of this moat.<sup>176</sup> The area of the bailey must have been about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  acres, and its shape nearly square. This measurement includes the motte, which was placed in the south-west corner on the line of the banks; it thus overlooked the river as well as the city.

We have now examined in detail the fifty castles mentioned in Domesday Book. But besides these we know on good authority of at least thirty-seven castles which were existing in the latter part of the eleventh century. For convenience sake we have thrown these castles along with those mentioned in Domesday into one table, so that the result of the inquiry may be seen at a glance. We have in this table a list of eighty-seven castles, which, though it probably contains only a small portion of the whole number of castles founded at the epoch of the Conquest, at least gives us a number which is sufficiently representative to form a basis for general inferences.<sup>177</sup>

Omitting Burton Castle, of which nothing is known, we find that out of eighty-six castles no less than seventy-seven are of the motte and bailey type. The exceptions are the Tower of London and Colchester, where stone keeps were built by the Conqueror himself, and where the motte is absent simply because a stone keep could not be built on a new earthwork; Carlisle, Peak, Pembroke, Richmond, Tynemouth, and Wisbeach, the two latter being now almost entirely destroyed, so that nothing can be asserted about their original type. Exeter is a doubtful case, but if, as there is some evidence for believing, it formerly had a bailey at a lower level, it would answer entirely to the motte and bailey plan.<sup>178</sup> Pembroke was originally a turf castle, and it is doubtful whether the present castle occupies the site of the one built by Arnolf of Montgomery.<sup>179</sup> There is conclusive evidence that mottes formerly existed at Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Newcastle, Nottingham, Winchester, and Worcester, while the motte and bailey plan is clearly traceable at Chepstow and Montgomery. Even if we do not count Exeter we find that more than 88 per cent. of the list are castles of this type.

About thirty-eight of these castles are attached to towns. Of these ten are placed inside the Roman walls or the Saxon earthworks of the towns, while twenty-six are either wholly or partly

<sup>176</sup> From Mr. Cooper's information.

<sup>177</sup> Some Welsh castles whose identification is uncertain are omitted.

<sup>178</sup> Norden, whose plan of Exeter was published in 1619, indicates the lands below the ditch of the castle, inside the town walls, as belonging to the castle. The *Gesta Stephani*, describing the siege of 1135 says that Stephen took the *pro-murale*, which was fortified with a high bank (p. 23).

outside the enclosures.<sup>180</sup> This circumstance is important, because the position outside the town indicates the mistrust of an invader, not the confidence of a native prince. In the only two cases where we know anything of the position of the residence of the Saxon kings we find it in the middle of the city.<sup>181</sup> Even when the castle is inside the town walls it is almost invariably close to the walls, so that an escape into the country might always be possible.<sup>182</sup> Of the towns in which these castles were situated Domesday Book gives us the value in King Edward's and King William's time in twenty-four instances. In all cases but three (Hastings, Huntingdon, and Quatford) the value has risen. In the case of the country castles the same law holds good, since out of forty-seven manors with castles the value has risen in twenty-three cases, fallen in eight, while in the remaining cases it is either stationary or we have no information. Evidently something has caused a great increase of prosperity in these cases, and it can hardly be anything else than the impetus given to trade by the security afforded by a Norman castle.

The table proves that Mr. Clark's favourite theory, that the moated mounds were the centres of large and important estates in Saxon times, was a dream. Out of forty-one mottes in country districts thirty-six are found in places which were quite insignificant in King Edward's day, and only five can be said to occupy the centres of important Saxon manors.<sup>183</sup>

Without claiming absolute accuracy for the figures given for the size of the baileys, which are in most cases roughly calculated from the six-inch Ordnance map, they are sufficiently trustworthy to prove that these early Norman castles were very small in area, suitable only for the personal defence of a chieftain who has only a small force at his disposal, and absolutely unsuited for people in the tribal stage of development, like the ancient Britons, or for the scheme of national defence inaugurated by Alfred and Edward.

<sup>179</sup> 'Primus hoc castrum Arnulfus de Mungumeri sub Anglorum rege Henrico primo' (really before 1092) 'ex virgis et cespite, tenue satis et exile construxit' (Giraldus Camb. *Itin. Wall.* p. 89). The 'Brut y Tywysogion,' in 1105, says that Gerald, seneschal of Pembroke, built a second time the castle of Pembroke in a place called Little Cengarth. The first castle was evidently of the usual Norman type.

<sup>180</sup> It is not always possible to be certain whether a castle was placed in a town or in the country, because we have no information as to the existence of a town at that date; this is especially the case with the Welsh castles. Information as to the position of the castle is wanting in the cases of Lewes and Quatford.

<sup>181</sup> At Winchester and Exeter. For Winchester see Milner, ii. 194; for Exeter, Shorrt's *Sylva Antiqua Iscana*, p. vii.

<sup>182</sup> Colchester is the only exception to this rule, as the castle there is in the middle of the town; but even this is only an apparent exception, as the second bailey extended to the town wall on the north, and had been royal demesne land even before the Conquest. See Round's *History of Colchester*, p. 136.

<sup>183</sup> Of these Pontefract is a doubtful case.

The table also shows that in not a single case is any masonry which is certainly early Norman to be found on one of these mottes; where the date can be ascertained the stone work is invariably later than the eleventh century.

Nearly half the number of castles mentioned in this table are placed at ports on the coast, or on the great navigable rivers. Others stand on or near the great lines of Roman road. But any generalisations as to the reasons of their situations would be premature until an accurate list of mottes throughout the kingdom has been drawn up. We have some hints in Domesday Book and the Chronicle that the castles erected were built by royal order or permission.<sup>184</sup> What unwritten law there was on the subject we do not know; it is not till the time of Henry I that we find castle-building mentioned in law-books.<sup>185</sup> All that we can say *a priori* is that so able a ruler as William would certainly check the building of private castles as far as possible, while on the other hand he had to face the dilemma that no Norman landholder would be safe in his usurped estates without the shelter of a castle.<sup>186</sup> In this situation we have the elements of the civil strife which burst forth in Stephen's reign, and which was ended by what we may call the anti-castle policy of Henry II.

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NOTE.—Professor Tout has kindly sent a correction to the note 85 on p. 226 about Clitheroe Castle, pointing out that the passage cited from Hulton's *Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham* concerns the barony of Penwortham, and has no reference to Clitheroe, although both are in Blackburn hundred. The charter published in W. Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p. 385, shows that the castle of Clitheroe was in the hands of Robert de Lacy in 1102: it must have come to him with the Bowland estates, which were granted to him in the same year to hold of the king, but which he had previously held of Roger the Poitevin: *ibid.*, p. 382. It may be added that a second visit to Clitheroe has convinced the writer that the date given by Dugdale for the building of the castle applies correctly to the present keep. Dugdale says it was built by Robert de Lacy II between 1187 and 1194: *Baronage*, i. 99.

<sup>184</sup> Thus Domesday Book shows us that William Fitz Osbern built several castles in Herefordshire which he did not hold, and the Chronicle ascribes extensive castle-building to him and to Bishop Odo, whom William left behind him as regent during his first absence in Normandy.

<sup>185</sup> *Leges Henrici Primi*, x. § 1. The 'castellatio trium scannorum' is declared to be a right of the king. *Scannorum* means *scannorum*, banks. It is noteworthy that a motte and bailey castle is actually a fortification with three banks, one round the top of the motte, one round the edge of the bailey, one on the counterscarp of the ditch. See Mr. Hope's paper on 'English Fortresses,' *Arch. Journ.*, lx., for some valuable observations on the position of castles.

<sup>186</sup> He does not seem to have been able to do in England as he did in Normandy keep garrisons of his own in the castles of his nobles. See Ord. Vit. iii. 262.

No	Name of Castle	Type <sup>1</sup>	Probable Date of Stone Keep <sup>2</sup>	Town or Manor T. R. E.	Caput of Dis- trict(?) T. R. E.
1	Aberleinog . . .	M.	Thirteenth c.; on motte	(Wales)	No
2	Arundel . . .	M. & B.	Henry II: shell, on motte	Town: castle outside	
3	Bamborough . . .	K. & B.	William II, according to W. St. John Hope	Saxon burh at first, castle inside	
4	Barnstaple . . .	M. & B.	Not early; tower, on motte	Town: castle inside	
5	Belvoir . . .	M. & B.	Shell, on motte; licence to crenellate 1266	In Woolsthorpe manor	No
6	Berkeley (Nesse)	M. & B.	Henry II: shell, enclosing motte	Manor	Yes
7	Berkhampstead . . .	M. & B.	Henry II (?) v. Pipe Rolls: shell, on motte	Manor	Yes
8	Bishop Stortford	M. & B.	Flint walling, possibly not ancient	Manor	No
9	Bourne . . .	M. & B.	Tower, destroyed: on motte	Manor	Yes
10	Bramber . . .	M. & B.	No keep: early stone gatehouse	In manor of Washington (Wales)	No
11	Brecon . . .	M. & B.	(?) Shell, on motte		
12	Bristol . . .	M. & B. destroyed	Henry I: tower, on motte	Town: castle outside	
13	Burton (?) . . .				
14	Caerleon . . .	M. & B.	No keep: motte outside castrum	Manor: formerly Roman castrum, castle outside	No
15	Cambridge . . .	M. & B.	Fourteenth c., destroyed: on motte	Town: castle outside	
16	Canterbury . . .	M. & B <sup>5</sup>	The Dane John: no masonry	Town (Roman): first castle outside	
17	Cardiff . . .	M. & B.	Thirteenth c.: shell, on motte	Roman castrum: castle inside	
18	Carisbrook (Alwinestone)	M. & B.	Henry I: shell, on motte	Manor	No
19	Carlisle . . .	K. & B.	David I, 1124-53: tower	Roman castrum: castle outside	
20	Castle Acre . . .	M. & B.	Late Norman: shell and tower on motte	Manor	No
21	Chester . . .	M. & B.	Foundations of late Norman tower on motte	Roman castrum: castle outside	
22	Chepstow (Estrigoel)	M. & B. plan	No keep on former motte	Manor	No
23	Clifford . . .	M. & B.	Thirteenth c.: on motte	Manor	No
24	Clietheore . . .	M. & B.	Henry I (?): on motte	In Blackburn manor	No
25	Colchester . . .	K. & B.	William I	Town: Roman castrum; castle inside	
26	Corfe (Warham) . . .	M. & B.	Henry I: on motte	In Kingston manor	No
27	Deganwy . . .	2 Ms. & B.	John: on natural motte	(Wales)	
28	Dover . . .	M. & B.	Henry II: on motte	Castle built inside a Saxon or Roman castrum, outside port	
29	Dudley . . .	M. & B.	Henry III: on motte	Manor	No
30	Dunster (Torre) . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
31	Durham . . .	M. & B.	Edward III: shell, on motte	Town: castle outside	
32	Ewias . . .	M. & B.	Foundation trench of thirteenth-c. keep on motte	Manor	(?)
33	Exeter . . .	M. & B. (?)	No keep: eleventh-c. gatehouse	Town: Roman castrum; castle inside	
34	Eye . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
35	Gloucester . . .	M. & B. both destroyed	Henry I (?): not on motte	Town: castle outside	
36	Hastings . . .	M. & B.	No keep on motte	Town: castle outside	
37	Hereford . . .	M. & B.	Tower keep, on motte, both destroyed	Town: castle inside	
38	Huntingdon . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Town: castle outside	
39	Launceston (Dunheved)	M. & B.	Henry III (?): tower on motte	Manor	No
40	Lewes (Delaquis)	2 Ms. & B.	Edward III (?): shell on motte	Town	
41	Lincoln . . .	2 Ms. & B.	Stephen: shell on motte	Roman town: castle inside	

<sup>1</sup> In this column 'B.', 'K.', and 'M.' stand for 'Bailey,' 'Keep,' and 'Motte.'<sup>2</sup> In this column 'c.' stands for 'century.'<sup>3</sup> The Dane John.

Area of Bailey *	Shape of Bailey	Value of Town or Manor	Authority for Existence in Eleventh Century	No.
(?) Whole area not quite 5 a.	(?) Oblong	Not in D. B. Risen	' Brut y Tywysogion,' 1096 Domesday; Florence of Worcester, 1088	1 2
Whole area 8 a.; castle proper 3 or 4 Half an a.	Follows ground	Not in D. B.	A.-S. C., 1095	3
(?)	Circular (?)	Not given T. R. E. Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> v. 197 <sup>5</sup> <i>Mon. Angl.</i> iii. 288.	4 5
C. 1½ a.	Nearly square	Risen	Domesday, 163 a, 2	6
C. 3 a.	Roughly square	Fallen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> vii. 1090	7
C. 5 a. (?)	Oblong (?)	Fallen	William I's charter, Dugdale's <i>St. Paul's</i> , p. 304	8
C. 3 a., including motte	Roughly square	Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> vi. 86	9
C. 3½ a., including motte	Pear-shaped	Risen	Domesday, i. 28 a, 1	10
2½ a. (?)	Oval	Not in D. B.	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> iii. 252; Ord. Vit. iii. 43	11
3¾ a.	(?)	Not given T. R. E.	A.-S. C. 1088 <sup>6</sup>	12
(?)	(?)	Not given T. R. E. Risen	No trace of any castle at Burton Domesday, i. 185 b, 1	13 14
C. 6 a. (?)	Rectangular	Risen (?)	Domesday, i. 189	15
3 a.	Triangular	Risen	Domesday, i. 2 a, 1	16
Norman bailey about 1½ a.	Rectangular	Not in D. B.	' Brut y Tywysogion,' 1080	17
First bailey 1½ a.	Square	Risen	Domesday, i. 52 b, 1	18
Not quite 3 a.	Triangular	Not in D. B.	A.-S. C., 1092; Bower's <i>Scotichronicon</i> , v. xlii.	19
(?)	Horse-shoe	Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> v. 49	20
First ward not quite 1 a.	Polygonal	Risen	Ord. Vit. ii. 199	21
1¾ a.	Oblong	Risen	Domesday, i. 162	22
3½ a. (?)	Rectangular (?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 182 a, 2	23
Inner ward c. 2 a., including keep	Roughly square	Blackburn fallen Risen	Domesday, i. 832 a, 1 bis	24
Nearly 5 a., including second bailey	Rectangular	Risen	Charter of Henry I, in Round's <i>Colchester</i>	25
Whole area c. 3 a.	Follows ground	Not in D. B.	Domesday, i. 78 b, 2.	26
Inner castle with motte c. 6 a.	Square with loop to enclose church, &c.	Risen	Ord. Vit. iii. 284 Wm. of Poitiers, p. 140	27 28
C. 2 a.	Rectangular	Fallen	Domesday, i. 177	29
C. 2 a.	Roughly oval	Risen	Domesday, i. 95 b	30
Twice enlarged; c. 4 a. now	Rectilateral	Not in D. B.	Simeon of Durham, 1072	31
Whole area c. 5 a.	Half-moon	Not given T. R. E.	Domesday, i. 186 a	32
C. 2 a. inside walls	No bailey now	(?)	Ord. Vit. ii. 181	33
2½ a.	Oval	Risen	Domesday, ii. 179	34
(?)	(?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 162	35
C. 3 a.	Triangular	Fallen	Tapestry: Domesday, i. 18 a, 2	36
C. 4 a.	Rectangular	Not given T. R. E.	A.-S. C. 1048, 1052; for motte, Grose, ii. 18	37
C. 2 a.	Roughly square	Stationary	Domesday, i. 203	38
3½ a.	Pentagonal	Fallen	Domesday, i. 121 b	39
C. 5 a.	Oval (?)	Risen	Domesday, ii. 157, 163, 172, &c.	40
C. 5¼ a.	Roughly square	Risen	Domesday, 336 b, 2	41

\* In this column 'c.' stands for 'about' and a. for 'acres.'

\* For motte, Seyer's *Bristol*, ii. 301.

\* D. B. says, '23 domus vastatae.'

No.	Name of Castle	Type <sup>1</sup>	Probable Date of Stone Keep <sup>2</sup>	Town or Manor T. R. E.	Head of District T. R. E.
42	Monmouth . . .	M. & B.	Round tower, on motte: thirteenth c.	Manor	No
43	Montacute . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
44	Montgomery . . .	M. & B. plan	Henry III: shell, on motte	Waste land	No
45	Newcastle . . .	M. & B.: both destroyed	Henry II: not on motte	Roman castrum: castle outside	
46	Norham . . .	M. & B.	John? tower, on motte	(?)	(?)
47	Norwich . . .	M. & B.	Henry I: tower, on motte	Town: motte outside	
48	Nottingham . . .	M. & B.	John: tower, on motte, destroyed	Town: castle probably outside	
49	Okehampton . . .	M. & B.	(?) Tower, on motte	Manor	No
50	Oswestry (Luvre)	M. & B.	Twelfth c. (?): shell, on motte	Manor	No
51	Oxford . . .	M. & B.	Decagonal foundations found: probably Henry II	Town: motte outside	
52	Peak . . .	K. & B.	Henry II	Manor	No
53	Penwortham (Peneverdant)	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
54	Pembroke . . .	K. & B.	Thirteenth c.	(Wales)	
55	Peterborough . . .	M.		Attached to abbey	
56	Pevensey . . .	M. & B.	Thirteenth c.: on motte	Roman castrum: castle inside	
57	Pontefract . . .	2 Ms. & B.	Henry III: built round motte	Manor	Probably
58	Preston Capes . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
59	Quatford . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	A burgus: in manor of Ardinton	
60	Rayleigh . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
61	Rhuddlan . . .	M. & B <sup>3</sup>	No keep now	Manor	Yes
62	Richard's Castle (Avreton)	M. & B.	Fragments on motte: date later than Conquest (Clark)	In manor of Ludeford	No
63	Richmond . . .	K. & B.	Henry II	Name of manor unknown	No
64	Rochester . . .	M. & B.: the Boley Hill	Henry I (in Gundulf's castle)	Town: first castle outside	
65	Rockingham . . .	M. & B.	John: shell, on motte	Manor	No
66	Old Sarum . . .	M. & B.	Henry II (?): tower, on motte	Manor of 50 hides	No
67	Shrewsbury . . .	M. & B.	Only modern work now on motte	Town: castle outside	
68	Skipsea . . .	M. & B.	Only fragment of wall on motte	In manor of Cleeton	No
69	Stafford . . .	M. & B.	Edward III: rebuilt now	Town: castle outside	
70	Stamford . . .	M. & B.	No keep now	Town: castle inside	
71	Stanton (Holgate)	M. & B.	No keep now	Manor	No
72	Tickhill . . .	M. & B.	Henry II (?): foundations of decagonal tower, on motte	In Dadesley manor	No
73	Totnes . . .	M. & B.	Henry I (?): shell, on motte	Town: castle outside	
74	Tower of London	K. & B.	William I: tower	On line of city wall	
75	Trematon . . .	M. & B.	Thirteenth c.: shell, on motte	Manor	No
76	Tonbridge . . .	M. & B.	Late shell, on motte	In Haslow Manor	No
77	Tutbury . . .	M. & B.	shell, now destroyed	(?)	No
78	Tynemouth . . .	(?)	No keep or motte now	(?)	
79	Wallingford . . .	M. & B.	No keep on motte now	Town: castle inside	
80	Warwick . . .	M. & B.	Fourteenth c.: on motte	Town: castle outside	
81	Wigmore . . .	M. & B.	Foundations, on motte, of tower: thirteenth c.	Manor	No
82	Winchester . . .	M. & B. destroyed	Probably Henry II: on motte	Town: castle outside	
83	Windsor . . .	M. & B.	Shell, on motte: Henry II	In manor of Clewer	No
84	Wisbeach . . .	Destroyed: no plan	A Juliet or round tower	Manor	No
85	Worcester . . .	M. & B. destroyed	(?)	Town: castle outside	
86	York . . .	M. & B.	Henry III: on motte	Town: motte on line of wall	
87	York (Baile Hill)	M. & B.	No keep now	Outside former	

<sup>1</sup> In this column 'B.', 'K.', and 'M.' stand for 'Bailey,' 'Keep,' and 'Motte.'<sup>2</sup> In this column 'c.' stands for 'century.'



Area of Bailey *	Shape of Bailey	Value of Town or Manor	Authority for Existence in Eleventh Century	No.
Inner ward c. 1½ a.	Oblong	Not given T. R. E.	Domesday, i. 180 b; for motte, Speed	42
(?)	(?)	Not given T. R. E.	Domesday, i. 93 a, 1	43
C. 2¾ a.	Rectilateral	Not given	Domesday, i. 254	44
Whole area 3 a.	Roughly oblong	Not in D. B.	Simeon, 1080; for motte, Brand, i. 173	45
C. 3 a.	Quadrant	Not in D. B.	Simeon of Durham, 1088	46
3 or 4 a.	Half-moon	Risen	Domesday, ii. 116	47
C. 3 a. including motte	Half-moon	Risen	A.-S. C. 1068; for motte, Misc. Roll, 1212, and Pipe Rolls, 6 & 7, Ric. I	48
Scarcely 2 a.	Oval	Risen	Domesday, i. 105	49
(?)	(?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 253	50
(?)	Octagonal	Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> vi. 251; Abingdon and Osney Chronicles, 1072	51
1½ a.	Quadrant	Risen	Domesday, i. 276	52
Less than 3 a.	Roughly square	Risen	Domesday, i. 270	53
Nearly 4 a.		Not in D. B.	'Brut y Tywysogion,' 1091;	54
(?)	(?)	Stationary	<i>M. A.</i> iv. 320	55
Not quite 2 a.	Oblong	Risen	Hugh Candidus, Sparke, p. 63	56
C. 3 a.	Roughly oval	Fallen	Domesday, i. 373 b	57
(?)	(?)	Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> iv. 178, 183	58
C. half an a. (?)	Roughly half-moon	Fallen	Ord. Vit. iv. 32	58
C. 3½ a.	Half-moon	Risen	Domesday, ii. 43 b	60
(?)	(?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 269 a, 1	61
C. 3 a.	Roughly square	Stationary	Domesday, i. 186 b	62
First ward 3½ a.	Triangular	(?)	Domesday, i. 381 a, 2	63
3 a.	Oblong	Risen	Domesday, i. 2 b	64
3½ a.	Rectilateral	Risen	Domesday, i. 220	65
(?)	(?)	Stationary	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> vi. 1294	66
Under 3 a., including motte	Octagonal	Risen	Domesday, i. 252	67
(?)	(?)	Fallen	<i>Chronicon de Melsa</i> , i. 90	68
(?)	(?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 249 a	69
2 to 3 a.	Quadrangular	Risen	Domesday, i. 386 b, 2	70
(?)	(?)	Risen	Domesday, i. 258 b	71
C. 2 a.	Roughly oval	Risen	Ord. Vit. iv. 33, 171	72
Slightly over 1 a.	Pear-shaped	Risen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> iv.	73
Keep originally on edge of bailey	(?)	London not in D. B.	Ord. Vit. ii. 175; cf. iv. 109	74
Less than 2 a.	Rounded triangle	Fallen	Domesday, i. 122	75
2½ a., including motte	Roughly oval	Stationary	A.-S. C. 1088	76
C. 3½ a.	Triangular	Not given T. R. E.	Domesday, i. 248 b	77
C. 6 a.	Peninsula	Not in D. B.	Simeon, <i>R. S.</i> ii. 346; A.-S. C. 1095	78
3 a. (?)	Roughly oblong	Risen	Domesday, i. 56	79
2¾ a.	Oblong	Risen	Domesday, i. 238 a, 1	80
Under 3 a., including motte	Roughly semilunar	Risen	Domesday, i. 183	81
Inner area c. 3 a.	Triangular	(?)	Domesday, i. 43 a, 1; Ord. Vit. ii. 166; <i>Mon. Angl.</i> ii. 444	82
Not quite 2 a. (upper ward)	Rectangular	Clewer fallen	Domesday, i. 62 b	83
4 a.	(?)	Fallen	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> ii.	84
(?)	(?)	Risen	A.-S. C. 1088; <i>Malms. G. P.</i> p. 253; for motte, <i>Rot. Pat.</i> 1 Hen, III	85
less than 4 a.	Amorphous	Risen	A.-S. C. 1068; Domesday, i. 298	86
C. 4½ a., incl. motte	Square		As above, and Ord. Vit. ii. 188	87

\* Abbot's Hill.

\* In this column 'c.' stands for 'about' and 'a.' for acres.

## *Charles I and the East India Company*

AMONG the many expedients adopted by King Charles and his ministers in their desperate need of money wherewith to meet the Scottish invasion of August 1640 undoubtedly the most curious was that by which a large quantity of pepper was purchased from the East India Company on credit and resold for cash at a loss of *5d.* per lb., with the result that over 50,000*l.* was obtained for the immediate needs of the exchequer. The story has been told differently by different writers, but nearly all of them agree in blaming the king severely for the transaction, and in representing him as forcing the company to accept the bargain against their will. Now if Charles really did oblige a body of merchants to part with their goods for such a purpose, with little or no probability of being able to discharge the liability he had thus incurred, we may agree with Sir William Hunter<sup>1</sup> that his action was one 'which would be called by an ill name in a modern law court.' But a re-examination of the story in the light of the East India Company's records has placed a somewhat different aspect on the affair, and in the following brief narrative I hope to show that the transaction does not involve any bad faith on Charles's part; that it arose in part from the company's own action in offering the pepper to public tender on credit terms; that the king was, in fact, absent from London when the first overtures were made, though he may have been aware of what was intended; that the bargain was accepted by the company—with reluctance, possibly, but without ostensible demur—and was in some respects advantageous from a mercantile point of view; that substantial private security was provided for the payment of the money; and that the unfortunate result was largely due to causes which were not foreseen at the time and which were beyond the control of the king and his ministers.

In Aug. 1640 the committees of the East India Company, engaged in one of their periodical sales, had to decide how best to dispose of a large quantity of pepper—2,310 bags, containing

<sup>1</sup> *History of British India*, ii. 44.

607,522 lbs.—which they had on hand. They resolved upon the not unusual course of inviting any one who pleased to subscribe for parcels of not less than a hundred bags at a given price, viz. 2s. 1*d.* per lb. if the pepper was to be sent abroad, or 2s. 2*d.* if it was to be garbled for sale at home. The customary amount of credit was to be allowed—four months from Michaelmas for the first half of the money, and six months longer for the balance—and it was agreed that no allotment should be made unless practically the whole amount were taken up.

A 'preamble' announcing these terms was accordingly made public, but there seems to have been no eagerness on the part of the merchants to avail themselves of the offer. As appears from the later proceedings the price had been fixed at too high a rate; indeed, only a year later the company were glad to accept eightpence a pound less, with longer credit. On 22 Aug., however, the committees found an unexpected customer. It was announced that Lord Cottington, the chancellor of the exchequer, was without and desired speech with the court. He was admitted and quickly made known his business. After representing 'the many and urgent occasions His Majesty at present hath, and especially against the Scotts' (Charles had left London for the north two days before), he announced his desire to purchase the whole of the pepper in his majesty's name upon the terms set forth in the company's preamble, hinting also that their compliance would entail 'His Majesty's grace and favour to the Company to graunte their request for mitigation of Impost, etc., as was desired.' The embarrassed governor (Sir Christopher Clitherow) stammered out that they really could not spare the money, that they were looking to the sale of the pepper to discharge part of their debts, which amounted to a quarter of a million sterling, that any rumour of a transaction of this nature would frighten stockholders and damage the company's credit. Lord Cottington, however, made light of these 'pannick feares' and assured the court that both the king and himself were determined to see the company paid by the dates fixed. Nevertheless the committees would not determine hastily a business of such importance, and the fact that many of their number were out of town was made an excuse for deferring a decision until the next meeting, four days later, for which date a general court of the members of the company was also summoned to ratify or reverse any resolution the court of committees might adopt.

Accordingly on the morning of 26 Aug. the committees met to discuss the matter. Since the previous meeting a conference had taken place between the governor and other representatives of the company on the one hand and the lord treasurer and Lord Cottington on the other, with the result that a more definite proposal had been arrived at. The government was to take the

pepper at the 2*s.* 1*d.* fixed by the company, thus incurring a debt of 63,283*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*; this was to be discharged by four payments of 14,000*l.* each at intervals of six months, while the odd 7,283*l.* was to be paid on 29 Dec. 1641; and for the due performance of the bargain bonds making themselves jointly and severally liable were to be signed by Lord Cottington, the farmers of the customs, and others. The names included such wealthy and well-known men as Sir Paul Pindar, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir Peter Wyche, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Nulls; and the security offered was thus of the most unexceptionable character. Influenced by this fact and by the arguments of the lord mayor, Sir Henry Garway (a well-known royalist), the court decided to recommend the proposal for acceptance.

The general meeting, which was held the same afternoon, had evidently been looked forward to with some trepidation by the authorities. It was well known at Whitehall that the sympathies of the citizens of London were almost wholly with the opposition, and the summary rejection of recent applications to the city for loans was still fresh in the memories of the court. The precaution had, therefore, been taken to warn the leading members of the company 'soe tenderly to handle the businesse that noe affront should bee putt upon his Majesty or the Lord Cottington.' The proceedings were opened by a speech from the governor, in which he laid before the assembly the proposal that had been made, and informed them that

the Court of Committees have seriously debated the propoosition and Conceive it noe prejudice to the Company to sell off the whole parcel of pepper roundly together at the Companies owne price and tyme and the security proposed, none having Come to underwrite within the tyme lymited, and the Lord Cottington promising to discompt after a short tyme; and if some fewe had underwritt, yett had it bin noe sale unles all had been underwritt for; besides, if it had staid unsold a weeke longer, it would have abated in price, as was Conceived, and bin sold at 22*d.* per lb.

Only two members ventured to offer any criticism of the proposal, and one of these qualified his remarks by the admission that the security offered was 'such that if his owne estate were answerable, hee wold trust that security with more then the vallue of the pepper.' To refuse the royal offer, backed as it was by adequate financial guarantees, would be construed at court as proceeding from nothing but hostility to the king and a desire to embarrass the government; and evidently the company's representatives shrank from taking such a step. They plainly told the assembly that

as the case nowe stands it will not bee safe for the Governor and Courte of Committees to goe any other way then by the treaty proposed, this

being Conceived a service that will give good satisfaccion to the King and bee a meanes to incite his Majesty to graunt favour to the Company in those particulers they have formerly represented, adding further that if any Strainger had made the same offer hee shold have had it, nor Can it bee worse for the Company because the King hath the bargayne.

That there were some malcontents is suggested by the fact that a ballot was proposed; but the governor refused to permit such a course, as being 'distastfull to the Lords and in a manner forbidden.' A suggestion was next made that the decision should be left to the court of committees; to this, however, the latter objected, on the ground that they had no wish to assume so great a responsibility. The governor then urged the assembly not only to assent, but to assent unanimously

to this soe acceptable service, which in his opinion wilbee the best Act the Company ever did, and as he Conceives will Conduce most to the future good of the Trade, either to the present Adventurers or their posterity, Mr. Governor freely acknowledging that first hee was very fearefull, but upon better Consideration hee hath laid aside all feare. [And thereupon] the question being proposed to the Court, with a generall yea the bargayn with the Lord Cottington for the whole parcell of pepper, according to the opinion of the Committees and the Preamble to the booke of subscripcion, was assented unto and Confirmed.

So far, then, from the bargain having been forced upon the company, it had been concluded without articulate protest. Nor, indeed, was there any reason why the members, looking solely to their interests as merchants, should object to it. They had secured a much better price for their pepper than they would otherwise have got; and although they were obliged to allow rather longer credit than was at first contemplated they had excellent security. In the first place the public revenues had been emphatically pledged by Lord Cottington, and the customs due from the company—which the king could hardly refuse to devote to this purpose, should the ordinary resources of the exchequer fail—would by themselves extinguish the debt in a comparatively short time; and in the second place, should it come to the worst, they had the bonds of eleven substantial men, including some of the wealthiest merchants in the kingdom. We may conclude, therefore, that while a few may have regretted the transaction on political grounds, as to some extent relieving the king from his pecuniary embarrassments and thus postponing the necessity of calling a parliament, the majority were not dissatisfied with their bargain.

The acquiescence of the members having thus been secured, the bonds were signed and the pepper made over to Lord Cottington, who thereupon disposed of it—of course at a sacrifice, as the price for cash was necessarily lower than the price for credit—at 1s. 8d.

per lb., or 50,626*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* in all. The result was an apparent loss of 12,656*l.* 14*s.*; but against this was reckoned, in the exchequer accounts, 6,075*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* as the amount of interest (at the usual rate of eight per cent.) which would have had to be paid for such a loan, leaving 6,581*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* as the net loss on the transaction.<sup>2</sup> Considering the desperate straits to which the treasury was reduced for money, this price—equivalent to borrowing the cash at about seventeen instead of eight per cent.—was not unreasonable; and doubtless Lord Cottington and his city friends (who probably had suggested the plan) thought that on the whole a neat stroke of business had been done. It is evident that no one on the government side had any doubt that the debt would be discharged in due course, or Lord Cottington and his fellow bondsmen would scarcely have pledged their private estates so readily. Thus both sides had reason, if not for rejoicing at the bargain, at all events for contentment with it as a fairly satisfactory solution of a difficult situation.

But though both Charles and his minister undoubtedly meant that their obligations should be duly met they had not foreseen the tornado that was to follow the meeting of the Long Parliament. By 10 Jan. 1642, when the king left London—to return only as a prisoner—payments to the amount of 35,283*l.* had fallen due. Of this the farmers of the customs had discharged nearly 13,000*l.* by remitting the payments due to them from the company, leaving a balance of over 22,000*l.* Nor was this all, for the parliament threatened to force the company to pay the remitted duties—a piece of injustice which, however, was not carried out. The court of committees, seeing no prospect of payment, determined to put the bonds in force, whereupon Lord Cottington appealed to the king, declaring that he would be ruined. Charles wrote at once to the company, begging them to wait awhile, and at the same time he directed the commissioners of the treasury to do their best to find means for discharging the debt. The only suggestion the latter could offer was that certain royal parks should be sold, and that in addition assignments should be given on the timber and soil of the Forest of Dean. To all this Charles was willing to agree; but before anything could be effected the Civil War broke out and all hope of recovering money from the king was effectually extinguished.

A threatened loss of 50,000*l.* was far too serious for the company to accept without a struggle. At first they hoped to make it up by withholding their customs as they became due; but the parliament, needing every penny they could get, and regarding the pepper debt as a matter in which they had no liability, in August 1643 sent the company a sharp order to pay up the amount in dispute (about

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S. P.*, Dom. 1640-1, p. 522.

4,000*l.*) After waiting awhile it was decided to sue the available bondsmen, and by the beginning of 1644 steps had been taken to this end. On 3 Jan. Sir Paul Pindar, Sir Job Harby, and Sir John Nulls came into court and entreated the committees to suspend their action. They did not doubt, they said, that Lord Cottington, who was now with the king and had recently been appointed lord treasurer, would find means to carry out his undertaking to save them from loss in the matter. A week's delay was accordingly granted, at the end of which they produced a letter from the king to the company, urging forbearance, whereupon, 'being unwilling to give his Majesty any distaste, yett considering their owne necessity at present and the stopping of the mouthes of divers who are and would bee Adventurers and seeme to take exception that noe course is taken for the recovery of this debt,' it was agreed to forbear the principal for a while on the understanding that interest should be paid on the amount due.

The years 1644 and 1645 passed away without the recovery of any portion of the debt, though the company took some legal steps towards securing a judgment. Pindar and his associates in misfortune were busily engaged on their side in trying to induce the parliament to redeem this and similar liabilities incurred on behalf of the exchequer prior to the outbreak of the war. In May 1646 an order of the house of commons protected the persons of Pindar, Jacob, Harby, and Nulls from arrest, thus materially reducing the number of persons upon whom pressure could be brought. Early in 1649 a petition appears to have been addressed to parliament, urging that the debt should be discharged from the proceeds of the projected sale of the king's lands; but nothing came of this, and in April the company, growing desperate, procured the arrest of one of the bondsmen, James Maxwell, Earl of Dirletoun. He offered to pay 5,000*l.* down, or to assign a sum of 3,866*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* due to him from the parliament and make up the amount to 7,000*l.* The company, however, declined to be satisfied with less than 10,000*l.*—a course they had reason to regret, for he stood firm, and a few months later they were glad to compound with him for 4,000*l.* During the next two or three years negotiations dragged on with the remaining bondsmen, who were still in hopes of obtaining from the parliament the means of discharging this and other debts incurred on behalf of the late government. In Dec. 1652 they brought a curious project to the notice of the company. It was in contemplation to sell the late king's lands for the purpose of satisfying the claims on the former farmers of the customs, and, as an inducement to the parliament to sanction this, it was proposed to make a condition that the parties interested should make a further advance to the state equal to the amount already due; their claims, thus doubled, were then to be satisfied by assignments of

the royal lands at a given rate, twelve years' purchase being suggested as a suitable figure. After some hesitation the company undertook that if the bill passed before the next Lady Day they would advance 25,000*l.* on these terms.

However, the stipulated period elapsed without the passing of the promised act, and in April the committees resolved that the remaining bondsmen should be 'followed with a statute of bankrupt.' This action Crisp induced them to suspend for a time, on the ground that 'the Lord Generall hath promised to use his uttermost endeavour that the Forest and Chase lands formerly resolved on should bee made over unto them for satisfying the Farmours debts within six weekes or two moneths;' and on 10 Dec. 1653 he and his two companions in misfortune (Jacob and Harby; Nulls had died on the 29th of the preceding June) were able to announce that they had procured the desired act of parliament. By this enactment (22 Nov. 1653) commissioners were appointed to sell certain royal forests and apply the proceeds to the payment of the debts of the government. All persons holding 'public faith bills' and advancing further an equivalent amount of cash to the treasury were to receive bonds on this property. The debts incurred by the late farmers having been recognised by parliament to the extent of 276,146*l.*, they were to be allowed this amount, provided that they paid in an additional 100,000*l.* by 1 Jan. and the remainder by the beginning of May. The three ex-farmers therefore urged the company to renew their former offer of 25,000*l.*; but this was refused, the court alleging that, as the stock was drawing to an end, they had decided to divide up the debt among the various adventurers and to leave each man to do as he pleased regarding the recovery of his particular portion. The adventurers seem to have looked askance at the new scheme, for the requisite money was not forthcoming, and on 13 Jan. 1654 the council of state passed a resolution that, as the late farmers had failed to carry out the conditions of the act, the bargain must be regarded as at an end and the forest lands were to be discharged from any liability on this account.<sup>3</sup> At the same time some annoyance was felt at the inaction of the company, and on 25 Jan., the court having been informed that 'the State doth resent it as an ill omen that the mony was not paid in which was brought by severall Adventurers for doubling about the debt due from the late Farmours of the Customes,' it was resolved to prepare a memorandum for the secretary of state, showing 'why the Adventurers did Call for their mony backe againe.'

After this the records are silent until 4 June 1656, when the court of committees ordered the sealing of an instrument prepared in accordance with an agreement lately concluded with the ex-

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. S. P., Dom., 1653-4, p. 357.*



farmers. The nature of this agreement does not appear, but it is inferred that, assessing each man's liability at the 4,000*l.* paid by Maxwell, an instalment of 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound was accepted from all three for the present, and the rest of the claim held over. The amount of the debt was thus reduced to about 42,000*l.*

In four years more the Restoration raised fresh hopes in the breasts of the adventurers. The new government could not, of course, refuse to recognise a debt contracted under such circumstances. But, however willing Charles's ministers might be to admit their liability, the multitude of other claims, equally well founded, rendered the chances of an early settlement rather remote. After a time the principal persons concerned began to think of compromise; and at a meeting of the trustees of the now defunct Fourth Joint Stock held on 27 June 1661 a discussion took place on a proposal which had been made by the farmers of the customs for the gradual discharge of the debt. It was resolved to draw up a list of the adventurers, with their several proportions of the debt, and then to go forward with the negotiations. Of these we have no details; but the result is seen in a royal warrant to the commissioners of customs, dated 27 March 1662, authorising them to pay 10,500*l.*, which the trustees had agreed to accept in full satisfaction. The chief agent in bringing about the settlement was Sir Nicholas Crisp, who at the same time received a grant of 10,000*l.* from the king for his services in this and other matters.<sup>4</sup> The division of the money took some time, and the matter was not finally disposed of until 22 May 1663. On that day the adventurers, in public meeting assembled, formally approved the action of their representatives and ordered that a general release should be given to the farmers of the customs.

The net result, then, was that the company—or rather the shareholders in that particular stock—lost 31,500*l.* out of the 63,283*l.* for which they had bargained, or roughly half the amount, besides the loss of the use of the money and the expenses incurred. On the other hand we must remember that the actual value of the pepper at the time of its sale was evidently far less than the sum the crown agreed to give. It was an unfortunate transaction for all concerned; but it was only one of many hard cases resulting from the Civil War, and no doubt what happened to the East India Company happened also to many a private merchant, though of course on a much smaller scale.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. S. P., Dom., 1661-2, pp. 320, 321.*

## Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion'

### PART III.—THE 'HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.'

DURING the earlier part of his exile none of Clarendon's children or relatives had been allowed to visit him. By the Act of Banishment even correspondence with him was rendered treasonable. In 1671 the English government relaxed its severity, and on 8 May his second son, Laurence Hyde, was granted a pass to go to France to see his father. Clarendon removed from Montpellier to Moulins in order to facilitate their meeting, which took place about the beginning of June 1671.<sup>1</sup> A second visit took place in 1673. Laurence in some meditations on the anniversary of his father's death describes himself as 'having had the good fortune to attend him twice in these seven years of his banishment, and spent, indeed, only five weeks in both times with him.' As earl of Rochester Laurence Hyde, some thirty years later, edited and published the *History of the Rebellion*, and Clarendon now confided his literary schemes to him. 'He was pleased,' writes the son, 'to discuss with me of several actions of his life, more like a friend and upon equal terms than a father, and to give me the perusal of several of his writings.'<sup>2</sup> It is evident that Laurence Hyde brought with him from England some of the papers referred to in the 'Life,' which Clarendon had felt the need of whilst he was writing, and had hitherto been unable to procure.<sup>3</sup> Among these were Walker's narratives of the campaigns of 1644 and 1645, some letters which passed between Charles I and the French ambassador Montreuil in 1646, Clarendon's own account of 'the western business' and of the duke of Hamilton's imprisonment, and, most important of all, the six books of the original 'History,' written between 1646 and 1648. This is proved by the fact that Clarendon at once set to work to complete his unfinished 'History,' and used all these papers in compiling it.

During the next twelve months the *History of the Rebellion* was completed and put together. The eighth book is undated, but there

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Dom.*, 1671, p. 215; cf. Lister, *Life of Clarendon*, iii. 478-84.

<sup>2</sup> Singer, *Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, &c.*, i. 645.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, pp. 259-60.

can be little doubt that it was written in July 1671. The ninth book is dated at the beginning 12 August 1671, and at the end 17 Sept. The eleventh is dated at the end 21 Nov. None of the other books, or rather fragments of books, are dated, but, as Clarendon set to work upon the 'Continuation' of his 'Life' on 8 June 1672, the *History of the Rebellion* must have been completed before that time.

The reasons which made Clarendon take up again the abandoned 'History,' instead of at once continuing the autobiography, upon which he had so recently been engaged, are not difficult to conjecture. No doubt the sight of his manuscript 'History' awoke in him the desire to finish his work, as the sight of his unfinished 'Meditations on the Psalms' had done a year or two earlier. But other motives also inspired him, and among them was the desire to earn literary fame as an historian. The question how history should be written was one of the subjects which occupied Clarendon's thoughts during his exile. He tells us that he 'entered upon the forming a method for the better disposing the history of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been.' In his essay 'On an Active and on a Contemplative Life' he discusses at length the qualifications necessary to make a good historian, criticising and comparing those famous foreign historians Strada, Bentivoglio, Grotius, and D'Avila, 'four eminent persons of the age in which we live, who were all men in their several degrees of great lustre in the world, who all writ histories of the same or near the same times.' Of these four, said he, two, D'Avila and Bentivoglio, 'may worthily stand by the sides of the best of the ancients. . . . Both their histories are excellent, and will instruct the ablest and wisest men how to write, and terrify them from writing.' On the other hand only a small part, if any, of English history had been tolerably written, and our native historians were feeble creatures.

It hath been the fate of our country, which hath in all ages been the field of great and noble actions in peace and war, and hath contributed so much to the growth and improvement of arts and sciences (all which are the most proper subjects of history), to have its transactions derived to posterity by men, who have had no other excuse for their presumption than their good will.

The value of a history, he argued, depended upon the qualifications of the writer, upon his judgment and his experience as well as his knowledge.

There was never yet a good history written but by men conversant in business, and of the best and most liberal education. . . . It is not a collection of records, or an admission to the view and perusal of the most secret letters and acts of state (though they are great and necessary contributions), which can enable a man to write a history, if there be an

absence of that genius, and spirit, and soul of an historian, which is contracted by the knowledge and course and method of business, and by conversation and familiarity in the inside of courts, and [with] the most active and eminent persons in the government; all which yields an admirable light, though a man writes of times and things which were transacted for the most part before he was born.

The best histories, he concludes, must be those written by men of affairs telling the story of their own times, and dealing with men and events of which they have some personal knowledge. One of the merits of Bentivoglio and D'Avila is that 'commonly the greatest persons they have occasion to mention were very well known to them both, which makes their characters always very lively.'<sup>4</sup>

It must have occurred to Clarendon when he wrote these words that he possessed just those qualifications which he pronounced theoretically essential. The desire to show how English history should be written, to illuminate for posterity one portion of the past of his own country, and to be numbered himself amongst famous writers, was undoubtedly amongst his motives for completing his 'History.'

Clarendon had also a more immediate and practical purpose in completing his book. To the last he deluded himself with the belief that he would be allowed to return home to end his days amongst his family. Each relaxation of the king's rigour seemed a presage of forgiveness. In a dedication addressed to Charles in 1673 he speaks of 'a hope which sustains my weak, decayed spirits that your majesty will at some time call to your remembrance my long and incorrupted fidelity to your person and your service.'<sup>5</sup> Literary services, the only ones he could now render, might, he thought, help to secure his pardon, and obtain him the indulgence he desired. His *History of the Rebellion* seemed to him to be such a service. 'My banishment,' he wrote to the king, 'hath hitherto been the more supportable to me, in that I think I have performed a work, under this mortification, which I began with the approbation and encouragement of your blessed father, and when I had the honour to be near your majesty.' In another passage he describes it as 'a work at least recommended, if not enjoined, to me by your blessed father, and approved and in some degree perused by your majesty, which I hope will be to the honour of his majesty's memory and your own magnanimous sufferings.'<sup>6</sup> If the thought of future fame did not move the king, Clarendon had a second string to his bow. Perhaps a political treatise, or something more immediately

<sup>4</sup> *Miscellaneous Tracts*, 1727, pp. 179-82.

<sup>5</sup> 'Epistle Dedicatory' to *A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Per-nicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes's Book entitled Leviathan*. The 'Epistle' is dated 10 May 1673.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xl.

connected with the problems of the present, might win him the desired reward.

I spend all my time (he wrote) in praying for your majesty, and endeavouring to do you some service, even in the impotent state that I am in. I have finished an answer to Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, to which I have not seen any answer, at least to the most pernicious parts of it; and if it might be printed with your majesty's leave, it would, in my own judgment, prove for your service. . . . If I know anything of the constitution of the government of England, and of the nature and temper of that faithful nation, the publishing of this poor discourse may be of some use and service to your majesty; that all the world may know how much you abhor all those extravagant and absurd privileges, which no Christian prince ever enjoyed or affected.<sup>7</sup>

Charles, however, had more sympathy with the theory of royal power set forth by Hobbes than with the constitutional views of Clarendon. We are justified in concluding from these passages that Clarendon thought the *History of the Rebellion* a service to the cause of monarchy in England, and hoped it would help to purchase his pardon. This is one of the reasons why in compiling that work Clarendon omitted from it most of the severe reflexions upon the faults of Charles I which he had ventured to insert in his autobiography.

A third motive which induced Clarendon to undertake the completion of his 'History' was regard for his own political reputation. The vindication of himself from the charges upon which he had been impeached, though transmitted to England for publication, had never been published. The autobiography upon which he had spent nearly two years was intended for his family, not for the public. Under these circumstances a history which was the exposition of his political career would serve to defend his memory, even better, perhaps, than a more formal apology.<sup>8</sup> Indirectly it might

<sup>7</sup> *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. xlii; 'Epistle Dedicatory' of *A Brief View*.

<sup>8</sup> This is suggested in a letter to Edgeman, Clarendon's secretary, written in 1654. The writer, Richard Watson, after expressing his joy at the king's order vindicating Hyde from the charges of Sir Richard Grenville, and desiring to know what Lord Gerrard's accusation against Hyde is, continues: 'What the reason is I know not, but I have in severall places found people of the King's partie too partially prepar'd to credite any charge against that noble person, whom I assure you I have severall times industriously vindicated, and spoke more upon mine own knowledge for his honour, than I am sure they could on theirs against it. I will deale plainlie with you, though it may be somewhat boldly. I feare some little height of spirit, some passionate expressions dropt from it and some unsatisfactorie answers given to the importunities of necessitated persons have layd the foundation for all this malice upon which ambition and aemulation have built the structure and pinnacle (?) of this charge. I cannot see what is left, beside innocencie, for Mr Chancellor to doe himselfe right, and give others their deserts, but a publication of his historie, which I hope is most faithfully penned, whereby however he must displease many persons whose shame posteritie may reade in it, he will be sure to gain himselfe that partie whose fidelitie and prudence have merited so complete a character as he can give of them in better

effect what he could not do directly, especially if his own part in public affairs was made a little clearer by the insertion of a few passages from the autobiography.

For these different reasons Clarendon set to work to complete and to put together the *History of the Rebellion* as soon as he received his papers from England. He worked with great rapidity, and, as he was able to begin writing the 'Continuation' of the 'Life' in June 1672, the completion of the *History of the Rebellion* must have occupied him from June 1671 to June 1672. The sixteen books of the *History of the Rebellion* fall naturally into two divisions. The first part consists of books i. to vii.; in these the original 'History,' written between 1645 and 1648, is supplemented by passages from the 'Life,' written in 1668 and 1669. The second part consists of books viii. to xvi.; in these the 'Life,' written in 1668 and 1669, is supplemented by additions to the 'History,' written for the purpose in 1671-2, and by incorporating nearly the whole of two papers written in 1646.

It will be convenient to treat these two parts separately, and to begin by examining the manner in which the books forming the first part were put together. As we have seen, the original 'History' consists of six books, numbered i. to vii., with a place left for a fifth book which had never been written. Clarendon filled up the gap by dividing the first book into two and altering the numbers of the three succeeding books, so that the missing fifth was replaced by what had been originally the fourth book. Books i. and ii. were mainly taken from the 'Life.' In the first book only 31 sections of its 213 are derived from the original 'History;' in the second book there are 48 sections from the 'History' as against 82 from the 'Life.' In the later books there are, on the other hand, more sections from the 'History' than from the 'Life.' In the third book about 82 out of 271 sections are from the 'Life;' in the fourth, 82 out of 358; in the fifth, 40 out of 419; in the sixth, 49 out of 412; in the seventh, 67 out of 416. As a rule the passages of the 'Life' thus inserted in the framework of the 'History' contained accounts of incidents not mentioned in the earlier work. But sometimes Clarendon had written two accounts of the same event, and in such cases he frequently replaced the account standing in the original 'History' by a longer and more detailed version from the 'Life.' In this way his original accounts of the Scottish revolt and the Short Parliament were suppressed in favour of the much fuller narratives now in the text of book ii. So too the summary enumeration of the popular leaders in the Long Parliament, and

language than any man I know of our nation. If His Honour thinke it too great an adventure I wish he would bestow his copy on them who will lay all they are at stake to doe him service in that way.—Richard Watson to Edgeman, Feb. 1654. Clarendon MSS. xlvi. 389.

the short characters of the persons killed at Edgehill, were succeeded by full-length portraits of them extracted from the 'Life.' Not less than fifty new characters were thus inserted in the *History of the Rebellion*. To make room for these additions Clarendon omitted several of the manifestoes and papers which he had included in the original 'History,' and also some of the didactic digressions on politics in general. The process of omission and substitution was not always carefully done. In a couple of cases at least the *History of the Rebellion* contains two contradictory versions of the same incident. For instance, there are two accounts of the introduction of the Militia Bill in it, one taken from the 'Life,' the other from the 'History,' and they do not agree.<sup>9</sup> There are also two accounts of Lunsford's appointment as governor of the Tower, which contradict each other in the most flagrant fashion. In that derived from the 'History' Clarendon represents the exceptions made against the choice as mere prettexts, saying that Lunsford was 'not then known enough and of reputation equal to so envious a province.' In the account derived from the 'Life' he confesses that Lunsford was 'so little known, except upon the disadvantage of an ill character, that in the most dutiful times the promotion would have appeared very ingrateful.'<sup>10</sup>

Some slight verbal changes of course were needed in order to make the additions from the 'Life' fit into the text of the 'History,' but the only important alteration which Clarendon made was the omission of references to himself. For instance, in book vi. an account is given of the different expedients by which the king obtained money to raise an army—the plate of the Oxford colleges, contributions from the catholics, and the sale of a peerage. In inserting this passage from the 'Life' Clarendon suppresses any mention of his own share in suggesting and carrying out these expedients. Instead of 'Mr. Hyde had spoken to the king' we get 'it was proposed to the king;' and for 'the king was informed that if he would depute Mr. Hyde' there is substituted 'if he would depute a person much trusted by him.'<sup>11</sup> Sometimes these suppressed words throw considerable light on the development of Charles I's policy. In book vii. a passage is inserted from the 'Life' relating the origin of the anti-parliament called by the king at Oxford, and the history of the letter sent by the peers at Oxford to the privy council of Scotland in the hope of preventing the threatened invasion. 'In these straits,' says the *History of the Rebellion*, 'the king considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his majesty directed should be both consulted

<sup>9</sup> *Rebellion*, iii. 244–6, iv. 95–100. The first is from the 'History,' the second from the 'Life.'

<sup>10</sup> *Rebellion*, iv. 101–2 and 147. The second account is from the 'Life.'

<sup>11</sup> *Rebellion*, vi. 57–8, 65–6.

in the council.' In the 'Life' Clarendon had written: 'The chancellor of the exchequer proposed two expedients to the king, which the king liked well, and wished they might both be consulted in the council.'<sup>12</sup> These alterations were designed to give an impersonal air to Clarendon's reminiscences and prevent any appearance of egotism, but the result is that in very many cases a vague periphrasis is substituted for a definite statement, so that the turns and changes of royalist politics become involved in unnecessary obscurity. Moreover the anecdotes and personal digressions added interrupt the sequence and order of Clarendon's story, and produce a certain incoherence and confusion. This is the result of patching one narrative with fragments taken from another. Though the original 'History' lacked much of the interest which the portraits of Hyde's contemporaries give to the *History of the Rebellion*, it was on the whole a more consecutive and a better arranged narrative.

In the second part of the *History of the Rebellion*—that is, in books viii. to xvi.—the process of compilation was absolutely different from that adopted in the first part. Instead of piecing together two previously existing narratives, with the changes and suppressions necessary to make them fit into each other, Clarendon had to write an entirely new narrative to supplement the 'Life' which he had already written. This new narrative consists of a number of fragments of varying length, with references to the manuscript of the 'Life,' showing where they are to be inserted. It is bound up now with the manuscript of the 'History,' written in 1646-8, forming a sort of continuation to it.<sup>13</sup> Dr. Macray and other editors usually speak of this supplement under the title of the 'History,' like the earlier narrative, though it would have been better to distinguish in some way these later additions from the original 'History.' In these nine books passages marked as derived from the 'History' belong to the period 1671-2, and are of later date than those derived from the 'Life,' whereas in the preceding seven books passages from the 'History' are of earlier date than those from the 'Life.'

Books viii. and ix. require a more detailed examination than the succeeding books, because the question of their composition, and consequently of their historical value, is more complicated than it is in the case of the others.

The first question to be settled is the date of book viii. Ranke supposes it to have been written in 1648, and other writers have followed his lead.<sup>14</sup> The fact is, however, that not more than

<sup>12</sup> *Rebellion*, vii. 323.

<sup>13</sup> Now Clarendon MS. 112; described under the heading 16198 in Mr. Madan's *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, iii. 568.

<sup>14</sup> *History of England*, vi. 5, 15.



twenty lines of the present book viii. were written in 1648, and those lines originally formed part of book vii., and were transferred to their present place in 1671. They are the lines in § 1 of book viii. beginning with the words, 'The great preparation that was made at London,' and ending with 'so that he had in all . . .'<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts of the 'History' prove this very clearly, and it is confirmed by the contents of book viii. As we have seen, Clarendon was obliged to stop in 1648 at the close of book vii., because he had not received either Walker's narrative of the campaign of 1644, or Hopton's narrative of the events which led up to the battle of Cheriton. He had commenced his account of Hopton's movements, but was obliged to break off in the middle of a sentence for want of exact information as to his numbers. After writing six lines on p. 517 of the original 'History' he left the rest of that page and the whole of p. 518 blank, resolving to fill them up when Hopton's narrative came, and then went on to complete the rest of book vii., which ends on p. 527 of the manuscript. At some later time he completed this unfinished account of Hopton's campaign, but it required more space than he expected. He filled the rest of p. 517 and the whole of p. 518, and then went on to the blank page at the end of book vii. and covered pp. 528, 529, and 530. The whole of this passage is written in a darker ink than book vii. and the original 'History' in general, and the same darker ink is used in the additions to the 'History' made in 1671-2, which occupy the latter part of the volume. Moreover at the end of this passage, in the same dark ink, and therefore written at the same time, the words 'vide pa. 262' are added. This reference to the pagination of the 'Life' proves that the passage was written later than 1669.<sup>16</sup> Another proof that this account of Hopton's campaign was not written in 1648 is afforded by Edgeman's transcript of the original 'History.' Hyde during his first exile had a transcript of the original 'History' made for his own use by his secretary, William Edgeman. It does not include the account of

<sup>15</sup> 'The great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending Sir William Waller into the west, put the king upon the resolution of having such a body in his way as might give him interruption, without Prince Morice's being disturbed in his siege of Plimmoth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of his garrison of Bristol and those western counties adjacent newly reduced, and where his reputation and interest was very great, and by which he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; the which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of Sir Charles Vavasour and Sir John Paulett, and a good troop of horse under the command of Captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol since the cessation, the Lord Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither Sir John Berkeley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all . . .'

<sup>16</sup> See Dr. Macray's notes to viii 1 and viii. 17, and the manuscript of the 'History,' p. 530.

Hopton's campaign, which is represented only by a gap of several pages.<sup>17</sup>

An analysis of the contents of book viii. leads to the following conclusions: Out of the 286 sections of which it is composed about 124 are derived from part iii. of the 'Life,' which was concluded on 6 Nov. 1669. The remaining 161 sections are derived from what is called the 'History,' or rather the additions to the 'History' now bound up with it. Of these additions about 64 sections exist in Clarendon's own handwriting; the other 97 sections are only to be found in the transcript of his manuscript made for the press. But the distinction between these two portions of the 'History' is of no practical importance. Both portions are based on the same authority,<sup>18</sup> present the same characteristics, and were obviously written at the same date. Internal evidence shows that they could not have been written in 1648, as Ranke supposes, for they contain references to events which took place either during Charles II's exile or after his restoration. Clarendon alludes to the execution of Charles I, the deaths of Colonel Urry (1650) and General King (1652), the noble behaviour of the marquis of Newcastle during his exile, and the exploits of General Middleton after he changed the parliament's service for the king's (1648-1654). When he mentions the birth of the princess Henrietta he describes her as 'a daughter that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,' which marriage took place in 1661.<sup>19</sup> When he relates Sir William Morton's surrender of Sudeley Castle to Waller he adds that Morton was afterwards made a judge of the King's Bench, 'where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning.' Now Morton's promotion took place in November 1665.

In the second place, the exact details about the military transactions of 1644 which are given in both these portions of the 'History,' are in each case derived from Sir Edward Walker's narrative of the campaign. Clarendon's accounts of the battle of Cropredy Bridge, the surrender of Essex in Cornwall, the relief of Basing House, the second battle of Newbury, and the movements which led up to those events are all founded upon Walker. Consequently these accounts must have been written later than 1669, for at that date, as the parallel passages in the 'Life' show, Clarendon had not Walker's narrative with him. In putting together book viii. of the *History of the Rebellion* he always

<sup>17</sup> Edgeman died about January 1655, and it might be inferred that the passage in question was not written till later. The manuscript is in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS. D. 811. On the reasons for making this transcript see Hyde's letter to Nicholas, *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 318.

<sup>18</sup> 'His Majesty's Happy Progress & Success from the 30th of March to the 23rd of November 1644,' Walker's *Historical Discourses*, 1705, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Rebellion*, viii. 52, 71, 79, 87, 88, 113.

omitted the short accounts of those incidents contained in the 'Life,' and substituted for them the long and detailed accounts founded on Walker. As there is no evidence that Clarendon obtained Walker's narrative from England until the visit of his son Laurence in June 1671, the composition of all that part of book viii. which is not taken from the 'Life' must be assigned to the summer of 1671.

Let us turn from the question of the date of book viii. to the question of its historical value. The parts which are derived from the 'Life' are extremely untrustworthy. Clarendon's narrative of Marston Moor is absolutely worthless, and his account of the origin of the Self-denying Ordinance and the proceedings connected with it is of the same character.<sup>20</sup> The long story of Antrim and Montrose which concludes the book is hopelessly confused by chronological errors.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand Clarendon's account of the negotiations at Uxbridge, in which he himself was one of the king's commissioners, is full of interest,<sup>22</sup> and the comparison of Wilmot and Goring is one of his most finished pieces of character-drawing.<sup>23</sup>

As to the parts derived from the 'History,' Clarendon, having the use of Walker's exact and detailed narrative, and following it throughout very closely, gives an excellent account of the movements of the king's army during the campaign of 1644. He supplements Walker's account of the king's council of war by giving characters of its members, and by expatiating on the feud between the military and civilian advisers of the king. Besides these very instructive additions, which make the history of the campaign much more intelligible, he adds some particulars about the defence of Oxford.<sup>24</sup>

Ranke, who compares the narratives of Walker and Clarendon, suggests that the latter is unjust to Wilmot, and does not give him sufficient credit for the success at Cropredy Bridge. There is hardly sufficient evidence to decide this question, but it is very evident that Clarendon is extremely unfair to Goring in his account of the operations in Cornwall. Describing the escape of Sir William Balfour and the rest of the parliamentary horse when the infantry of Essex's army were obliged to lay down their arms, he attributes it entirely to Goring's negligence. Goring, he says, was warned of the intended attempt to escape, and was so posted that he could have prevented it; but

the notice and orders came to Goring when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights

<sup>20</sup> *Rebellion*, viii. 73-5, 189-97.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 263-79.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 211-52.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 169.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 27-38, 58, 74, note, 94.

till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters, nor did he pursue them in any time.

Walker, however, does not blame Goring at all, and shows that he was stationed in such a position that it was not in his power to obstruct their march. Instead of being at Lostwithiel, near which point Balfour passed through the royalist lines, Goring was stationed at St. Blase, four miles to the south-west of it, and beyond Essex's army. He had with him all the king's horse but 500, and it was owing to the fact that he had been moved thither on 24 August that Balfour was able to escape on 31 August. Walker goes so far as to say that, owing to the disposition of the king's forces, Essex's foot might have escaped as well as the horse.

Had he either known our present condition, or made use of what he could but know, that our horse were engaged behind him, he might have either brought us to fight without our horse, or made his retreat good over the heath without much opposition. And then if he had been but four hours' march before us, and entered the enclosing country, it had not been in our power to have done him any other mischief than at most to compel him to leave his cannon.<sup>25</sup>

Clarendon was aware of these facts. In section 111 he describes Goring's movement to St. Blase, and in section 132 he copies Walker's criticism almost verbatim. 'If they had then known that all the king's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with the horse, their cannon only being left behind.' Apparently Clarendon did not perceive the contradiction which existed between the censure which he passed on Goring and the facts which he stated on Walker's authority. The truth is that he and Goring had quarrelled in 1645, and he could believe anything to the discredit of his enemy. In 1669, when Clarendon was writing the 'Life,' he had made the same charge against Goring in almost the same words, and, as he said that Goring 'lay then quartered at Liskeard,' the charge had some plausibility in it.<sup>26</sup> In 1671, writing with Walker's narrative before his eyes, he corrected his mistake about Goring's position, but was too careless or too prejudiced to withdraw the charge of misconduct. Clarendon's censures of Rupert, Wilmot, Goring, and other military leaders always require careful testing, for he was not only ignorant of military affairs but personally hostile to the military party amongst the king's advisers.

Book ix. of the *History of the Rebellion* presents none of the difficulties as to the date of its composition which complicate the

<sup>25</sup> *Rebellion*, viii. 116; Walker, *Historical Discourses*, p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> *Rebellion*, viii. 96, note.

study of book viii. Its foundation is the two narratives written by Hyde at Jersey in 1646; one 'concerning the western business,' which, as we have seen, is dated at the beginning 29 June 1646, and at the end 31 July 1646; the other on the conduct of the prince's council towards the duke of Hamilton, which is dated 10 Sept. 1646. These two narratives supply the greater part of book ix. The 'Relation of the Western Business' is a full account of transactions in the west from the time the prince of Wales came thither from Oxford to his departure for Jersey, containing a very detailed vindication of the conduct of the prince and his council towards Greenville and Goring, and ending with the correspondence between the king and the prince's council about the prince leaving England.<sup>27</sup> As it is based throughout on documents, and was written within a few months of the events themselves, it is extremely accurate in matters of fact.<sup>28</sup> Clarendon suppressed certain passages of the 'Relation' when he compiled book viii., as being trivial or superfluous. One contains a statement of his attitude towards Goring before their association in the west began. He says that he regarded Goring from the first with distrust. 'I cannot dissemble myself to have contracted so steady a resolution, upon the former passages of the Lord Goring's life and the observation of his nature, not to mingle with him in any action or counsel of trust or importance.' On the other hand he had no personal hostility towards him, and even found pleasure in his society. 'His particular deportment to me was not only full of civilities but of extreme endearment, and his conversation, with reference to my own humour and appetite, full of pleasure and delight.'<sup>29</sup> The quarrel was due to the perennial hostility between the civil and military authorities, aggravated by the defects of Goring's character, and by his intrigues to gain or retain independent command. Though Clarendon writes as the advocate of the council, his judgment on Goring's character is correct enough, but whenever questions of policy or strategy are involved in the dispute his conclusions are more contestable.

The part of book ix. which is derived from the 'Life' consists merely of two sections relating to the formation of the New Model.<sup>30</sup> The portion of the 'Life' dealing with the events of 1645 is dated 9 Nov. 1669; it is a mere skeleton consisting of heads of the different subjects which the author intended to include, and references

<sup>27</sup> A transcript of this by William Edgeman, endorsed by Clarendon 'Concerning the Western Business,' is now Clarendon MS. 113 in the Bodleian Library. The original is in the volume containing the 'History' (Clarendon MS. 112), ff. 453-500, followed on ff. 500-5 by the narrative about Hamilton.

<sup>28</sup> This narrative occupies about 102 sections of the 178 forming book ix., and that relating to the duke of Hamilton occupies about 8 sections.

<sup>29</sup> *Rebellion*, ix. 20, note.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 4, 5.

to the narrative of the western business which he hoped to procure from England.<sup>31</sup>

The remainder of book ix., consisting of about sixty-six sections and forming about one-third of the whole, is composed of additions to the 'History' written in 1671, which are dated at the beginning 'Moulins, 12 Aug. 1671,' and at the end 19 Sept. of the same year.<sup>32</sup> The accounts given therein of the movements of Charles I and his army, of the battles of Naseby and Rowton Heath, of the stormy interview between the king and Prince Rupert at Newark, and of the king's return to Oxford, are all based upon Walker's *Brief Memorials of the Unfortunate Success of His Majesty's Army and Affairs in the Year 1645*.<sup>33</sup> Clarendon adds nothing material to Walker's narrative of these events, except some reflexions on Naseby, a note on Rupert's relations with Goring, and directions, which were subsequently carried out by his editors, for inserting some of the king's letters.<sup>34</sup> He completes Walker's narrative and concludes the book with an account of the negotiations which took place between the king and the parliament during the winter of 1645.

Book x., like book ix., was written in 1671, and embodies extracts from the 'Life' and from two earlier narratives. The concluding portion of the long 'Relation of the Western Business,' which filled so large a space in book ix., occupies nine sections of book x. It treats of the removal of the prince of Wales from Scilly to Jersey.<sup>35</sup> Next comes an account of Lord Digby's negotiations in Jersey and Paris, and of his attempts to arrange for the removal of the prince either to Ireland or to France. This is a passage extracted from the paper on the life and character of Digby written by Clarendon in 1668.<sup>36</sup> It contains reminiscences of conversations between Digby and Hyde, and reports of conversations between Digby and Mazarin. In the third place, the story of the prince's wanderings is completed by an account of the queen's message commanding her son to join her in France, of the debate in the prince's council which took place thereupon, and of the embarkation of the prince in obedience to the queen's order.<sup>37</sup> This was written in 1671, and a comparison between it and the long memorandum on the same subject which Clarendon wrote in 1646 shows that he had not the memorandum with him at the time of writing; <sup>38</sup> for there are many small mistakes in the facts as given in the later account, though it agrees in substance with the earlier one. We have, therefore, in this short episode of the Prince of Wales's stay at Jersey a patch-

<sup>31</sup> 'Life,' ed. 1857, i. 200-4.

<sup>32</sup> *Rebellion*, ix. 1, 178.

<sup>33</sup> *Historical Discourses*, ed. 1705, p. 123.

<sup>34</sup> *Rebellion*. ix. 30, 41, 70, 74, 90.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* x. 3-12.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* x. 13-20; *Clarendon State Papers*, iii., Appendix, lvii.

<sup>37</sup> *Rebellion*, x. 37-47.

<sup>38</sup> See Hoskins, *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, i. 429-39 and 443-5.

work narrative composed at three different periods, in part an almost contemporary record, in part reminiscences written twenty-two or twenty-five years later by one who was an actor in the events related; and while a portion of the reminiscences can be tested by contemporary documents amongst Clarendon's papers, the accuracy of another portion cannot be so controlled.

Clarendon's account of the negotiations which led to the flight of Charles I to the Scots is of a different nature. He no longer writes as an actor, but as an historian, not to vindicate his own conduct but the conduct of another. His vindication of Montreuil, he says, 'can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it.' He had obtained from England the documents which are now amongst the Clarendon State Papers, and was conscious that he wrote with authority. 'I have in my hands,' he said, 'all the original letters which passed from him to the king, and the king's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof as have been by myself examined with the originals.'<sup>39</sup> In the same way when Clarendon comes to relate the negotiations of the king with the Scottish leaders in December 1648, it again becomes clear that he had documents at his disposal. His son had evidently brought with him to France a copy of the treaty which Charles I had signed at Carisbrooke on 26 Dec. 1647; for in the four sections which Clarendon devotes to the subject he not only accurately summarises the clauses of the treaty but frequently quotes their very words.<sup>40</sup> These are exceptional cases, and in the whole of the remainder of book x. Clarendon depended entirely upon his memory. In his account of the king's flight from Hampton Court, for instance, he had no documents to consult, though he tells us that he had read both Berkeley's and Ashburnham's narratives, and 'conferred with them both at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end.'<sup>41</sup> His verdict, like that of later historians, is that both men were honest, but both unwise; but when he comes to give reasons for the verdict erroneous statements of every kind drop from his pen. He starts by a mistake of two months as to the date of the flight, which he puts about the beginning of September 1647 instead of on 11 Nov.<sup>42</sup> If he makes blunders of this kind in dealing with the history of the king and the royalist party, it is not surprising that his treatment of the policy of his opponents and of the characters of their leaders

<sup>39</sup> *Rebellion*, x. 23.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* x. 162-5. The treaty is printed in Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents*, ed. 1899, pp. 347-53.

<sup>41</sup> *Rebellion*, x. 134.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* x. 127.

should be completely untrustworthy. His account of the quarrel between the army and the parliament is so confused and erroneous as to be worthless, and in the utterances attributed to Cromwell he gives his imagination free play.<sup>43</sup> At best they are a hazy recollection of contemporary rumours.

Book xi., which was completed on 21 Nov. 1671, is largely derived from part v. of the 'Life,' written about two years earlier, but in the case of this book and of the later books in general the distinction between their component parts is of no practical importance. If there is any difference it is that the 'Life' is now more accurate than the 'History,' whereas the reverse was the case in the earlier books; for as the 'Life' deals mainly with transactions in which he was personally concerned, his memory is more trustworthy than it is when he is writing of public events which left a less lasting impression on his mind. For that reason his narrative of the proceedings of the prince in Holland and on board the fleet, and of the intrigues of which the prince was the centre, is far more valuable than his account of the politics and military affairs in England. His account of the second civil war contains every kind of error. Confusing what happened in 1650 with what happened in 1648, he represents Fairfax as refusing to fight against the Scots, and by a second confusion of the events of 1648 and 1646 he describes that general as winding up the war by the capture of Raglan Castle. In his account of the Kentish rising he omits all mention of Fairfax's battle at Maidstone. He leaves out altogether Cromwell's campaign in South Wales, saying that he marched directly against the Scots 'and troubled not himself . . . with what was done in Wales.' Twice over in referring to the treaty with the king at Newport he represents Charles as having been at that time for two years a prisoner at Carisbrooke, whereas he had really been confined there for rather less than a year.<sup>44</sup> But just when one becomes inclined to dismiss his whole account of the second civil war as a farrago of blunders, it becomes evident that there are certain cases in which he is writing with documentary evidence of real value before him. His account of the battle of Preston is clearly based on Sir Marmaduke Langdale's narrative of the fight, and his account of the doings of Sir Philip Musgrave and his band of northern royalists is likewise based on Musgrave's own story. Both these papers are in the Clarendon collection, and were, no doubt, brought to Moulins by Laurence Hyde.<sup>45</sup> With them came evidently the letter from the king to the prince of

<sup>43</sup> See *Rebellion*, x. 88.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* xi. 111, 158.

<sup>45</sup> Langdale's narrative (Clarendon Papers, no. 2862) is printed in Carte's *Original Letters*, i. 159, and in the *Fairfax Correspondence*, iv. 60. It should be compared with *Rebellion*, xi. 73-7. Sir Philip Musgrave's 'Relation' (Clarendon Papers, no. 2867) is printed in the *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society for 1904*. Compare with it *Rebellion*, xi. 16, 18, 52-4, 92-6.



Wales quoted by Clarendon, and the other documents relating to the treaty which are summarised in the *History of the Rebellion*.<sup>46</sup> The originals had been copied for him by Edgeman some twenty years ago, perhaps with a view to the continuation of the 'History,' but more probably for political uses.

The following books (xii.—xv.) do not require either separate or detailed treatment. They are derived mainly from parts v., vi., and vii. of the 'Life,' written between November 1669 and August 1670, and supplemented by the additions to the 'History' written in 1671—2. With each succeeding book the amount of these additions diminishes in importance and extent. Clarendon throws very little light on English politics during the Commonwealth, and equally little on the conquest of Ireland and Scotland. His treatment of these subjects is vague and general, and chronological errors are very frequent. He misplaces the rising of the Levellers at Burford, antedates the proposed appointment of Lambert to command in Ireland, makes the emigration of the Irish soldiery take place about a couple of years too soon, &c.<sup>47</sup> His account of Dunbar is worthless; that of the march into England and the battle of Worcester, while containing a few anecdotes of interest, contributes nothing to the understanding of the campaign.<sup>48</sup> Clarendon, however, prides himself on the fulness and exactitude of his narrative of the escape of Charles II after that battle.

Besides all those particulars which the king himself was pleased to communicate unto him so soon after the transaction of them, and when they had made so lively an impression upon his memory, and of which the chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial, he had at the same time the daily conversation of the Lord Wilmot, who informed him of all he could remember. And after the king's blessed return into England he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the escape; whereof many were of his nearest alliance, and others his most intimate friends.<sup>49</sup>

Dr. Macray notes, 'The inaccuracy of Clarendon's narrative of the escape, with respect both to times and persons, is well known.' 'In Clarendon,' says another commentator on the narrative, 'there is no lack of minute and circumstantial detail, but hardly is there a single fact truly stated.' A third reprints it in a collection of documents relating to the escape for the purpose of showing 'its discrepancy, in many points, from the matter in which the other documents agree.' He adds, 'The most material errors will be noticed in the course of the narrative by the letter D at the foot of

<sup>46</sup> *Rebellion*, xi. 189; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 444.

<sup>47</sup> *Rebellion*, xii. 70, 148, 151.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 21—2, 52—76.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 108.

the page,' and accordingly its twenty-eight pages are marked by twenty-nine D's.<sup>50</sup>

Such errors were inevitable when in his old age Clarendon attempted to set down in circumstantial detail what he had heard from others many years earlier, and it does not necessarily follow that his account of negotiations in which he was personally concerned, or deliberations in which he took a leading part, is equally inexact. His account of the situation of affairs at the Hague, of the coming of the Scottish commissioners to negotiate with Charles II, and of the deliberations of the young king's council is vivid and fairly correct. It is evident that he had copies of some of the papers of the Scottish commissioners before him, also of the declaration of the king to the states-general, and doubtless of the abortive manifesto drawn up by himself but rejected by the king's council.<sup>51</sup> The long account of his embassy to Spain and residence at Madrid was also in all probability drawn up with some assistance from documents. The embassy to Spain was one of the causes of Clarendon's ignorance of English affairs during the early part of the Commonwealth. He rejoined the king in December 1651 after a separation of over two years. Henceforth the intrigues of the royal court, the personal history of the king and his brother, and the quarrels of the royalist chiefs form the staple of Clarendon's narrative. It was only gradually that Clarendon attained a paramount position amongst the king's advisers: more than once it was threatened by personal intrigues, or by differences of opinion as to policy. All this he relates in detail, and with some inaccuracy in particulars, but representing truthfully enough the attitude of parties and the characters of persons. The policy which he recommended his master to adopt was a passive one.

The marquis of Ormond and the chancellor believed that the king had nothing at this time to do but to keep quiet, and that all his activity was to consist in carefully avoiding to do anything that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own dis-

<sup>50</sup> *Rebellion*, xiii. 86, note; Hughes, *Boscobel Tracts*, ed. 1857, pp. 8, 109.

<sup>51</sup> Sections 9, 10, 12, 27 of book xii. are summaries of various documents. For their originals see *Old Parliamentary History*, xviii. 542, xix. 16; Carte, *Original Letters*, i. 260. The closeness with which they are followed shows that Clarendon had them before him. In the manuscript of the 'Life' there is this passage printed by Dr. Macray as a footnote to *Rebellion*, xii. 99: 'All that passed at the Hague both with the States and the Scots is more particularly contained in papers and memorials which will be found in the hair cabinet, out of which anything that is material may be added or altered; as also the names of all the ministers at that time in Madrid are in a paper book that stands in the shop.' The paper book was probably Edgeman's Diary, Clarendon MS. 137. See *ante*, p. 260. For the 'abortive manifesto' mentioned above see the *English Historical Review* for April 1893.

contents and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his majesty again to show himself.<sup>52</sup>

To prevent the king from sacrificing the cause of the English church in order to gain the support of Huguenots, presbyterians, or catholics, was Clarendon's constant preoccupation. As necessary was it to prevent zealous English royalists from fruitless conspiracies and untimely insurrections, whilst avoiding to discourage the loyal, and endeavouring to make the best of any rising actually attempted either in England or Scotland.<sup>53</sup> Political intrigues and abortive plots form, therefore, the bulk of Clarendon's story: his account of these things is largely a vindication of himself, yet it represents very truly the lines of his policy and the nature of the political situation. In details, especially in dates, there are frequent errors; for instance, Clarendon places the address of the anabaptists to Charles II at the beginning of 1658 instead of in the summer of 1656, postdates the negotiations with Sexby, and puts the royalist rising of March 1655 in April.<sup>54</sup>

With the year 1656 a new chapter began in the history of the exiles. Spain made a treaty with Charles II, promising assistance in his restoration; Charles removed to Flanders and raised an army of some 4,000 English, Scots, and Irish for a projected expedition to England. Not till the treaty of the Pyrenees in the autumn of 1659 was this hope abandoned. Clarendon's account of this period is confused and fragmentary. He gives interesting characters of Condé and of the Spanish generals and statesmen, but neither the diplomatic nor the military side of the story is adequately treated, and his brief account of the battle of the Dunes is full of errors.<sup>55</sup> Except as to the history of the movements amongst the royalists in England his memory of events was indistinct. Nowhere does one more regret his separation from the papers he had left in England, and throughout it is necessary to control and supplement his statements from the calendars of his correspondence.

Clarendon's account of the history of the Protectorate is a perfunctory sketch, a vague outline which is inaccurate when he descends to details. There are some exceptions, such as the brief account of the expedition to the West Indies,<sup>56</sup> and at times it is evident that he had some of the pamphlets of the period at his disposal. For instance, the excellent summaries given of Cromwell's speeches to his first parliament and of that accepting the Petition and Advice must have been based on the public reports of them.<sup>57</sup> In the same way the army petition of 6 April 1659, the army's

<sup>52</sup> *Rebellion*, xiii. 140.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 101, 123, xv. 98.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 124, xv. 104, 133.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 15, 79, 135-9, 141. Part of the character of Lord Digby written by Clarendon in 1668 appeared in an abridged form in books xv. and xvi.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 9-11.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 17, 44, 46, xv. 45.

declaration of 6 May about the restoration of the Long Parliament, and the submission of Richard Cromwell to the parliament, are too accurately summarised to be mere recollections of the originals.<sup>58</sup> Further, Monck's speech to the secluded members before their re-entrance to the house contains many of the words and phrases of the contemporary printed account.

The last book of the *History of the Rebellion* is of much greater interest than the four which precede it. As he approaches the end of his task Clarendon's narrative becomes more vigorous, more lively. He passes lightly over the fall of Richard Cromwell and the quarrels of parliament and army; he dwells at length on the royalist rising of 1659, on the treason of Sir Richard Willis, and still more fully on the treaty of the Pyrenees. He paints with dramatic skill the alternate hope and dejection of the exiled royalists during the changes of that eventful year—the futile plans formed and abandoned, and the sudden revulsion of feeling when the news of Monck's revolt against the Rump came to Brussels. The book closes with the triumph of Clarendon's policy in the union of king and parliament, but though he cites at length the Declaration of Breda and the king's letters which accompanied it, he refrains from pointing out the important part which he himself played in effecting this final reconciliation.<sup>59</sup> To him the Restoration was 'such a prodigious act of Providence as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation since he led his own chosen people through the Red Sea.'<sup>60</sup> While attributing nothing to himself he attributes less than other historians to Monck. Perhaps his most valuable contribution to the history of the Restoration consists in the view of Monck's action which he embodies in his story. Phillips, Gumble, Price, Skinner, and other contemporary biographers and historians, agree in setting forth the thesis that Monck, from the moment when he declared against the army's usurpation of the government, deliberately resolved to restore Charles II to his throne. They even attribute to him the intention of co-operating with Sir George Booth's rising for that purpose. Clarendon, on the other hand, asserts that in August 1659

the general had not the least thought or purpose ever to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory.<sup>61</sup> . . . It was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him till it fell to be in his power, and indeed till he had nothing else in his power to do. If he had

<sup>58</sup> *Rebellion*, xvi. 6, 15, 15, 133.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 171–4, 181–203; cf. Ranke, *Hist. of Engl.* vi. 23.

<sup>60</sup> *Rebellion*, xvi. 77.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 100.

resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself, the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could only be moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing these mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.<sup>62</sup>

Substantially Clarendon's view is correct; Monck was led by events rather than guided by any preconceived plan. This was the impression which Monck's conduct had produced upon Clarendon's mind during the crisis of the revolution itself, in the winter of 1659 and the spring of 1660; he was confirmed in this opinion by all that he had learnt since, and it became now his deliberate judgment as an historian.

Thus his account of the close of the Great Revolution he had narrated, contrasts curiously with his account of its beginning. In stating the causes of the Rebellion he had exaggerated the importance of personal influences, and attributed too much to the particular characteristics of individual men—to the pride of this man, the morosity of that, the ambition of a third, all like so many atoms contributing jointly to produce the great mass of confusion. In recounting the Restoration his point of view had altered. It is now the current of human affairs which guides men's acts, whither they know not, whether they will or not. The individual actor, even when he seems to direct the course of events, is in reality their creature.

C. H. FIRTH.

<sup>62</sup> *Rebellion*, xvi. 115.

## *Frederick York Powell*

WHEN Professor York Powell died, on 8 May, at the age of fifty-four, he had held the Regius chair of Modern History at Oxford less than ten years. In the existing organisation of historical teaching there it was not possible, in so short a time, that he should have the opportunity of influencing a very large number of pupils who were to make the study of history their lifework. One of those who were privileged to know the full extent of the service he rendered, as professor, to such students has been asked by the Editor of this Review to write some account of the man and his teaching, and its readers will understand that this account must, almost involuntarily, take the form of a tribute from a pupil to his master. It would be neither wise nor appropriate, in the circumstances, even to attempt to offer such a carefully balanced criticism as Mr. York Powell himself passed upon the work of Mr. Gardiner in these pages, or upon Mr. J. R. Green in the *Quarterly Review*, two years ago.

To York Powell the organisation of a large school on the lines of an examination system would have been uncongenial work; examinations he considered as unmixed evils, 'rendered necessary (like railway tickets and other nuisances) by the dishonesty and stupidity of the minority;' and lectures directed towards a particular examination he regarded with abhorrence. His professorial lectures were frequently on subjects outside the range of the ordinary 'schools' work—on recent colonial history, for example, or the French commune (the secrets of which he knew as probably no other Englishman has done), the fortunes of Mary Stuart, or the opening of Japan. Towards these public lectures he felt much as did his predecessor, Bishop Stubbs: they were to him interruptions to his real work. That if he had devoted more time to their preparation he could have delivered distinguished lectures and drawn large audiences no one who knew him can doubt; but to do so would have meant the sacrifice of his own ideal of what a professor of history ought to do. It must not be supposed, however, that he either despised or neglected this part of his work. He would not

have condemned another for making public lecturing his main object ; only it was not the proper course for him. As it was, he lectured much more frequently than his statutory obligations necessitated, and his public lectures, never rhetorical or eloquent, were invariably wise and suggestive. They were not fully written out, and he now and then halted for the right word (without always finding it) ; but every lecture contained many sayings worth remembering, and he not infrequently delighted his audience with a brilliant improvisation. Thrusting away his manuscript, as if it impeded his thought, and looking sideways towards the window, he would, for five or ten minutes, give one of those living sketches of historical personages which so often distinguished his conversation. One's only regret is that these unwritten passages were too rapid in their delivery to be conveyed to paper.

York Powell's conception of his proper work was connected with his view that 'the university's business lies with advanced education and with research,' and it was to the encouragement of research that he devoted his life. Even here, although he held that the organisation of research is a proper object of a university, organisation was not congenial to him, nor had he, at the end of his decade as professor, made any definite attempt to face all the difficulties which such a project presents. The gods had so richly endowed him ; he could inspire, and he could not but feel that inspiration is better than organisation. So varied were the professor's interests and attainments that if any student failed to obtain the right sort of help, it was due to some fault of his own. Nor would it be true to say that there has been no organisation to meet the needs of research students. Powell was deeply interested in the establishment of the lectureships in paleography and diplomatic. These he regarded (along with a command of languages) as requisite for any attempt at serious work. Theorising on the method or scope of history appealed to him only slightly ; his view was that only actual work could teach a man method and that each man's method must be his own. Example he believed to be better than precept ; every term he gave a series of lectures to exemplify historical criticism, and it was of these lectures that he used to speak as constituting the distinctive feature of his work. They were delivered in his rooms at Christ Church to small audiences, and, like all his best teaching, they were informal. There was in his nature a kind of shyness which introduced a feeling of embarrassment into his statutory prelections. Although one so often saw his familiar figure in cap and gown, as he passed from one board or delectory to another, yet he never felt quite at his ease when he stood up in academic costume to speak *ex cathedra* in the schools ; there was often a tendency to refrain from hazarding an opinion or pronouncing a

judgment. But as he sat in his rooms at Christ Church, discoursing on the sources of English history to a small number of interested listeners, no trace of hesitation was discernible. He had his books in front of him, selected either from his own wonderful collection or from the great Christ Church library, of which he was a devoted guardian; the passages he wanted for purposes of illustration were rarely marked but always readily found; beside him were a few notes to which he occasionally referred. His voice seemed to come from the middle of the books in front of him; he scarcely ever looked round the table at his audience, seeming to be conscious only that here were the materials without which we could do nothing, and that he must show us how to use them.

The first lectures of the course were generally more fully written out; he began by a general sketch of the authorities available for the period with which he was concerned, telling of catalogues and collections, of publications of learned societies. Warnings followed as to typical errors in reading manuscripts of various dates; it was, of course, assumed that the student had learned the principles of paleography and diplomatic. Then came a general classification of ultimate sources; speaking of the period before the Norman Conquest, he would talk of biographies of saints, drawing special attention to the appendices of miracles and to the narratives of translations of the saint's body; of such a history as Bede's and such an epitome as that of Eutropius; and finally of the chroniclers and their claims upon our confidence. When state papers of any kind became available, controverted issues were chosen upon which the chroniclers were tested, and the lecturer showed on what principles the historian should rely in accepting or rejecting a disputed statement. He was never tired of insisting upon the necessity of understanding the character and the motive of a chronicler, of discovering when he spoke from prejudice or from gossip, and he would gleefully expose any instance in which these things could be detected. The chroniclers of John's reign always met with his censure: John, he used to say, was a bad man, but bad as men are sometimes bad; and they tried to picture him as an impossible monster of wickedness, nature's enemy. 'You mustn't forget,' he would add, with a burst of laughter, 'that Arthur was a young gentleman who began life by imprisoning his grandmother.' Many recollections crowd into the mind as one thinks of these lectures, but space forbids our adding more than one other point, the professor's estimate of the value of oral tradition. A song or an anecdote was to him an historical document: in these days of print, he thought, we are apt to undervalue the possibilities of human memory.

With these lectures on sources and bibliography is indissolubly associated the thought of the evening talks in Powell's rooms.



Every Thursday evening during term he was 'at home' to students of history, and his table was surrounded by a small group of eager questioners, each with his interests and his manuscript. The professor would turn from one to the other, talking now of folklore, now of Thomas Cromwell, now of Indian warfare, and again of Persian literature or Japanese art. Proof sheets or manuscripts were read and annotated, a scheme of work examined and criticised, the latest books discussed and appraised. Sometimes one would find there one or other of that large band of friends linked together by no sympathy or interest except by Powell's 'genius for friendship.' Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, the late R. A. M. Stevenson, and Prince Kropotkin occur at once in this connexion. Occasionally one had the privilege of spending the whole evening with him alone, and he would answer one's questions and solve one's difficulties, or suggest work for one to undertake. A conversation of this kind he never forgot: he would return to the subject again and again. In the long vacation a pupil might be reminded once or twice that Powell was interested in his work and thinking about him and it. He would send a warning against prejudice of any sort, against 'an occasional expression which gives the enemy occasion to blaspheme (though I am not the enemy);' or he would write a note suggesting something that had just occurred to him; or occasionally a little sermon on the danger of over-work or on the duty of keeping a high ideal before one. 'The honour of the university,' he used to say, 'is involved in every production which comes from the Oxford history school.' He himself spared no pains, either in counsel or in minute criticism of detail, to help his pupils to keep this ever in mind. This kind of work he considered as the best he could render to the university. The prefaces of books published by Oxford men in recent years bear witness to the generous way in which he carried his theory into practice.

Four great principles may be said to have characterised York Powell's general view of the study of history. In the first place history appealed to him in the concrete. 'I confess,' he said in a notable address to the university college at Bangor in the summer of 1902,<sup>1</sup>

I do not look on history as a branch of literature or a province of ethic, but as a branch of science dealing with man under political and social and economic conditions, and my conception of history makes it the necessary complement to biology and anthropology. . . . It is not the historian's duty to try and estimate the exact degree of damnation that should be meted out to that dauntless captain and bold statesman Caesare Borgia, or even to his capable but unpriestly father, or to play the moral judge to such men as Thomas or Oliver Cromwell. . . . His work must be done in the library, not in the tribune or the pulpit. He

<sup>1</sup> *The Study of History in Universities.*

must leave the 'advice-giving art' to the statesman and churchman and pressman, all of whom he is willing enough to furnish with facts, if indeed they will take them (as they will not always) in preference to pseudo-facts of their own manufacture.

In the second place he constantly impressed on his pupils the wide scope of the facts which it is the historian's office to observe and classify. Those who listened to his inaugural address (reported in the *Academy*, 11 May 1895) will remember his remark that the historian 'must look on the museum, the ruin, and even the picture gallery as his working-ground as much as a muniment room or the library.' In keeping with this view was his strong interest in the preservation of local records. In a paper on the *École des Chartes and English Records*, read to the Royal Historical Society in 1897, he outlined a modest scheme for the creation of a school of archivists, and in the proceedings of the Royal Commission which discussed this question he took a keen interest. He held that

the student who will transcribe and edit sensibly an old church register, or a set of guild accounts or sessions' records . . . will certainly have preserved and stored material that future workers will find of value, will have made discoveries, small it may be (but every discovery advances knowledge), and will have learnt by practice to pursue the scientific method, which must be pursued if history is to be anything more than an ornamental and often untrustworthy literary comment on certain political aspects of the past.

*Humani nihil a me alienum puto* seemed to him the proper motto for the historian.

In the third place York Powell believed strongly in the utility of history for practical life, of history in its widest sense.

No nation can afford to neglect history and to trust to chance for getting a true knowledge of it. The historian may help to make as well as to mar. The revival of Italy, of Portugal, of Germany, of the Balkan states is largely due to the influence of a few historians. The political theories that have moved European statesmen ever since 1793 were theories (often false, I am bound to admit) started by historians. History is not a *quantité négligeable* but a factor of weight.

But, above all, York Powell's pupils will remember the great lesson he taught them—'the historian's supreme duty to truth.' No other consideration could ever come into conflict with this; no book received such severe censure as one which seemed to him to deal diplomatically with fact. The closing sentence of his address to the Welsh students is thoroughly characteristic.

For historians there is but one goal, one test, one point of honour—the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth—the truth, if needs be—as your own device has it—against the world.

It is not surprising that Professor York Powell has left behind him so little published work. He spent so much time in acquiring knowledge, and he gave to others so freely of both time and thought, that he was scarcely ever able even to contemplate the possibility of producing a work worthy of his powers. His slight leisure was occupied by innumerable boards and committees and by the claims of the University Press; he was interested in various public movements; and he added to the scanty emoluments of his chair by writing for newspapers and by examining. He was never idle and never seemed to rest, and only his marvellous powers of working at once rapidly and efficiently could have coped with the mass of work he succeeded in getting through. His facility in reading was almost inconceivable: he had mastered a book while others were still engrossed in its first chapter. The width of his knowledge has received ample acknowledgment both in his lifetime and since his death, and there is no room to enlarge upon it here. He knew almost the whole field of history and literature, and could talk with experts on most topics. To say that he possessed the knowledge of a specialist on all periods would be to assert a manifest impossibility; but there were few subjects among the humane studies in which a specialist could not gain something by a conversation with him. He was equally at home in art and art criticism, and he could be, on occasion, both painter and poet. To sit in the open and paint was probably his favourite relaxation. Casual remarks in his letters tell that 'I haven't been working. I've been painting and learning Irish;' and he used to describe with enthusiasm the pleasure of sitting with a brush and looking into the sky. His versatility was his most striking characteristic, and even this brief reference to it cannot close without a remark on his love for France and the French. A visit to France in childhood may be said to have influenced his whole attitude to life.

It is to be hoped that Professor York Powell's executors will collect and publish some of his contributions to history and literature—such, for example, as the appreciation of that 'noble Philistine' Daniel Defoe contributed to the *Quarto* in 1898. He was one of the originators of the *English Historical Review*—indeed, he may, in a sense, be regarded as its founder<sup>2</sup>—and he remained to the end an occasional contributor. His review of Mr. Keary's *Catalogue of English Coins*<sup>3</sup> is an important addition to the subject, and a survey of the whole series of his contributions cannot fail to impress the reader with the accuracy as well as the width of his knowledge. Apart from these uncollected articles, and such portions of his work as are to be found in dictionaries and encyclopedias, his name

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Quarterly Review*, cxv. 544, April 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, vol. v. p. 132.

should be remembered by his *School History of England*, which has only one fault—the miserable type in which it is printed. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon the qualities which make this book a work of genius and unique among books of its kind, and which won for it the warm admiration of Lord Acton—the vigour and freshness, the sympathy and insight, the felicitous adaptation of the original sources, the lifelike picture of men and things. Only his own wide experience of life could so inspire his wide knowledge of the past; he knew men in all ages and made them real. The book also contains some of his best writing. Who that has read it can forget the whole paragraph in which he tells of the middle ages?

. . . a succession of generations who invented no single tool, implement, or art, who with rarest exceptions were wholly ignorant of the sciences of the past, and disliked the very dreams of the sciences that were to come, but who could build cathedrals which are ‘miracles in stone,’ forge metal work which has never been surpassed, embroider raiment more splendid than that of the east, and show, amid squalor, dirt, and misery, a true and unflinching taste in every article of daily life; a state of society ignorant, cruel, and superstitious, whose pattern is to be found in marvellous and often unpleasant legends of anchorites and martyrs, and in the brilliant but misleading romances of chivalry, but withal a state of society in which men were earnest, dutiful, and hard-working, and which could display such noble types of character as the untiring and unselfish Francis, the friend of the poor and helpless, the brave and holy bishops Hugh and Grossetete, the faithful Earl Simon, and the saintly King Louis.

York Powell’s greatest service to historical literature—and that which will permanently preserve his name—is unquestionably the Icelandic work in which he collaborated with the late Gudbrand Vigfusson. For an estimate of this collaboration and its results we are indebted to Professor W. P. Ker, whose book on *The Dark Ages* was the last York Powell read. Mr. Ker says—

The collaboration of Vigfusson and York Powell secured a number of things that could hardly have been attained by either working separately. Vigfusson was in want of an audience; he had written largely in his native tongue, but he wished to address himself to English and continental scholars, to bring his ideas about Icelandic history and literature into general circulation. . . . York Powell gave him something more than the use of his pen; the method of work described in the preface to *Sturlunga* was not that of mere transcription by a clerk. There was a difference between writing Icelandic for Möbius to translate<sup>4</sup> and talking across the table to York Powell. The gain in liveliness was considerable; not that Gudbrand Vigfusson’s work had ever been wanting in spirit.

<sup>4</sup> Möbius had translated into German Vigfusson’s prefaces to his editions of *Eyrbyggja* and other sagas, published at Leipzig.

His memory, imagination, industry all worked together; he could slave at copying work without any apparent harm to the nobler part of his historical studies, or any flagging of his zeal. There was a strong likeness in many ways between the two friends. Gudbrand Vigfusson, like York Powell, was impatient and intolerant of what he thought pedantry; he was a man of imagination too, who read history in a vivid, dramatic way; and he had an interest in real life, shown in many references in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, and especially in the little anthology of modern Icelandic rhyming epigrams, which he made up out of his own early memories. Vigfusson had also something like York Powell's extraordinary knowledge of unexpected things, though his range was not as wide and varied. So that it is impossible to say of their combined work, offhand, that the matter is Vigfusson's and the form York Powell's.<sup>4</sup> The value of their work is incalculable for any one in this country who is engaged in the same studies; it is a pity there are not more, and perhaps a little strange that English historical students should be so reluctant to meddle with Scandinavian literature. However that does not take away much from the value of the *Prolegomena* or the *Corpus*. The *Prolegomena* to *Sturlunga Saga* include a complete history of the old Northern literature, besides a large amount of other historical matter, and, of course, an account of the texts that follow, especially of the great work of Sturla, which is the chief part of the book. It is impossible to describe the *Corpus* or to give to those who have not worked at it any adequate notion of its riches. Everything comes into it; law, mythology, history of Scandinavian philology, illustrations of all provinces of literature, a history of Norway disguised as lives of the court poets. The treatment of the poetical texts has been found rather too daring by other scholars; with regard to the Eddic poems at present the favourite policy is conservative (as in Heinzel's edition) and very unlike the method of the *Corpus*. But it would be a mistake for a student to think that any objection to the critical theories of the Oxford editors can annul the Oxford commentary; the genius of Vigfusson, it is pleasant to think, is acknowledged by some of those who in detail are far from agreement with him, and it is by no means necessary to accept all the doctrines of Gudbrand Vigfusson and York Powell in order to profit by their work. . . . York Powell published little that was not connected with his business as a historian: and among his writings should be remembered his preface to Miss Beatrice Baraby's *Gisli Súrsson, &c.*, poems that appealed to him first of all by their knowledge and understanding of Icelandic literature, but still more by the original strength of imagination in them. This memoir expresses York Powell, to those who knew him, as well as anything he has left.

Our references, as befits these pages, have been confined to Professor York Powell's work in the field of history. It is not

<sup>4</sup> Some of York Powell's work is marked off distinct from Vigfusson's, e.g. the paper on ballads in the *Corpus*; and in the *Grimm Centenary Papers* (Oxford, 1886) the two partners take each his own subject; chief among York Powell's is an essay on 'Traces of Old Law in the Eddic Lays.' The descriptive classifying method here used was what he liked; it is applied again in the sections contributed to Elton's *Saxo Grammaticus*.

possible to attempt the more difficult task of a tribute to his personality. The man was so much greater than anything he did. Nor would it serve any good purpose to close with an enumeration of the qualities which gained him such universal love and regard. We have been permitted by one who loved York Powell, and for whom York Powell entertained the warmest affection—Mr. George Meredith—to print here some words which he has written about his dead friend. ‘The testimony given without exception by the whole of our press to the merits of York Powell,’ writes Mr. Meredith, ‘is a memorable instance of the impress of character made by a noble man upon those who at one time viewed it with some distrust. In France and in Germany it was no novelty for a man of great learning and a distinguished professor to be in open sympathy with conspirators against the lords of misrule. York Powell succeeded in teaching his countrymen that the generous feeling for oppressed peoples may go side by side with the student’s labours, that hunted exiles, subsequently to become transfigured in history as martyrs and heroes, are to be taken to the hearts of the thoughtful and most eminent among us during their term of peril under obloquy. For this, even more than his accomplishments, I prized him and hold him in my dearest memories. As a friend he was invaluable; always instructive, if need were, yet more willing to listen than to hold forth. When he had to correct a blunder it was done flowingly, as a necessitated jump along the road of conversation, never in the manner of the irritated pedant. He could not let the error pass, but he had no frown for it. I could write pages in praise of the comrade he was, the splendid gifts I knew him to possess. I am stayed by conjuring up his shake of the head at any personal word of eulogy.’

ROBERT S. RAIT.

## *Notes and Documents.*

### *Sources of the Early Patrician Documents.*

THE theory that the story of St. Patrick's life, as it is presented in the works of Tírechán and Muirchu, was invented at a date not earlier than in the first quarter of the seventh century would be more plausible than it is if no traces of older written sources (apart from the 'Confession') could be discovered. In my notice (in this Review<sup>1</sup>) of Zimmer's remarkable sketch of the Celtic church I hinted that he had not appreciated the evidence which those works supply as to older material on which they were based. Leaving aside the 'Liber apud Ultanum,'<sup>2</sup> which was consulted by Tírechán, it can be proved, as I have pointed out,<sup>3</sup> that Muirchu and Tírechán, who wrote independently of one another, had a common source for certain episodes; and a careful study of the second Book of Tírechán leads to the conclusion that he had written (and not only oral) material for his narrative of Patrick's work in Connaught.<sup>4</sup> There is, indeed, no more patent objection to Zimmer's hypothesis than the difficulty, insuperable, as it seems to me, of explaining how, if it was only in the first quarter of the seventh century that the fictitious discovery was made that Patrick worked and preached in northern Ireland, all the elaborate details of his journeys and foundations in Connaught could have been invented in cold blood in the course of the next forty or fifty years.

Some time ago I came to the conclusion that Muirchu and Tírechán used documents written in Irish. I noted this probability for Muirchu in a paper dealing with the tradition of his text;<sup>5</sup> the form and style of the other writer's narrative suggest a similar

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, vol. xviii. 543 (July 1903).

<sup>2</sup> Zimmer's view of this book is unsupported by the evidence, as I pointed out, *ibid.* pp. 544-6.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tírechán's Memoir of St. Patrick,' *ibid.* xvii. 248-50 (April 1902).

<sup>4</sup> See my paper on the 'Itinerary of Patrick in Connaught,' in *Proc. R. I. A.* vol. xxiv., C, 3, p. 167 (1903). In the paper cited in the preceding note I underestimated the written material used by Tírechán.

<sup>5</sup> See *Hermathena*, vol. xii. no. xxviii. 202 and 198, n. 2 (1902).

inference in his case. The present paper proposes to state some new evidence confirming the conclusion and illustrating the nature of the Irish material.

We may begin with Muirchu. The long episode of Loigaire and his magicians and the celebration of Easter at Slane stands out as an integral and connected story, and seems to have a marked character of its own. There can hardly be much doubt that for this episode Muirchu<sup>6</sup> was following a single source. He indicates himself that this source contained a stanza of Irish verse—namely, the well-known prophecy of Loigaire's magicians about Patrick's coming.<sup>7</sup> Muirchu does not give the Irish, but translates it into Latin (*Adveniet asciput, &c.*), intimating that in Latin the words sound more cryptic than in the original:

haec autem sunt versiculi verba pro linguae idioma non tam manifesta.

This prophecy particularises the outward appearance and the peculiar customs of the dreaded stranger, but Muirchu, just before, mentions a more general prophetic warning which the magicians pronounced as to the new doctrine and institution which threatened Ireland. The two magicians, he says, Lochru and Lucetmael,

crebrius profetabant morem quendam exterum futurum in modum regni cum ignota quadam doctrina molesta longinquo trans maria advectum—

The rest I must print in the form in which it appears in the Armagh manuscript:

a paucis dictatum	a multis sus
ceptum	
ab omnibusque	honoratum
regna	subversurum
resistentes turbas	seducturum <sup>8</sup>
omnes eorum deos	distructurum
et iectis omnibus	illorum artis operibus in sae
cula regnaturum	

The question arises, what is the meaning or purpose of exhibiting this passage with interspaces dividing the parts of the clauses? Why is the text not written continuously, as usual? There are nine passages in the text of the Patrician documents in the 'Liber

<sup>6</sup> 'Lib. Arm.' f. 2 r° b-5 v° b (Rolls ed. p. 273 *sqq.*)

<sup>7</sup> 'Profetaverunt hiis verbis quasi in modum < versiculi > crebro ab hiisdem dictis' (Rolls ed. p. 274). The missing word is supplied in the Brussels MS. (B), and in 'Vita Secunda' (V<sub>2</sub>), 27.

<sup>8</sup> The manuscript must be corrected here; a line has fallen out, but has been preserved in other documents which represent independent manuscripts of Muirchu—namely, B, W (the source of V<sub>2</sub> and V<sub>4</sub>). See my paper on the 'Tradition of Muirchu's Text' (cited above n. 5), p. 191, § 15 (2). The original text was:

'resistentes reges	occisurum
turbas	seducturum'



Armachanus' where spacing of this kind is found. Six of these cases are lists, in which tabular or columnar arrangement is obviously appropriate.<sup>9</sup> The other three, including that which we are now considering, are of a different nature, and must evidently have had some special motive. The careful and exceptional interspacing must have been designed to call attention to some special feature in the text. It should be noted in the passage printed above that, as there is room only for part of *susceptum* at the end of the line, the rest of the word has a whole line to itself, so that *ab omnibusque* may begin a new line.

Now, if this device of the writer catches the reader's eye, there is another characteristic which strikes his ear—the clearly marked rhythm of the passage from *a paucis dictatum* to *distructurum*. In fact each line consists of two rhythmic *κῶλα*, and these *κῶλα* are discriminated by the interspaces. There can, I think, be no question that the chirographical device is intended to suggest the poetical character of the text. It will hardly be maintained that this is likely to have been due to the initiative of the Armagh scribe. It will be admitted as infinitely more probable that he must have been reproducing what he found in his exemplar, and that the plan of exhibiting this passage as poetical was originally devised and adopted by the author himself.

We now ask, what is the meaning of the introduction of this rhythmic jingle into Muirchu's prose narrative? It is not part of a Latin poem, for though rhythmical it is not metrical. There can be, I think, only one explanation. Muirchu was here reproducing *an Irish poetical source*, and the motive of his rhythmic assonant Latin is to give the effect of the original. This inference is confirmed by the author's own intimation that the *Adveniet asciciput* passage is translated from an Irish *versiculus*. It will be asked why he did not render this prophecy also in rhythmic and assonant language. Common sense furnishes the answer; it did not lend itself readily to such a rendering. It is obvious that, if one is reproducing in prose the argument of a poem written in another language, exceptional verses or passages may shape themselves, almost without a conscious effort on the translator's part, into rhythm, or even rhyme, or metre in the new vehicle. This consideration fully explains the exceptional treatment of our passage; and it is illustrated and confirmed by that passage itself. For the rhythmical rendering is only partial. The first words of the

<sup>9</sup> F. 9 v<sup>o</sup> b (list of bishops, &c., ordained by Patrick); f. 12 v<sup>o</sup> b (list of clerics *in cacuminibus Selcae*; see my 'Supplementary Notes,' *ante*, vol. xvii. 702–3, Oct. 1902); f. 16 r<sup>o</sup> a (table of contents, constructed by the Armagh scribe, to the preceding documents); f. 18 r<sup>o</sup> b (list of names). In these cases the arrangement is strictly columnar; we read *down* the column. In the other two cases we do not read down the columns; f. 15 v<sup>o</sup> b (short computus of the chronology of the saint's life); f. 16 v<sup>o</sup> b (list of the *progenies* of Fedilmid).

prophecy (*morem quendam—doctrina molesta*) are not marked by assonance.

But I must now point out that the quasi-poetical Latin begins somewhat sooner than the spacing in the manuscript indicates. It begins at *longinquo trans maria advectum*, as is proved by the assonance of *advectum* with *susceptum*. We may infer that the absence of an interspace after *longinquo* is an oversight, whether of our scribe or of some intervener, and that in Muirchu's manuscript the lines stood :

longinquo <sup>10</sup>	trans maria advectum
a paucis dictatum	a multis susceptum

The end of the prophecy is also written as prose : *et ictis omnibus illorum artis operibus in saecula regnaturum*. But I may point out that here too an assonance with the preceding clauses is perceptible ; and it is possible that Muirchu may have intended these words also to have been interspaced, thus :

omnes eorum deos	distructurum
et ictis	omnibus illorum
artis operibus	in saecula regnaturum

In the first prologue to the *Lex Salica* <sup>11</sup> it is possible that we have an instance of the rendering of a poetical source in another language by rhythmic Latin. It is certainly easiest to comprehend the remarkable series of phrases glorifying the *gens Francorum* if we suppose that they are taken from a Frank poem. The description falls into clauses of a rhythmic nature (chiefly iambic) :

Gens Francorum inclita  
 auctore Deo condita  
 fortis in arma  
 firma in pacis foedere  
 profunda in consilio  
 corporea nobilis  
 in columna candore  
 forma egregia  
 audax velox et aspera

The great importance of the discovery and proof of the fact that the passage which we have been considering (a passage in which no Irish words occur) is a translation from an Irish original lies in the confirmation which it supplies of the truth of the view, suggested on other grounds, that for the whole Loigaire episode Muirchu's source was an Irish document. One of the arguments for that view was that the Irish phrases which occur can be best explained as phrases taken untranslated from an original which was entirely in Irish. Before I go on to consider another passage

<sup>10</sup> Or *de longinquo*, as in the Brussels MS.

<sup>11</sup> P. 169, ed. Behrend.

of similar significance I may point out reasons for supposing that Muirchu's Irish source did not begin with his arrival in Ireland. The passage which precedes,<sup>12</sup> describing his ordination as bishop and his journey to Ireland, was almost certainly taken by Muirchu from a document in his native tongue. The proof lies in the name of the bishop who is said to have ordained Patrick—*amatho rege*.<sup>13</sup> Many useless pages have been written about this person, whose name is distorted in various ways in later biographies. Nothing can be clearer than that the Gallic bishop who is meant is the well-known Amator of Auxerre, as is recognised in a scholium on the hymn 'Genair Patraicc.'<sup>14</sup> The Gallic bishop whom Muirchu describes as *mirabilis homo, summus episcopus*, and whose name was corrupted into Amathorege, can only be Amator of Auxerre, the church with which Patrick was associated. Though there is an historical misstatement and chronological confusion in the passage, Amator's is the only name which satisfies the conditions of the problem. Zimmer has shown how naturally the corruption of the name could arise in Ireland. Here we come to the point which concerns us. If the name Amator came down to Muirchu through Latin documents it seems almost incredible that any scribe would have changed the ablative (or accusative) of the word into Amatorege (Amatoregem). Irish scribes had no contemptible knowledge of Latin, and the least learned of those who could be set to copy a Latin manuscript at all would be familiar with the declension of a word like Amator, and would have no temptation to hibernicise it. The corruption was assuredly due, according to Zimmer's illuminative suggestion, to the colloquial *Amatore (casus communis)*.<sup>15</sup> But what is the implication? Surely that it was in the mouths and writings of men talking and writing in Irish that Amatore was furnished with an Irish declension on the analogy of a name like Ainmire. To Patrick and his contemporaries, familiar with the church of Auxerre, Amator's name must have been a household word; it was assuredly not *aus einer lateinischen Quelle* that his name and fame first became known in Ireland. Muirchu's *Amathorege* represents *Amathorig* and betrays that his source was in Irish.

I may be allowed to make a short digression on the chronological inconsistency of Muirchu's record as to the ordination of Patrick by Amator with the date of Patrick's departure for Ireland, A.D. 432.

<sup>12</sup> P. 273, Rolls ed.

<sup>13</sup> 'Lib. Arm.' f. 2<sup>o</sup> b; in the second place where it occurs (*ibid.*) *abmatho rege—a* (as *ab* shows) being accidentally omitted.

<sup>14</sup> *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson, i. 99.

<sup>15</sup> *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 123, note. 'Vielleicht stand auch in der lat. Quelle wo der Ire den Amator kennen lernte, die barbarische Form *Amatore* als *Casus communis*, so dass er einfach von diesem Nominativ aus—wie zu ir. *Ainmire* der Gen. *Ainmirech*. Dat. Acc. *Ainmirig* lautete—*Amatoregis*, *Amatorege* weiter flektierte.'

At that time Germanus was bishop of Auxerre; <sup>16</sup> Amator was long dead. If, therefore, Patrick was hastily ordained bishop just on the eve of his departure, it cannot have been Amator who ordained him; if it was Amator who ordained him, it is untrue that he was not ordained till 432. As a matter of fact we learn from Muirchu himself that the act of consecration was performed by Germanus. The words *nec adhuc a sancto domino Germano in pontificali gradu ordinatus est* clearly imply that it was Germanus who afterwards did ordain him.<sup>17</sup> How then are we to explain the false record that he was ordained by Amator? A most ingenious explanation is suggested by Zimmer.<sup>18</sup> Pointing out that there was a *basilica Amatoris* close to Auxerre, he thinks that Muirchu's

<sup>16</sup> That the death of Amator and succession of Germanus occurred before A.D. 429 is assured by the notice of Prosper *s. ann.* of the expedition of Germanus (*Autisidorensem episcopum*) to Britain, even if doubts be entertained as to the generally accepted date of Amator's death, A.D. 418. This date depends on a combination of two statements, neither of which is early. (1) 'Vita Amatoris' (composed by Stephanus at the instance of Aunachar, bishop of Auxerre, see *M. G. Epp.* iii. 447; Aunachar's episcopate included the years 573-89, see the editorial note to Gregory of Tours, *De V. S. Mart.* iv. 13, ed. M. G. H., p. 653); *Acta Sanctorum* (1 May), p. 59, § 31. Amator died on a Wednesday, 1 May. 1 May fell on Wednesday in 401, 407, 412, 418, 429. The last of these, as we have seen, is excluded. (2) Pseudo-Constantius, *Acta Sanctorum* (31 July), p. 220, § 77; and, as Levison has pointed out, *op. inf. cit.*, *Vet. Missale Gallicanum* (c. 700 A.D.), Migne, lxxii. 342. The duration of the episcopate of Germanus was 30 years and 25 days. We know that the death of Germanus fell between 444 (*Vita Hilarii*, 16) and 450 (Galla Placidia was alive at the time of his death; Constantius, *Vita Germ. c.* 42). It follows that 418 was the year of Amator's death; and that of the death of Germanus is thereby determined to be 448. The data are set out with his usual care by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, xv. 833-4. The chronological fabric entirely depends upon the two records as to the *day* of Amator's death and the length of his successor's episcopate. The former record cannot be said to gain any independent support from the entry of Amator's death under 1 May in the 'Martyrologium Hieronymianum' (*Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., II. i. [53]), for that entry is taken from an Auxerre calendar of the same date as the *Vita Amatoris* (see Krusch, *Neues Archiv*, xxiv. 324-5). Dr. W. Levison discusses the question in his recent important investigation of the original form of the *Vita Germani* of Constantius ('Bischof Germanus von Auxerre und die Quellen zu seiner Geschichte,' *Neues Archiv*, xxix. 97 *sqq.*). [Among the parts of the Bollandist text of the *Vita* which he proves not to be Constantian are §§ 2-8, which correspond to §§ 24-32 of the *Vita Amatoris* (p. 158); it follows that they were not taken by Stephanus from the *Vita Germani*, but were taken from Stephanus into the expanded *Vita Germani*.] Dr. Levison expresses complete scepticism as to the worth of the two data in question (p. 159), only conceding that '1 May may rest on ecclesiastical tradition.' In my opinion he goes too far. It seems to me probable, rather than improbable, that the exact date of the demise of Amator should have been preserved in the church of Auxerre; and it seems also probable that the duration of the episcopate of the famous Germanus should have been correctly recorded there. It is in favour of these two independent data that, when combined, they furnish a date which there is no difficulty in accepting. I am inclined to regard 418 as probably right.

<sup>17</sup> P. 272, Rolls ed. The inference from this statement has been generally overlooked.

<sup>18</sup> *Nemius Vindicatus*, p. 123, note. For the basilica see *Vita Germani*, Surius, iv. 432.

source may have stated that the consecration was performed in the church of Amator, and that the error may have been due to Muirchu's misapprehension. It seems, indeed, not impossible that a confusion of this kind might have generated the error, but if it were so I think we should be justified in ascribing the mistake not to Muirchu but to his Irish source. Yet it does not appear likely that a tradition was preserved as to the particular church in which the ceremony was performed, without the name of the bishop who performed it. There is a circumstance in the record which suggests a different origin for the error. We are told that *Auxilius Iserninusque et caeteri inferioris gradus (sc. acceperunt) eodem die quo sanctus Patricius ordinatus est.* This would be perfectly intelligible if Auxilius and Iserninus accompanied Patrick on his mission. But the point of the narrative is that, on the news of the death of Palladius, Patrick suddenly and hastily received episcopal ordination; why should Auxilius and Iserninus, who did not accompany him, be ordained, whether priests or deacons, on this occasion? That they did not accompany him we may, I think, fairly conclude from a notice in the Annals, which there is not the smallest reason to question, that it was in the year 439 that they and Secundus (*read* Secundinus) were sent (having received episcopal ordination) to the help of Patrick.<sup>19</sup> This difficulty strongly suggests the solution that the error arose from the confusion of two distinct occasions, Patrick's ordination as deacon and his ordination as bishop. The statement in Muirchu seems to me to testify to the existence of a tradition that Patrick was ordained by Amator, and Auxilius and Iserninus along with him; and that tradition may well have been true; there are no chronological or other objections to it. No confusion could more easily arise than that between two ordinations. To the question *Quis Patricium ordinavit?* the answer would be *Amator* or *Germanus*, according as *diaconum* or *episcopum* was expressed or understood with the predicate. It is evident how readily the two occasions might be confounded. It is possible, indeed, that the confusion may have been promoted by a further misconception, such as Zimmer suggests, arising from a tradition that the basilica of Amator was the scene of the episcopal ordination.

There is another passage in Muirchu where the Armagh MS. presents an interspaced text. It is the portrait of the character of Mac(c)uil maccuGreccae (f. 5 v<sup>o</sup> b). I print the passage as it stands in the manuscript as nearly as is necessary for the present purpose.

<sup>19</sup> Ann. Ul. s. ann. 'Secundus, Auxilius, et Serninus mittuntur et episcopi ipsi in Hiberniam in auxilium Patricii.' The separate coming of Iserninus is also implied in the account in 'Cod. Arm.', f. 18 r<sup>o</sup> a, (p. 342, Rolls ed.).

Erat quidam homo in regionibus  
 ulothorum patricii tempore  
 macuil maccugreccæ et erat  
 hic homo valde impius sae  
 vus tyrannus ut cyclops no  
 minaretur cogita<sup>ont</sup>tibus pravus  
 prāvūs                      vërbis                      in tantum  
 verbis                      intemperatus              vergens im  
 factis                      malignus                    pietatis in  
 spiritu                      amarus                      profundum  
 anima                      iracundus                   ita ut die  
 corpore                      scelestus                    quadam  
 mente                      crudelis                    inmontosso  
 vita                      gentilis                      aspero alto  
 conscientia                  inanis                      que sedens  
 loco                      hindruim moccuechach  
 ubi ille tyrannidem cotidie

The third column (*in tantum vergens*—) is a continuation of the text after *inanis*, and might just as well have been written in ordinary lines at the foot of the other two columns; the scribe's object in writing it as a column was obviously to utilise the available space. It is only the first two columns, which are read horizontally, that concern us. It is clear that the first line in this columnar arrangement ought to have been

cogitationibus                      pravus

But the scribe wrote *cogitantibus* by mistake immediately after *minaretur*, and began his column with *pravus verbis*. Then seeing that the ablatives must stand in the first column and the adjectives in the second, he put the marks of deletion over *pravus verbis*, inserted *pravus* after *cogitationibus* (as corrected), and began his columns with *verbis intemperatus*.

This interspacing was, I suggest, intended to show that the Latin text corresponded here, word for word, pair of words for pair of words, with an Irish original. The episode contains a number of Irish forms, and the gloss *diberca*, written above *signa* (f. 6 r<sup>o</sup> a), indicates that Muirchu's *signa nequissima* is a paraphrase of this word (of unknown meaning) which occurred in his Irish source. But it might have been held that the Irish source was no more than a story which had not yet assumed a definite literary shape, and that Muirchu was the first to write it down and present it in a literary form. Such a supposition must be set aside, if I am right in interpreting the exceptional treatment of the description of MacCuil's character in the manuscript as designed to indicate a literal rendering; for this implies that Muirchu had the story before him as a definite Irish document, which he reproduces in Latin.

It seems probable that it was from this Irish original that the name of the servant of MacCuil, which is not given by Muirchu, but appears in the 'Vita Quarta' and the 'Tripartite Life,' was derived:<sup>20</sup> *Garvanus nomen erat viri = Garban a ainm indfir.*<sup>21</sup> The 'Tripartite' adds that Patrick said—

Brat Garbain  
biaid forcolainn marbain,  
acht adfesar duib inmó  
ishé Garbán bias fó.

That is, in the translation of Mr. Stokes, 'Garván's mantle shall be on the body of a corpse, but I will declare to you more: it is Garván who shall be under it.' Celtic philologists may perhaps be able to say whether these verses might represent, with modernised forms, part of an old poem which might have existed before the time of Muirchu. In any case, although Muirchu did not succeed in rendering the character of MacCuil in rhythmic assonances, the graphic arrangement must have been intended to show that the Irish source from which he translated it was in verse.

The work of Tírechán abundantly testifies that its author had not the humblest pretensions to any of the qualities of a literary artist of the most modest capacity, and we are justified in assuming as certain that it was not he who reduced to literary form the poetical story of the daughters of Loigaire. That the narrative which he incorporated in his book—the one bright place in it from a literary point of view—was translated from an Irish original is suggested by the phrase *uiros side* (f. 12 r<sup>o</sup> a). But the manuscript furnishes graphic evidence, similar to that which it furnishes in the two passages of Muirchu which I have discussed, evidence which I interpret to mean that the Latin is a rendering of an Irish poetical source. The Rolls edition reproduces partially, but only partially, the graphic peculiarities of the manuscript in this passage of Tírechán.<sup>22</sup> The nature of the passage, which is marked by successions of short clauses of the same character and construction, lent itself readily to a literal Latin rendering, which could suggest in some measure the effect of the original, not only through the

<sup>20</sup> Through the document which I have designated W (a common source of the 'Vita Quarta' and the 'Vita Secunda'). Cf. *Tradition of Muirchu's Text*, p. 195.

<sup>21</sup> V<sub>4</sub> c. 81; 'Trip.' pt. iii. p. 222, Rolls ed.

<sup>22</sup> Pp. 315-6. (1) The passage from l. 6 to l. 10 (*Et quo cumque—estimaverunt*) is not written in two columns; each clause has a line to itself. *Non cognoverunt* does not form a single line, but is in the same line with *aut qua cumque regione*. There are considerable spaces between the words in the first four lines, thus:

et	quo	cumque	essent
aut	qua	cumque	forma

(2) The passage from *et ubi est Deus* (l. 15) to *< si > in caelo an in terra est* is similarly set; each clause has a line to itself, and the first word of each line is separated by a

resemblance of the short clauses, but because similar case endings and tense endings, and even repetitions of the same words, frequently produced with hardly any effort rhythm and assonances. But we can perhaps discern that the translator in choosing his words was conscious of the rhythm. In the passage

in	aequore
in	fluminibus
in	montanis
in	convallibus

the consideration of rhythm may have determined him to write *convallibus* (corresponding to *fluminibus*) instead of *vallibus*.

To resume the general result of the investigation: There are two passages in Muirchu's 'Life' and one in Tírechán's 'Memoir' where the manuscript distinguishes graphically portions of the text from their context, these portions being written as we might expect them to be written if they were metrical. They are not metrical, but they partly exhibit a rhythmic and assonant character. The natural inference, therefore, is that the authors were in these cases closely reproducing, in Latin, metrical passages in Irish, and meant to indicate this by spaced lines. This conclusion is in accordance with the probability, resting on other indications, that the contexts in which the passages in question occur were taken directly from sources written in Irish. It does not, of course, follow that those sources were metrical throughout. On the contrary, it may seem more probable that verses were set in a prose narrative, as, for instance, in Irish works of a later period and in the Scandinavian sagas. On the other hand there may have been much more metrical matter than the Latin translators essayed to reproduce in a form that might seem to simulate poetry. Thus Muirchu, as we saw, translated the *Ticfa talcend* prophecy literally indeed, but without any attempt at assonance or rhythm.

It is clear that these results enable us to entertain with confidence, as to other portions also of the writings of Muirchu and Tírechán, the view, which on other grounds seemed probable, that they were based on Irish written sources. These two writers then, who were partly the founders of the Latin Patrician literature which exists, drew upon an older Patrician literature written in

space from the following word. (3) The following passage, *In aequore* (there is no reason to suppose that *si* has fallen out) to *invenitur*, is not written in two columns; *quomodo delegitur* is under *quomodo videbitur*. (4) The lines correspond to the clauses from *deus noster deus omnium hominum* (l. 30) to *valliumque humilium* (l. 33). (5) *Inspirat omnia*, &c., are not in two columns. (6) From *Solis lumen inluminat et insolas in mari siccas* the lines are determined by the clauses. (I may observe that the words *lumen noctis et notitias va < l > lat*, in which difficulty has been found, seem quite sound; *notitias* = 'sign posts,' *σημεῖα*, that is, stars.) It must be left an open question whether the Latin translation was made by Tírechán himself.



Irish and partly metrical. It is with this older literature, behind Tírechán and Muirchu, that any one who would establish the late origin of a 'Patrician legend' has to reckon. J. B. BURK.

### *Hides and Virgates in Sussex.*

IN the January number of this Review Mr. Salzmann has skilfully marshalled the arguments for the existence of an 8-virgate hide in Sussex. I must admit that a first examination of the Domesday of that county disposed me to take his view, and it was only on a careful reconsideration of the evidence that I came to the conclusion that it does not really rule out the 4-virgate hide, which seems to be universal in other hidated counties, and even in exceptional Kent is paralleled by the sulung of 4 yokes (*iuga*). A conviction that hides contained more acres in some parts of England than in others<sup>1</sup> disqualifies one from advancing the argument that fiscal units must have borne a uniform relation to each other throughout the country, except in so far as a relation which is found to be constant in other counties is unlikely to have been departed from in a single case. A stronger objection to an 8-virgate hide is based upon the agrimensorial use of the virga, rod, or yard, which makes it probable that a virgate was in the nature of the case a fourth part, whether of the acre, of the *iugum* (as in the Battle manor of Wye, in Kent), or of the hide.

Apart from the direct assertion of the Battle Abbey chronicler that eight virgates made a hide, which I have discussed elsewhere, Mr. Salzmann rests his case (1) on the occurrence in the Domesday of Sussex of such collocations as 'half a hide and 2 virgates,' '3 hides less 2 virgates,' '4 hides and 5 virgates;' (2) on four instances in which the sum of the hides and virgates assigned to the holdings which composed a manor amount either exactly or approximately to the assessment of the manor if 8 virgates are reckoned to the hide, but fall considerably below it on the assumption of a 4-virgate hide.

It is urged that if half a hide *was* 2 virgates no one would speak of 'half a hide and 2 virgates,' or of '3 hides less 2 virgates,' when it would be so much simpler to say 1 hide and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides, and similarly that '4 hides and 5 virgates' is a very clumsy way of expressing  $5\frac{1}{4}$  hides. The frequent mention of 2 virgates where half a hide would be more natural if the hide contained 4 virgates is certainly perplexing. What are we to make of the following entry?

<sup>1</sup> By a slip of the pen I spoke in my article in the number for October 1903 of some hides containing *four* times as many acres as others. It should, of course, have been *three* times.

*In Herste tenuit Vlurimus dimidiam hidam, T.R.E. pro ii v[irgis] se defendebat et modo facit.*<sup>2</sup>

Is this a case of reduced assessment or a scribe's effort after an elegant variety of diction? Something can be said for the latter alternative. Three folios back there is an entry of a hide in Brislinga, 'of which hide Robert holds 4 virgates of the count [of Eu]. Whether we suppose Robert to have held a whole hide or half of one, this is not the most obvious way of stating the fact. Of course there may be an error in the figure, but there seems to be a Bedfordshire case where 4 virgates are used to express a hide, and no such error can be assumed.<sup>3</sup>

But even this explanation hardly clears up such an entry as, 'Walo holds half a hide and 2 virgates.'<sup>4</sup> A possible light upon this may be gained if we turn to Mr. Salzmann's positive evidence for the equation 1 hide = 8 virgates. And here it must be remarked, in the first place, that in only one of his four instances—that of Francwelle—do the particulars exactly equal the total assessment if this equation be assumed. It is true that Mr. Salzmann brings out an equally neat result for Wiltingham, but he only effects this by adding in the Battle Abbey virgate at 'Witinges.' Now 'Witinges' is said to be held of the count of Eu by Ingelrannus, who was merely the largest of the count's four tenants at Wiltingham. While on this point I may call attention to the fact that the abbey's 6 virgates at Nedrefelle, and 6 or 5 at Wilminte, will not account on the 8-virgate assumption for the reduction of the assessment of each of those manors from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 hide. In any case the identification of Wilminte with the nameless manor once held by Alnod cannot be accepted, for the latter was held of the count of Eu, the former of the count of Mortain.<sup>5</sup>

Coming to the three cases which apparently contradict the 8-virgate theory, Mr. Salzmann admits that two out of the three—those of Hormtone and Waliland—can only be made to fit it by supposing an error in our text. Dentune, long ago quoted by Mr. Round as a neat proof of the 4-virgate hide, he rules out on the ground that the demesne has not been allowed for. The statement *in dominio nichil est* no doubt implies the existence of a demesne, though there were no demesne ploughs; but was it the demesne of Ralph, the mesne tenant, or that of his three knights, whose holdings amounted to the pre-Conquest assessment of the manor, if we reckon 4 virgates to the hide? If it was the latter, then it cannot

<sup>2</sup> D. B. i. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Roxton. For this I rely upon Mr. Round (*Feudal England*, p. 57), having failed myself to trace the entry.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the form of the statement is influenced by Walo not holding a single undivided hide, but a tenement of half a hide and two of a virgate.

<sup>5</sup> D. B. i. 17 b; i. 18 b.

affect the figures; and if it was the former, then Mr. Salzman must take the demesne at Wiltingham into account, which will spoil the neatness of his result there. The somewhat similar case of Bosgrave deserves examination. One William held it of Count Roger. It was assessed at 6 hides T. R. E. and 1086. 'There is land for 4 ploughs. Of this land—

		H.	V.
Humphry holds . . . . .	.	3	1
Nigel       " . . . . .	.	1	1
William     " . . . . .	.	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Clerici de ecclesia hold . . . . .	.	1	

[6]

In the demesne there are 2 ploughs and 1 villein and 12 cotters with 1 plough.'<sup>6</sup> Now, unless Mr. Salzman identifies the first William with the second, which would give a beautiful proof of the 4-virgate theory, he must hold that the demesne was assessed at only a quarter of a hide, which is very little considering that it contained two out of the four ploughs for which there was land in the manor.

That the demesne stated is in some cases that of the under-tenants seems evident on consideration of the unnamed manor which the above-mentioned William held of Count Roger in Bosgrave Hundred.<sup>7</sup> The land was 3 hides and assessed at that figure. 'Of this land' Richard held 2 hides and Turgis a third. Yet there was demesne: *in dominio 1 car. cū ix cot.*

In the case of Horintune, assessed at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hides T. R. E. and 3 hides 2 virgates in 1086, Mr. Salzman spoils the neatness of my result by importing a virgate from the Battle Abbey liberty, and suggests a mistake in one of the particulars which would allow of their sum being 3 hides 2 virgates. But wherever the assessment had been reduced since 1086 the particulars seem to have reference to the older total. The attempt to get round the apparent proof of a 4-virgate hide at Werste by throwing the words *et quinque virge sunt retro* into parenthesis is not very convincing. Why 'withheld'? We should expect the reason to be stated, and I still continue to think that the ensuing words, *quia una hida est in rapo Comitum de Moritonia*, supply the reason.

We have left the crucial and difficult case of the abbot of Battle's liberty to the last. The abbot is said to hold *in suo rapo*  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hides which (T. R. E.) had been assessed as 6. There follow particulars which amount to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  hides on the 8-virgate theory, but to 9 if we follow the usual reckoning of 4 virgates to the hide. A note at the end informs us that *de omni hac terra habet abbas in dominio ii hidas et dimidiam*, and that *hæc hidæ non geldaverunt in rapo*.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Salzman objects to my getting the  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hides out of the

<sup>6</sup> D. B. i. 25 b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* i. 17 b.

particulars by subtracting the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides held in demesne from 9. He urges that, as the abbey had been relieved of the payment of geld to the crown on the lands within the liberty, the particulars given can only include those lands held *in servitio* of the abbot which now paid their geld to him, and not the demesne, which of course he would not tax for his own benefit. Unfortunately for this argument the particulars begin with half a hide at Bocheham, held by the abbot in demesne; the three virgates at Cedesfield are also stated to be *in dominio*, and three other items either contained no lands in service or were waste. This is my excuse for deducting the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hides of non-gelding demesne from the sum of the particulars, of which, it must be remembered, they are said to be part (*de omni hac terra*). I fully admit that my explanation does not remove all difficulties—at present, for instance, I can only find 2 hides of demesne among the particulars—but Mr. Salzmann's seems to be attended by greater difficulties.

A possible additional argument in favour of the hides at Battle being composed of 4 virgates may be derived from the distribution of the lands held *in servitio*. The 3 virgates at Bece were held by 3 villeins, the virgate at Wasingate by 1 villein, that at Pilesham also by 1 villein, the 6 virgates at Wilminty by 6 villeins, the 6 at Nirefeld by 5 villeins and 1 bordarius. This looks as if the abbey allowed a virgate to each tenant. When we find that the half-hides at Peneherst and Hov were each held by two villeins, it is tempting to infer that half a hide contained 2 (and not 4) virgates. Turning with increased interest to the last case, the 2 hides less 1 virgate at Bollintun, we are met with the encouraging entry, *ibi sunt vii villani*.

On the whole then, though somewhat saddened, as Professor Maitland would say, by my encounter with Sussex virgates, I cling for the present to the belief that four of them went to the hide in 1086, as was certainly the case at the later date, when the Battle Abbey customals were drawn up.

JAMES TAIT.

### *The Exchequer at Westminster.*

THE following extract from the Chancery Miscellaneous Roll  $\frac{1}{5}$  (19 Henry III) may supplement Mr. G. J. Turner's considerations on the use of *maior ecclesia* in the April number of this Review: <sup>1</sup>—

Die Sabbati proxima ante festum Sancti Pet[ri] in Cathedra de dono Imperatoris Alem[annie] per Petrum de Vineis . . . j pannum ad aurum cum aquilis. § Dominica sequenti apud Westmonasterium. In oblacione domini Regis in majori ecclesia ad majus altare pannum illum.

But in spite of this passage and Mr. Turner's note the phrase in the *Dialogus de Scaccario* still presents difficulty. C. JOHNSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 286.

*Robert Baston's Poem on the Battle of Bannockburn.*

It does not appear to have been noticed that the copy of this poem preserved by Fordun, and printed in Goodall's edition of Fordun's *Chronicon*, ii. 251-3,<sup>1</sup> is very evidently only a fragment. After the tenth of the merely introductory lines (as below) Baston appears in the printed copy to run at once *in medias res*, describing the English army as indulging in riotous revels on the night before the battle:—

Dum se sic iactant, cum Baccho nocte iocando,  
Scotia, te mactant, verbis vanis reprobando.

Evidently much is wanting; and of the much I am happily able to supply a part, consisting of forty-three lines.

Many years ago I obtained from an old bookbinder a parcel of vellum scraps taken from books which he had rebound. Among these were two small leaves measuring a little over five inches in height and four inches in width, containing Latin verses, dirty, and in the case of the second leaf partially obliterated. These remained for some time unexamined, but within recent years I cleaned them and brought the contents more clearly to light, and found that the first leaf contains the portion of Baston's poem given below, and the second is a fragment of the lengthy 'Versus m. Michaelis Cornubie contra m. Henricum Abryncensem,' of which a complete copy exists in Cotton MS. Titus, A. 20, with which I one day collated my fragment.<sup>2</sup>

Is mention of the four Germans in the English army found elsewhere?

W. D. MACRAY.

D[e planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo.]  
Risum retrudo dum tali themate ludo.  
Rector celestis adhibens solacia<sup>3</sup> mestis  
Verax est testis, qui prospera ferre potest hiis,  
Quos vincis<sup>4</sup> restis, pro sindone sordida vestis.  
Ploro sub hiis gestis, perimat<sup>5</sup> quo[s] torrida pestis.  
Bella parata fleo, lamentans sub canopeo,  
Sub quo rege reo nescio, teste Deo.  
En<sup>6</sup> regnum duplex, et utrumque cupit dominari,  
10 Sed neutrum suplex vult a reliquo superari,

<sup>1</sup> First printed in a very unlikely place, in a curious little volume on Roman antiquities by an Edinburgh tutor, Thomas Bell, entitled *Roma Restituta*, printed at Amsterdam in 1700. Bell says with regard to his copy, 'Id ex Johannis Fordeni Scoto-chronico manuscripto in Bibliotheca Edinburgensi, summa fide translatum, subjicimus, plurimis vehementer cupientibus visu gratissimum.' Hearne, in the preface to his edition of Fordun, § 42, says that Bell printed it 'minus emendate.'

<sup>2</sup> Michael of Cornwall is not noticed by Tanner in *Bibl. Brit.*, but Bale includes him in his *Index Scriptorum* (Oxford, 1902), p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> 'Solamina,' Bell, Hearne, and Goodall.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*: 'vincit,' Goodall.

<sup>5</sup> 'Perimit,' Hearne and Goodall; 'punit,' Bell.

<sup>6</sup> 'Est,' Bell, Hearne, and Goodall.

- Anglia, Scocia, que sunt regna duo Pharisea.  
 Ista preest eaque, ne cadat hec vel ea.  
 Inde rubent latera roseo perfusa cruore,  
 Agmina belligera, misero mactata dolore.  
 Hinc sunt disperse vires in Marte reverse.  
 Gentes submerse, fabricantes prelia per se.  
 Hinc pallent vultus, hic mersus et ille sepultus,  
 Hinc meror multus quod scandit ad astra tumultus,  
 Hinc surgunt guerre populates predia terre.
- 20 Singula proferre nequeo de strage super re.
- ¶ Anno milleno tricenteno duodeno,  
 Binus et addetur annus, tunc tempus habetur,  
 Festum Baptiste numerus complectitur iste.  
 In Junii mense Strivelini bella recense.  
 Scismata que recolo plangenda remittere nolo,  
 Obruta flere volo corpora Marte solo.  
 Quis mihi prestabit laticem dum prelia pando ?  
 Sic fons torrentis rivos fundit lacrimarum,  
 Quod meror mentis planctum persolvat amarum
- 30 Qui regit imperium regni regno dominatur  
 Cujus ad indicium numerosa cohors famulatur.  
 Anglia, turba sonat, tibi, Scocia, bella parantur.  
 Plebs falerata tonat, sua gesta minus cumulantur.  
 En Rex Anglorum sub consiliis aliorum  
 Regnum Scotorum subiens virtute suorum,  
 Colligit hucusque regni proceres utriusque,  
 Ad bellum pronos patrie militare colonos.  
 Magnatum properat rutilans splendore caterva,  
 Scocia, te serva, gladio te subdere sperat.
- 40 ¶ Climata conculcant pedites pugnare volentes,  
 Velum tendentes naute super equora sulcant.  
 Armiger insultat manibus preponere lora,  
 Vulgus eques strigidat,<sup>7</sup> strepitat tuba voce sonora.  
 Bellica turba rapax ruit hinc ad prelia mota,  
 Sed mors dira capax minuit sua fervida vota.  
 Miles equum scandit, ad pugnans est animosus,  
 Vires expandit, cultus tegit hunc preciosus.  
 Bis duo Theutonici veniunt ad prelia gratis,  
 Nescio quid dici poterit super hiis prohibitatis.
- 50 Sic venientibus, arma petentibus, optima dantur,  
 Nulla volentibus atque ferentibus ipsa negantur.  
 Lancea cum scutis manibus dantur modo tutis  
 Fortibus hastutis<sup>7</sup> et bella timenda secutis.

[*Caetera desunt.*]

<sup>7</sup> Sic.

*Correspondence of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester  
and Pier Candido Decembrio.*

THE relations of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, with the Italian humanists are of great interest. By the middle of the fifteenth century his name was familiar in Rome, Florence, Naples, and Milan. Italian scholars looked upon him as a Maecenas of the new learning. They used to write to him, to dedicate their works to him, either original or translations, and to send him copies of the Latin and Greek masterpieces of which he was in search for his library.<sup>1</sup> On his part the duke showed no superficial interest in the pursuits of the Italian students, and his letters to Pier Candido Decembrio—some of which are published below for the first time—seem to show that his interest in the literary movement of his time was more than a fashionable hobby.<sup>2</sup> He kept in his household several Italian scholars, among them Tito Livio da Forli, who is described as ‘the poet and orator of the duke of Gloucester.’ Livio wrote a ‘Life of Henry IV’ (translated into Italian by Pier Candido Decembrio<sup>3</sup>), and apparently occupied himself not only in literature but also in physical science and medicine.

Humphrey owed his popularity in Italy mainly to a learned clergyman, Zanone Castiglione, elected bishop of Bayeux on 27 Feb. 1432, when the town was still in the possession of the king of England. Castiglione—by birth a Frenchman, but a descendant of an old and famous Italian family—had been sent in 1434 by Henry VI to the council of Bâle, and there had made the acquaintance of another delegate to the council, Francesco Picolpasso, archbishop of Milan, who, himself a scholar, was in touch with all the leading students of his country. This acquaintance proved very useful to Castiglione for two reasons—first, because he was personally interested in literary matters; and secondly, because, before leaving Bayeux for Bâle, he had been asked by Duke Humphrey to purchase as many books as he could, particularly of Bruni and Guarino, whose fame had already reached London.<sup>4</sup> Thus introduced by Picolpasso, Castiglione came into correspondence from Bâle with the chief Italian humanists. A still better opportunity was offered to him later on, when at the beginning of 1439 he passed from the council of Bâle to that

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Macray’s ‘Early Dedications to Englishmen by Foreign Authors and Editors,’ in *Bibliographica*, i. (1894), 324, *seqq.*, and ‘Some Literary Correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester,’ by Bishop Creighton, in this Review, vol. x. (1895), p. 99 *seqq.*—ED. E. H. R.

<sup>2</sup> Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, ii. 255 (3rd ed. 1893).

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Riccardiano, 827 (at Florence), ff. 83-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* f. 31<sup>v</sup>.

opened in Florence for the union of the Greek and Latin churches. He stayed in Florence and Bologna about a year, and during this time bought a good many Greek and Latin books, made the acquaintance of Italian scholars, and spoke to them of the duke as of a patron and a student. Castiglione's admiration for the duke is attested by P. Candido Decembrio.<sup>5</sup> Through Castiglione several humanists entered into relation with the duke, among them Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, Lapo di Castiglionchio (who dedicated to him his translation of Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*), and above all Pier Candido Decembrio, who was in correspondence with him from 1439 to 1444 and acted throughout as his book agent in Italy.

Decembrio, who was born at Pavia on 24 Oct. 1399, was a man of great learning. He had been attached, as writer and secretary, to the Lombard dukes, first to Filippo Maria Visconti and afterwards to Francesco Sforza; and he passed later into the service of the popes and of other Italian princes. He was the author of numerous translations, both from Greek and Latin, and wrote several books of his own on philosophy and history. The best known of his historical productions is the *Life of Filippo Maria Visconti*, written on the model of Suetonius, which is included by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. xx. In 1439 Decembrio was engaged in translating Plato's *Republic*, and proposed to dedicate it to the duke. It seems that Humphrey, having already read Aristotle's *Ethics*, was desirous of having a translation of the *Politics*, and had asked Leonardo Bruni to do the work. Bruni accepted the offer,<sup>6</sup> but afterwards, apparently dissatisfied with the duke's terms, dedicated and sent his translation to the pope, Eugene IV. Decembrio availed himself of the opportunity, and offered to the duke instead a translation of the *Republic* of Plato, made by himself.<sup>7</sup> First he sent him the translation of the fifth book, and the duke acknowledging its receipt

<sup>5</sup> See below, pp. 512, 519, 525.

<sup>6</sup> His dedication of the work to the duke is preserved in two manuscripts in the Bodleian library: see Macray, *ubi supra*, p. 328.—Ed. E. H. R.

<sup>7</sup> The letters printed below relative to Decembrio's translation of the *Republic* are also contained in part in the Harleian MS. 1705 at the British Museum, which is Duke Humphrey's own copy, formerly in the library of the University of Oxford. Dr. Macray describes their contents, *ubi supra*, pp. 325-8. Since this communication was in type I have examined and collated the Harleian manuscript. There is a series of lacunae in the first letter, in consequence of the illuminated initial letter having been cut out; and the text ends defectively at the end of a leaf in the middle of the fourth letter, at 'Ioanni Amadeo iuriconsulto prestan.' The next leaf, as now preserved, opens with 'Capitula quinque politie platonice,' followed by the dedicatory letter printed below (xxi.) After the translation itself are brief notices (ff. 95<sup>v</sup>, 96) of the subject of the last five books (see below, letter v.), and at the end, 'Cest liure est de moy homfrey de gloucester. du doñ P. Candidus secretaire du duc de Mylan,' in the duke's handwriting. Another manuscript of the work in the royal library at Munich (Lat. 225) has prefixed to it the same correspondence. This volume was written in 1479;



expressed surprise that it was not dedicated to him. But Decembrio reassured him, writing that though the single books were dedicated to different people (the fifth to Giovanni Amedei, the sixth to Alfonso, bishop of Burgos, and the tenth to Francesco Picolpasso) the entire work was to be dedicated to him.<sup>8</sup> By 1440 he had sent him five books through Rolando Talenti, an Italian official resident in Bayeux; but it was not until 1441 that Scaramuccia Balbo, orator of Filippo Maria Visconti, coming to England, brought to the duke of Gloucester the whole translation of the *Republic*.

But it was not only about this matter that the duke and Decembrio corresponded. The former, who had collected about 600 manuscripts by the year 1440, was anxious to increase his library, and took advantage of his acquaintance with Decembrio to ask him to make in Italy several purchases. He already possessed Livy and almost all Cicero's works,<sup>9</sup> but was looking now for a Cornelius Celsus, for the *Physic* and *Panegyricon* of Pliny, for Apuleius, and as many books of Varro as could be found.<sup>10</sup> He sent him a catalogue of his library and wrote to the duke, Filippo Maria Visconti, in whose service Decembrio then was, asking him to allow his secretary to copy and send him the catalogue of the famous library at Pavia.<sup>11</sup> Decembrio thought that at least one hundred volumes were still lacking and indispensable to the library of the duke of Gloucester, and set to work in order to procure them and have them copied and illuminated for the duke.

More than forty volumes he must have collected and sent to London at different times; eighteen in 1440, nine in 1441, and the rest at other times. Unfortunately he does not always give the names of the books purchased for the duke, but we hear of the works of Columella, Apuleius, Aulus Gellius, Censorinus, Varro, Cato, L. Florus, Livy, Vitruvius, Pompeius Festus, Pomponius Mela, and Ptolemy. Neither is it certain that all reached their destination, for both the duke and Decembrio very often complain in their letters of the carelessness of the *mercatores*, mostly Florentine, who were the carriers between Italy and England. As to the reward, the 'good Duke Humphrey' intended to compensate Decembrio's services by a yearly salary of a hundred *ducats*; but, before doing it, he wanted to ascertain whether the duke Filippo Maria Visconti had any objection to his secretary receiving a subsidy from a foreign prince. It is not clear that the salary was ever paid at all. Some misunderstanding seems to have arisen on the matter between the duke and his agent; and no wonder, as Decembrio, like all the Italian humanists, was not a little greedy and pretentious. He

see Halm and Laubmann's *Catal. Codd. Lat. Biblioth. reg. Monac.* i. pt. i. 39 (1868). From it three letters are cited by R. Pauli, *Gesch. von England*, v. 668, n. 5, 6 (1858).—*Ed. E. H. R.*

<sup>8</sup> Below, pp. 514 *seq.*

<sup>9</sup> P. 516.

<sup>10</sup> P. 517.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 517-520.

desired, among other things, that the duke should buy for him the villa *olim Francisci Petrarcae*,<sup>12</sup> alluding with every probability to the villa once owned by the poet in Garignano, near Milan.

The letters which follow fall into two series. The first (nos. i.–xiii.) is taken from cod. 827 in the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence, which contains correspondence of Decembrio ranging from 1433 to 1443 and was written in this latter year. It formerly belonged to Nicodemo Tranchedini, as appears from a note on its first page, and on the binding it bears the arms of the Tranchedini family. Nicodemo Tranchedini or Trincadini, of Pontremoli, who died in 1481, was a juriconsult and man of letters, and was employed by the dukes of Milan on various legations. To him his friend Decembrio dedicated the volume which forms the second collection of his letters. The first, which contains his correspondence from 1423 to 1433, is preserved in a manuscript at Bologna. The second series of letters now printed (nos. xiv.–xix.) is derived from cod. i. 235 inf. in the Ambrosian library at Milan, which consists entirely of Decembrio's correspondence.<sup>13</sup> There is nothing to indicate the history of this volume.

[At the end the editor of this Review has added (xx.) the dedicatory letter to the duke prefixed to Decembrio's translation of the *Republic* in the Harleian MS. 1705 in the British Museum.]

MARIO BORSA.

Cod. Riccard. 827 f. 54.]

I.

[1439.

<sup>14</sup> *Petrus Candidus Illustrissimo Principi Humfredo Duci Cloucestrensi salutem.*

Clarissima apud Italos omnes virtutis tuae fama percrebuit, Princeps Illustrissime. Ita ut ignotam facie tuam excellentiam omnes litterati apud nos viri fama noverint, inter quos praecipuus tuae dignitatis laudator fuit et auctor Reverendissimus<sup>15</sup> pater Baiocensis episcopus, vir non solum doctrina litterarum sed humanitate caritate et obsequio mitissimus, tuique nominis praecipuus amator. Is cum multa de virtute, de<sup>16</sup> humanitate, de prudentia tua nobis retulisset, tum mirum in modum extulit diligentiam et amorem tuae claritatis erga studia litterarum. Qua de re profecto gaudent ii,<sup>17</sup> qui bonarum artium studiis solent oblectari, quod

<sup>12</sup> P. 521.

<sup>13</sup> The transcript of this series is not the work of a competent scribe, and a great many corrections have had to be made. The order of the letters in the manuscript is also manifestly incorrect; no. xiv. being later than nos. xvii., xviii., xv., and xvi., to all of which it refers. For the emendations throughout I am alone responsible.—Ed. E. H. R.

<sup>14</sup> In the place of the greetings in this and the following letters the Harleian MS. (H) has set titles, e.g. 'P. Candidi Decembris Ad illustrissimum et litteratissimum Ducem Cloucestrensem, fratrem Serenissimi et Invictissimi domini Henrici Regis Anglie et francie, Super nova traductione totius Platonicæ politiæ, feliciter incipit Epistola.' The same manuscript has 'Cloucestrensis,' wherever it occurs, corrected by erasure from 'Gloucestrensis.'—Ed. E. H. R.

<sup>15</sup> 'Reverendus' H.

<sup>16</sup> 'De' supplied from H.

<sup>17</sup> 'Hi' H.

aetate nostra non omnino extincta sint simulacra principum optimorum. Quippe cum talis Caesar fuerit, talis Augustus, tales multi praeclari viri quorum fama est immortalis. Itaque cum multi ex hac gloria amorem tuum certatim appetant, ipse in primis tuam gratiam non verbis tantum sed operibus assequi contendo. Et quidem optimis et dignitate tua dignis. Cum igitur intelligam Leonardum Arretinum, virum Graecae Latinaeque linguae satis eruditum, Aristotelis Politicam, quam tuo nomine vertendam sumpserat, non tuae excellentiae, sed domini nostri papae sanctitati direxisse, statui nomen tuum per se satis illustre non inferiori munere exornare et eximiam laudem tuam penitus extollere. Felicissime itaque ex Graecis litteris traducere inchoavi<sup>18</sup> Politiam Platonis philosophi omnium clarissimi et excellentissimi, quam tuae dignitati dedicavi. Quo quidem opere nihil excellentius, nihil utilius, nihil praeclarius te unquam vidisse confiteberis aut legisse, et vere nosces non frustra tanti philosophi nomen in ore Ambrosii, Hieronimi, Augustini percrebuisse, non frustra etiam antiquis et eruditis viris fuisse cordi. Nam si eloquentiam quaeris, hic lacteus est fons. Si sensus, hic splendidus sol verae sapientiae, hic denique boni et veri principis tibi formam tradet: rerum etiam publicarum gubernationem tam perfecte quam eleganter exponet. Expeto itaque declarari litteris tuae dignitatis, an velis me labore istum sacratissimum assumere in laudem tui nominis ut puto sempiternam. Cui me obsequentissimum omni tempore commendo. Vale.<sup>19</sup>

f. 59\*.]

II.

[1439.]

*Humfredus Dux Cloucestriae Petro Candido salutem.*

Ea semper nobis<sup>20</sup> sententia fuit, Candide noster suavissime, tota mente complecti virtuosos illos viros qui nos appeterent et patrocinium nostrum. Quid autem nos facturos credas de te, qui non modo nos et familiaritatem nostram quaeras, sed et laudem et gloriam nominis nostri et inter exoptatissima nostra nobis dignum otium in negociis subministras? Te complectimur diligimus et amamus, et pollicemur ita nos curatum ire ut quotidie magis hoc animo tuo gaudeas. Quamobrem fit ut munus tuum lubentissime et quam gratissime suscipiamus, hortamurque virtutem tuam ad operis maturationem quod quam iocundissimum nobis erit, illud si quam citissime videbimus, hoc uno nos longe felicem iudicantes quod tu totque florentissimi viri Graecis et Latinis litteris peritissimi, quot illic apud nos sunt, nostris temporibus habeantur. Quibus nescimus<sup>21</sup> quid laudum digne satis possit excogitari. Mitto quod facundiam et copiam dicendi priscam illam et priscis viris dignam quae prorsus perierat,<sup>22</sup> huic saeculo renovastis: nec id vobis satis fuit; et Graecas litteras scrutati<sup>23</sup> estis, ut non modo Latinis hominibus suavitas et oris<sup>24</sup> copia non deesset, sed et philosophos Graecos et benevivendi magistros, qui nostris iam oblitterati erant et occulti, reseratis et eos Latinos facientes impropatulum adducitis. Gratium et insuper haberemus aliud si quidpiam novi, vel tui vel alterius

<sup>18</sup> 'Inchoavi' H.<sup>19</sup> H adds 'princeps illustrissimi.'<sup>20</sup> 'Nobis semper' H.<sup>21</sup> Corrected from H; the transcript has 'noscimus.'<sup>22</sup> The transcript has 'petierat.'<sup>23</sup> So H; the transcript has 'servati.'<sup>24</sup> 'Orationis' H.

cuiusvis viri-periti, per te videremus. Vale et a nobis amari constantissime tene. Ex Londoniis.<sup>25</sup>

f. 61<sup>v</sup>.]

III.

*Hunfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

At alias nostris tibi scripsimus, vir suavissime, super omnia gratum nobis fuit quod obtulisti de vertenda nobis nomini nostro Republica Platonis: idque summo desiderio praestolabamur cum nobis redditus est tuae traductionis eiusdem Rei publicae liber quintus a Reverendo in Christo patre domino archiepiscopo Mediolanensi, non inscriptus nostro nomini, quo factum ut gaudium nostrum quoquo<sup>26</sup> pacto remissum sit, donec in hanc sententiam ducti sumus, traductionem hanc ideo te nobis non scripsisse, quia particula non totum opus, animo res mire grata nostro, reliquumque magis accensi sumus ut videamus. Quapropter requirimus et hortamur virtutem tuam, ut rem nobis conficias, totum librum nobis traducas, curesque quod integrum habeamus. Erit id nobis vehementer gratum, proque virili nostra studebimus ut gaudeas amicitiam nostram quaesisse. Vale.<sup>27</sup>

f. 61<sup>v</sup>.]

IV.

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Humfredo Duci Cloucestrensi salutem.*

Sicuti viatori in aestu laboranti amoenissimarum arborum umbra iocunda est, et sibilantis aurae mollior procella delectat navigantes, et ut siti confectum clarissimi fontis lapsus exhilarat, ita mihi iocundissimae fuere litterae tuae, Princeps illustrissime, quas quidem ut apud divinum poetam legisse memini: Non vidisse semel satis est, iuvat usque morari, et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.<sup>28</sup> Non enim litteras ipsas, sed tuam potius dignitatem, tuum denique vultum, et spirantia ora intueri mihi videor, ita expressa in his et quasi vivientia cerno simulacra decoris, humanitatis, splendoris denique ac dignitatis<sup>29</sup> tuae. Laus igitur Deo qui te talem orbi, immo aetati nostrae dedit Principem cuius eximiae virtutis excellentia caeteris esset ad virtutem adhortatio.<sup>30</sup> Gratulor itaque librum quintum traductionis meae aditum meruisse tuae claritatis qui licet nomini tuo minime insignitus sit, cum primus omnium in lucem venerit, et Joanni Amadeo iurisconsulto praestantissimo sit inscriptus, sub tuae tamen dignitatis laude requiescet. Aequum est enim in conspectu Principum commorari illustres viros, potissimum scientia eruditioneque praestantes. Nam cum tua in aula regisque penetralibus huiusmodi honori sint ac decori, quanto magis, ut sic dixerim, litterarum monumentis tecum sociati laudem afferent immortalis famae tuae! Quamobrem tuas laudes consequentur, ut de sole inquit Cicero, alter Veneris, alter Mercurii cursus, praestantissimi et optimi aetatis nostrae viri, Alfonsus Hispanus Burgensis episcopus honor saeculi nostri, cui sextum presentis operis ascripsimus, ac Franciscus Pizolpassus Mediolanensis praesul unicum

<sup>25</sup> The Munich MS. adds ' viii Idus Februarias ' (Pauli, v. 668 n. 5); and so H.—ED.

<sup>26</sup> ' Quo ' H.

<sup>27</sup> The Munich MS. adds ' iii Idus Octob. in manerio nostro de. . . ' (Pauli, l.c. n. 6). H. has ' Data quarto Idus octobris in nostro Manerio de.'—ED.

<sup>28</sup> Verg. *Aen.* vi. 487, 488.

<sup>29</sup> ' Humanitatis postremo splendoris dignitatis ' H.

<sup>30</sup> ' Exhortatio ' H.

pietatis religionisque praeconium, quem ideo traductionis nostrae decimo dignum aestimavimus, ut qui sacra, cerimonias, omnemque divinitatis cultum religiosissime semper excoluit sacratissimo immortalitatis opere non fraudetur: hoc enim intermistum scribendi genus non insuetum praeclaris viris sed a Varrone sapientissimo Latinorum omnium frequentatum est. His tribus igitur singulos libros assignavimus. Totam vero<sup>31</sup> caelestem Politiam consecramus tuo nomini. Quod felix faustumque sit tuae immortalitati, ac perpetuae famae regiae domus tuae, maiorumque tuorum. Vale, Princeps illustrissime.

f. 62<sup>v</sup>.]

V.

[1440.]

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Humfredo Duci Cloucestrensi.*

Ecce Princeps optime et illustrissime, ut paream votis dignitatis tuae, quam ob singularem virtutem atque humanitatem veneror ac diligo, mitto eidem libros quinque Platonicae Politiae, per me fideliter e Graecis litteris in Latinas versos, quamquam tumultuarie perscriptos, ne desiderium dignitatis tuae retardarem: residuos vero quinque, quorum epigrammata in fine huius voluminis annotata sunt, prosequar in Dei laudem et decus praeclarissimi nominis tui, ita ut eos videas integros et absolutos et posteritati tuae quodammodo intersis. Quippe cum certus sim hos aut nunquam aut tarde profecto esse perituros, tanta elegantia sententiarumque nitent pondere, et iam in famae tuae gloriam atque decus non solum per universam leguntur Italiam, sed ad Hispaniae fines usque penetrarunt. Continuissem et hos usque ad reliquorum confectionem, sed tuum ut dixi desiderium divini operis lectione diutius veritus sum defraudare. Iocundissimum tamen mihi foret si tuum nomen litteris perceptum ipsis librorum principiis queam annotare. Haec erit igitur summa petitionis meae, primum ut hos diligenter legas, videas, evolvas saepenumero; nihil profecto fatebere te unquam legisse luculentius, nihil utilius: deinde ut maiora indies a me et lucubratiora expectes opera. Nam quicquid ingenio studio disciplina assequi potero, id omne vertam in laudem tui nominis sempiternam. Vale.

f. 63<sup>r</sup>.]

VI.

[1440.]

*Humfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

Expectatissimas litteras tuas accepimus una cum Platonis libris, Candide lepidissime, quorum quidem adventus adeo carissimus nobis et gratissimus fuit, ut nulla potuissemus affici maiori voluptate, praesertim cum id verissimum sit quod scribis eos maxime dignitatem nostram et decus aspicere. Ex quo tibi maximas habemus gratias, habebimusque quoad vitam tuebimur, quod tantum tamquam arduum ac excellentissimum opus nostra causa ac nomine elaboraveris. Unde certum est, et nos tua hac opera ac studio, et te etiam non mediocrem laudem et gloriam exportaturum. Sunt enim eiusmodi ut etiam invitum ad legendum excitarent. Tanta est Platonis in primis gravitas et elegantia, tum etiam orationis tuae adeo aptissima interpretatio, ut non possimus recte dicere, cui potissimum magis debeamus, an sibi quod Princeps huius disciplinae

<sup>31</sup> The Munich MS. has 'vere' (Pauli, l.c.)—Ed.

extiterit an tibi quod sepultam tam ac paene extinctam negligentia nostra excitari et in lucem efferri pro virili parte studueris. Egregiam quidem et praestantissimam tibi provinciam delegisti, et quae certe nulla unquam poterit aetate consumi, neque ulla oblivione deleri, si modo ea vera sunt quae a sapientissimis viris traduntur, immortalem scilicet esse gloriam. Legimus eos ac perlegimus: adeoque iocundissima fuit eius lectio doctrina et gravitas, tum etiam interpretationis tuae dignitas ac elegantia, ut illud nobis instituerimus, seu domi seu militiae fuerimus, nunquam a nostro latere discedere, quae certe si non cum illa divina Platonis eloquentia se conferre posset, parum tamen nostra quidem sententia videatur inferior; ut habeamus semper cum quo possimus oblectari, ac reliquum vitae cursum qui nobis a negociis vacat conquiescere, sintque nobis quasi comites ac consultores vitae degendae, ut dicitur Agamemnoni illi Graecorum Principi Nestoris senis sapientiam extitisse, ac Aeneae nostro Achatem illum socium fidissimum. Sicque eodem in loco et Platonem ipsum et Candidum intuebimur et admirabimur; qui non minus certe quam nos ipsi pro dignitate nostra videtur elaborare. Propterea te hortamur tibi que persuademus, et si possumus etiam impellimus, ut ad caetera perficienda omnem animum tuum ac studium vertas, quo perfectos hos libros contemplemur, quorum desiderio ac voluptate mirifice affecti sumus. Nec existima quicquam posse nobis afferri gratius quam ea quae pertinent ad disciplinam cultumque litterarum. Nos vero habes ac habebis quoad voles, qui semper tuis studiis favebimus. Verum Livium habemus aliosque praestantes viros, et omnia fere Ciceronis opera quae reperiuntur. Si quid tamen habes egregii, rogamus facias nos etiam participes. Vale. Ex Londoniis.

f. 63<sup>v</sup>.]

VII.

[1440.]

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo domino Humfredo duci Cloucestrensi.*

Quo tardiores eo gratiores mihi fuere litterae tuae, Princeps illustrissime, quas Londonii datas X<sup>o</sup> Kalendas Aprilis, XII<sup>o</sup> Kalendas Iulias accepi. In his humanitatem dignitatis tuae non incognitam iam pridem mihi penitus inspexi ex eloquentissimis nec minus sapientissimis verbis tuis, ex quibus summe gavisus sum placuisse virtuti tuae Platonis libros qui profecto nisi virtute digno principi nullo modo placere potuissent. Sed alias litteris ipsis uberius a me dabitur responsum. Nunc autem residuos quinque libros a me perfectos esse scito. Quin immo ut mage admireris, eo temporis momento quo litterae dignitatis tuae redditae sunt mihi, summam manum decimo imponebam, itaque ab immortali Deo datum puto ut hoc singulare et pium opus famae et honori tuo solum tribuatur. Curabo itaque ut transcriptum quoad celerius fieri possit ad praesentiam tuam transmittatur. Decrevi enim ut decem descriptum libris<sup>32</sup> integrum ad te volumen veniat, eo dumtaxat ordine ut nihil desit ad perfectam operis consumationem, et inter elegantissima Latinae linguae opera annumerari queat. Precor itaque ne reliquos prius in lucem efferri sinas, quam omnes videris in unumque contuleris. Nam ut arbitror quaedam fortasse mutabuntur aut corrigentur a me, quae minus per partes emendari potuere, nunc integro veluti in corpore perfecta facilius emen-

<sup>32</sup> The transcript has 'librum.'

dationis nostrae ferulam admittent. Reliquum est ut habeam illustre nomen tuum, ut omnibus in libris praeferri et posteritati commendari possit. Vale, Princeps illustrissime.

f. 64r.]

VIII.

[1440.]

*Humfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

Idibus Septembribus litterae tuae ad nos delatae sunt, Candide suavissime. Quae etsi tardiusculae ipsae fuerint quam expectabamus, non tamen nobis minus gratiae ac iocundae extiterunt, praesertim cum significarent reliquos illos Platonis libros abs te iam perfectos esse, atque cum primum emendaveris eos [te] ad nos missurum. Quod quidem quam avidè intellexerimus haud possemus tibi satis explicare, cum quicquid studii animi ac ingenii habeamus, tum etiam quicquid oicii a nostris occupationibus subtrahere possimus, id totum in eis legendis ac relegendis consumamus; habemusque tibi non mediocres gratias quod noluisti<sup>33</sup> nos privari huiusmodi iocunditate, habebimusque tibi etiam maiores si non patieris nos diutius eos expectare, neque perferre longiorem sitim. Nam satis constat eam rem et tibi et Latinae linguae decori ac ornamento fore, nos quoque partem aliquam eius laudis consecuturum, quod nomini nostro dedicati sint. De libris autem quos scribis apud vos esse, id nobis gratissimum esse existima, cum certissimum sit nos maxime librorum excellentia et dignitate delectari, nec ulla posse deterreri mensura, et praesertim si qui sint digni laude, ut Cornelius Celsus et Plinii Physica et Panegiricon, et Apuleius ille, tum etiam Varronis opera quaeque reperiuntur, et in primis illud de origine linguae Latinae, cum ea maxime effectamus quae ad animae eruditionem maxime pertinent. Caeteri vero de quibus antea scripsimus, etsi scimus ob inconcinnam interpretationem ab auctoribus suis plurimum delirasse,<sup>34</sup> nec ipsi tantum abiendi sunt propter eorum auctoritatem ac probatissimam disciplinam. Tuum erit igitur, Candide mi, eorum precium ad nos scribere quanto vel facti vel conficiendi constarent: nam id tibi per mercatores assignare quam primum ut scribis faceremus. Vale et nobis etiam utere.

f. 64v.]

IX.

[1441.]

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Humfredo Duci Cloucestrensi.*

Adlatae mihi sunt litterae dignitatis tuae, illustrissime Princeps, quae licet tardiores aliquantum fuerint ac sperabam non minori tamen me ac solite sunt affecere voluptate. Ex his et valetudinem dignitatis tuae novi, qua nihil, Deum testor, mihi potest esse iocundius, et memoriam nostrae amicitiae non omnino a te neglectam intellexi. Habet hoc in se potissimum sincerus amor, quod summos imis non beneficio tantum sed caritate benivolentiaque coniungit. Cupidus igitur mandatis tuis obsequendi Platonis Politiam decem digestam libris, et a me iam tandem absolutam quam ocissime scribendam procuravi. Essetque iam ad iter ut ita dicam et propinqua tuae dignitati, nisi scriptoris ipsius tarditas et tempus obstitissent. Indicem etiam librorum tuorum diligenter inspexi, ac mirifice tuo studio ac diligentia in comparandis illustrium virorum

<sup>33</sup> The transcript has 'voluisti.'

<sup>34</sup> Transcript 'delirasse.'

ingeniis oblectatus sum, quamquam multos deesse tuae claritati exemplariorum potius inopia quam negligentia ulla aut oblivione crediderim. Nam ni fallor centum et amplius probata volumina ad bibliothecam tuam desunt exornandam, si indicem librorum ipsorum rite suscepi, ut per copiam his annexam<sup>35</sup> intueri facillime licebit. Quaeso itaque a tua dignitate, Princeps Illustrissime, ne hac divina et preciosa suppellectile domum tuam carere sinas. Nihil est enim in Principe praeclarium quam librorum et quidem probatorum copia abundare, potissime cum perfacile tibi sit mea opera id posse consequi. In qua re diligentiam et fidem meam profecto nesses: qui nihil nisi famam et honorem virtutis tuae cupio, et nomen tuum quantum in me est aeternis laudibus illustrare. Non potest in re quae omnium rerum pretia exuperat pretium esse non leve, quamquam omnia ita diligenter a me fient, ut in merce utili, etiam comoditate tua perfruaris. Nec enim ii libri uno impetu haberi possunt aut rite comparari, verum diutim prout commoditas sese offeret, aut scribendi disponentur, aut si scripti et venales forte affuerint, coementur, sicque ad tuam dignitatem per partes et tempora assidue dirigentur, ut aliquid continue novi habeas, quo animum oblectes tuum. Sicque diutim insistendo modica quodammodo impensa, nec longo quidem tempore insignem ac perpetuo acceptissimam bibliothecam comparabis et quae non studiis solum tuis, sed famae prosit et posteris. Politiam autem perfecte absolutam et ornate transcriptam, ut decet celsitudini tuae, destinabo in Kalendis Martii proxime venturis, et iam a pluribus requisita Principibus in laudem tui nominis effulxit. Nam ab Illustre Leonello Marchione Estensi summo cum desiderio requisita et habita, et pro rege Hispaniae a milite insigni domino Henrico<sup>36</sup> nuper expetita et integre transcripta, perpetuam ut arbitror gloriam adlatura est tuae dignitati. Vale, Princeps humanissime.

f. 65<sup>v</sup>.]

X.

[1441.]

*Humphredus Dux Cloucestriae Petro Candido salutem.*

Fasciculus quidam litterarum abs te nuper nobis allatus est quae fere eodem exemplo conscriptae erant. Scribis enim in primis Politiam Platonis iam omnino abs te absolutam esse, neque distulisse hucusque iter ad nos nisi infestatione quadam multorum flagitantium exemplaria. Quod autem absoluta sit, gaudemus vehementer cum plura eam existimemus multarum rerum pretiosissimo thesauro; quod autem retardetur, non possimus nisi moleste ferre, cum intercipiatur hac tam expectata voluptate. Quo nobis nihil gravius. Recepimus etiam indicem librorum quibus scribis nos carere: elegimusque ex eis non nullos quos si poteris nobis vindicare rem certe gratissimam facies. Caeteros et longe etiam plures etsi non scripserimus, existima tamen apud nos esse, verum istis de quibus scribimus [nos] omnino carere. Et ut facilius tibi sit habendi aditus, tum etiam ut carriorem te Principi tuo reddamus, sibi litteras una scribimus, quas videbis istis alligatas. Recipies quoque indicem librorum quos abs te vellemus, una cum his litteris. Felix de Fagnano, quem voles nobis commendatum esse, sentiet profecto quanti faciamus commendationem

<sup>35</sup> Transcript 'amuxam.'<sup>36</sup> 'Don henico' in the transcript.



tuam, si quaesierit operam nostram. Tuum erit modo nobis quoque confidentissime utere. Vale. Ex Londoniis.

. 66r.]

XI.<sup>37</sup>

[1441.]

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Humfredo duci Cloucestrensi.*

Habes tandem mea opera Platonis libros quos optasti, Princeps illustrissime, sic fideliter interpretatos a me ut claritas in primis tua et virtus merebantur. Quid enim amplius cuperem quam dignitati tuae prius satisfacere, dein famae meae, quae eo clarius evasura videbatur, quo diligentius spectaretur? Quippe quae illustria sunt latere nullo modo possunt. Quod si praesentium livorum<sup>38</sup> quippiam ex studiis nostris laeserit secusve momorderit, venient qui sive arrogantia iudicent sive invidia, et Platoni nostro tum nobis laudes condignas referant. Nunquam virtus premio suo defraudata est: his igitur nos animum adiecimus, nec pusilla hac et brevi aetate deliniti in aevum gloriam nomenque degessimus; paucorum nempe iudicare est, carpere multorum. Si qua autem a nobis aut licentius repetita aut incultius perscripta videbuntur, ignoscendum curae ac diligentiae nostrae reor, quae a Platonis voluntate nullo lenocinio discedere praesumpserit aut illius auctoritati quicquam anteferre, qui non modo quid diceret, sed quid sentiret elaborare visus est. Tu vero quam amplissimum munus a nobis habes, et tua sapientia virtuteque dignissimum, quale nullum praesens aetas ostensura est, et ventura tempora posteritati diutius commendabunt. Vale, immortalis Princeps.

f. 66r.]

XII.

[1441.]

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo domino Humfredo duci Cloucestrensi.*

Illustrissime Princeps, accedit ad praesentiam dignitatis tuae Reverendus dominus meus Baiocensis, qui quantum affectus sit tuae claritati nec calamo nec ore sufficienter possem explicare. Nihil aliud cogitat, nihil curat, aut cupit amplius, quam illustrem faciem tuam intueri, ad quam posthabitis omnibus viarum discriminibus contempto mari et fluctibus sic accelerat, quasi in caelum migraturus, et Deum ad faciem ut de Moyse scriptum legimus inspecturus. Is igitur dignitatem tuam certam faciet, quid in re sua egerim ac quid deinceps acturus sim. Deum testor nihil aequae me exoptare quam ut votis tuis paream; in qua re nullam curam aut diligentiam omitto. Quaero itaque opera illa in primis adipisci quae tibi gratiora futura existimo, eaque librariis exaranda dietim iniungo. Est quidem non exigua apud nos librorum caritudo, nec minus difficulter exemplaria ipsa conquiruntur: quae res facit ut aliena culpa in re vestra negligentior appaream. Non deero tamen quoad aliorum tarditatem diligentia mea superavero. Sed tempore opus est ut mos geratur tuae dignitati. Misi itaque particulam quandam librorum per mercatores de Boneromeis, mittam et alios in brevi. Et subinde mittendo non desinam, quoad plene per partes tandem satisfactum erit a me claritati tuae. Vale.

<sup>37</sup> This letter is given also in the Ambrosian manuscript (A.) after no. xix. I has supplied me with one correction.—ED. E.H.R.

<sup>38</sup> So A: transcript 'livor.'

f. 66\*.]

XIII.

[1441.]

*Hunfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

Superioribus litteris nostris quas ad te misimus tibi significabamus, quo pacto litteras tuas antea acceperamus indicatrices tuae in nos voluntatis ac studii, tum etiam indicem quemdam librorum quos nobis deesse existimabas.<sup>39</sup> Ex quibus non nullos elegimus ut transcriberentur, quorum etiam indicem nostrum cum eis litteris ad te misimus. Scripsimus etiam ad Principem tuum Mediolanensem litteras nostras, una cum tuis, quibus rogabamus ut bibliothecae suae tibi daretur copia, tum etiam ut nostro nomine te haberet commendatum, proponens sibi virtutis tuae optima exempla. Quas quidem si accepisti necne prorsus ignoramus. Ideo has quoque ad te mittere cum eodem indice nostro instituimus, quo certior sit voluntas nostra. Dominus episcopus Baiocensis proximis his diebus ad nos venit: multaque de tuo in nos animo ac singulari virtute tua praedicavit, pro quibus tibi gratias habemus non modicas. Nondum tamen adhuc eos libros recepimus quos scribis ad nos destinatos esse, de quibus etiam ipse episcopus noster nobis enarravit, neque quos per terram misisti neque quos per aquam, cum necdum triremes Florentinorum littori nostro applicuerint. Cum primum advenerint significabimus. Vale et nobis quoque utere. Ex Londoniis.

Cod. Ambros. I. 235 inf.]

XIV.

1 June 1444.

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Principi Hunfredo duci Cloucestrensi.*

Suscepi nuper litteras tuas,<sup>40</sup> Princeps illustrissime, emanatas e Placentia<sup>41</sup> diversorio tuo Kal. Martiis, quorum continentia non mediocriter me afflixit, ita ut vix respondendi initium inveniam. Scribis enim his verbis: Non possumus non admirari, Candide carissime, ex hac tua nescimus quo nomine appellemus vel taciturnitate vel tarditate vel oblivione nostri, cum iam fere annus<sup>42</sup> excesserit, quo nullas omnino abs te litteras aut libros habuerimus. Quid ad haec dicam, Princeps illustrissime, loqui vereor, cum multis litteris iam pridem dominationi tuae missis, responsione tua indignus habitus sum, et haec culpa in me flectitur, qui taciturnitatem tuam non possum non admirari: quod si error in me fuisset, paterer utique equo animo, non vero cum tua claritas audaciam inscribendi dederit cur responsione defraudarer?<sup>43</sup> Haec profecto nec dignitatis tuae culpa, nec oblivionis meae causa perveniunt, sive in felicitatem quaedam successere. Ita solet fortuna in omnibus, ut veritas falsa permisceat. Itaque paulo altius repetam quae silere potuisset quisquis dignitati tuae blandiretur, nec eam sincere coleret: ego amorem tuum omnibus rebus antepono et pluris facio libertatem permistam veritati omni assentacione et vanitate. Novit tua dignitas quid scripserim, cum traducere Politiam Platonis destinassem et nomini tuo consecrare, numquid mentitus sum; nonne pollicita executus, in qua transferenda annos tres sine ulla intermissione consumpsi, ut amorem tuum promererer? Viditne ex hoc tua claritas me minus propitiorem, quod humanitati tuae diffiderem? Quinimmo cum eadem stipendium mihi obtulisse[t] perfecto iam opere, nec id suscepis-

<sup>39</sup> Transcript 'existimabis.'<sup>40</sup> See below no. xvii.<sup>41</sup> *I.e.* Pleshey.<sup>42</sup> Transcript 'animus.'<sup>43</sup> Transcript 'defraudorum.'

sem, non destiti tamen ab officio meo. Ita enim in litteris tuis continebatur ex Londonio Kal. Iulij 1441 : Deliberavimus te centum ducatis anno stipendio condonare, et iam id incipissemus efficere nisi nos interceptisset quaedam <sup>44</sup> quasi suspitio principis tui ne fortasse in aliam partem acciperet officium nostrum, [et] dum <sup>45</sup> tibi prodesse conaremur, obessemus. Voluimus propterea id tibi prius significare ut sive hac via sive alia quavis meliore, nos existimes tibi complacere posse, id nobis tuis litteris confidentissime declares, nam pro viribus enitemur ut officio nostro minime defuisse videamur. Demum aliis litteris tuis ex Grannico <sup>46</sup> diversorio tuo Idibus Iulii sic insertum est : Cum percipere potueris ex frequentissimis litteris nostris, quanti faciamus officium tuum. Idque ut et facilius cognosceres decreveramus tibi annum stipendium centum videlicet ducatorum, nisi timuissemus ne in aliquam suspensionem te coniecissemus cum principe <sup>47</sup> tuo, et officio in te nostro potius offenderemus quam iuvaremus, ut in prioribus litteris nostris tibi significabamus, cupientes maxime tuum in hac re prius animum cognoscere ; demum additis, quicquid in tua re nos iudicabis facturos facile impetrabis. Itaque ne forte silendo displicerem, scripsi dominationi tuae me provisionem non admittere ; narravi tamen fideliter necessitatem meam et precium villae olim Francisci Petrarcae piis precibus ab eadem postulavi, non quidem eo pacto ut necessitatem ullam sibi imponeret, sed ut sciret qua via mihi complacere posset quemadmodum litterae tuae continebant ; quam postulationem cum duplicatis <sup>48</sup> edidissem litteris, usque in praesentem diem responsione indignus habitus sum. Non destiti propterea silentio tuo deterritus, tamen nulla in me culpa dici potest. <sup>49</sup> Quis enim provocatus a principe tanta humanitate, tanta munificencia non respondeat ? Quod si minus prudenter responsum est a me, vincat[ur] tamen offerentis benignitas acceptantis lenitate. Quorsum haec ? ut intelligat tua dignitas nulla[m] in me vel taciturnitatem vel tarditatem vel oblivionem affuisse, sed silentio tuo deterritum siluisse. Et quoniam his ipsis tuis litteris adiungitur te in suspicionem incidisse saepenumero non fidei sed validudinis meae, dicam breviter quae sentio. Ego, Princeps illustrissime, quadagesimum nondum annum superavi, et tamen iuxta Platonem tuum optimum iam dedi experimentum fidei meae. Itaque mihi imputari merito potest ab ullo quod fidem in discrimen afferat. Nam<sup>o</sup> qui in magno fidelis est, merito in parvo fidem promeretur. Quam ob rem si quae sponte tua claritas mihi obtulit sponte recusavi, quid in his ulterius suspicari debuit ? Librorum enim maiorem ut arbitror partem tibi destinavi, partem cum penes me habeam misissem nisi obstitissent tuae litterae. Habeo quippe Collumellam de re rustica, omnia Apulegii opera, horum traductionem emendatam, magnum opus, parata omnia. Sed cum illa assignem nescio, cum scribat tua dignitas in litteris datis ex Placentia diversorio tuo Kal. Augusti his verbis : <sup>50</sup> Propterea volumus te deinceps admonitum esse, ne quid amplius eisdem merchatoribus committas quid ad nos deferri oporteat, cum parum diligentes sint in rebus nostris. Cui igitur committam ? Nuntios nullos habeo. Itaque scribat tua sublimitas, cui illos

<sup>44</sup> Transcript 'quondam ;' but see below, no. xviii.

<sup>46</sup> Greenwich, see below, no. xv.

<sup>48</sup> Transcript 'duplicitis.'

<sup>50</sup> See below, no. xvi.

<sup>45</sup> Transcript 'domino.'

<sup>47</sup> Transcript 'principio.'

<sup>49</sup> Transcript 'posse.'

et xvi

libros assignem et nulla in me erit mora, magis enim cupio illos mittere quam dominatio tua suscipere aveat, et in absentia mea impedimento fuisset iam omnia perfecta habuisse.<sup>51</sup> Steti quidem ferme toto anno praeterito absens in Romana curia legatus a principe meo, qua in legatione vix otium studio suppeditare potui; non immemor tamen officii mei, si quae transcribere nequibam,<sup>52</sup> perfecta quaerere non destiti. Nihil est igitur, quod menti tuae merito dubitationem possit afferre; non enim premio moveor, sed propria erga personam tuam caritate, proprio etiam ex debito, cui teneor, hoc refero, quia in tuis litteris aliter suspicari videtur tua do[mi]natio, dum dicit: Neque te moveant nostra silentia in tuorum laborum mercedem. Nam secus invenies in fine fortasse quam cogitaveras ab initio, neminem [enim] passi sumus immunem abire qui nobis aliquam aliquando operam aut studium praestiterit. Ego certe silentio moveor, mercede non utique: si quid liberius exegi, tua oblatione ac humanitate inductus sum, non spe<sup>53</sup> mea concitatus. Credidi plus placere obsequendo quam tacendo promereri. Quam ob rem nihil est quod ulterius a claritate tua petam nisi benevolentiam et amorem; fidem ipsam inconcussam servabo, cetera fragilia et caduca, quamquam in hac temporum condicione mihi necessaria<sup>54</sup> praeteream. Multa passus sum quae tollerasse grave fuit, nihil acerbius pati possem quam<sup>55</sup> cum his etiam amore dignitatis tuae spoliari, quod avertat Deus. Ex Mediolano Kal. Iunij 1444.

XV.

15 July [1442-3?]

*Hunfredus Cloucestrie Dux Petro Candido salutem.*<sup>56</sup>

Nuper ad nos litterae tuae delatae sunt, Candide mi, XII Kal. Iunias scriptae, quibus nobis significavisti,<sup>57</sup> nonnullos libros ad nos misisse, de quibus antea ad te scripseramus optime recepisse, praeter<sup>58</sup> eos quos hisce in litteris tuis commemoras, videlicet Catonem et Varronem de agricultura, Lucium Florum cum alio Epitomate, id est Livium, et Phisicam Plinii cum illis tuis declamationibus de quibus scribis, cum adhuc minime attigerint<sup>59</sup> littus nostrum. Sed speremus eos quoque in brevi affuturos, nec unquam deesse nobis fidem et diligentiam tuam, quam non modo cognitam<sup>60</sup> saepius sed saepius etiam perspectissimam et probavimus et sensimus.<sup>61</sup> Hec est ut tuis in litteris ad nos scribis, cum neminem adhuc noverimus que tuum erga nos offitium non summe laudarit. Quinimmo admiramur plurimum quod in eam<sup>62</sup> nescimus quo pacto suspicionem incideris, nec existimes nos quoque et mente et cognitione rerum humanarum participare nec ea perspicere quae facile quis perspicere posset, cum libri tui huiusmodi sint ut per se quales sint facile indicant, sintque et omnium conspectu dignissimi et auctoritate probandi; propterea te hortamur tibi que persuademus, ut ea qua coepisti via bono animo contendas neque terrearis vanis rumoribus, quibus nec nos nunquam facile aures praebuimus, non

<sup>51</sup> Transcript 'perfecta habuisset.'

<sup>52</sup> Transcript 'nequibant.'

<sup>53</sup> Transcript 'necessariam.'

<sup>54</sup> These six words here and in the following letter are repeated in the transcript.

<sup>57</sup> Transcript 'significabis.'

<sup>59</sup> Transcript 'attigerint.'

<sup>61</sup> Transcript 'sensus.'

<sup>55</sup> Transcript 'sepe.'

<sup>58</sup> Transcript 'quia.'

<sup>58</sup> Transcript 'propter.'

<sup>60</sup> Transcript 'cogitam.'

<sup>62</sup> Transcript 'ea.'

tantum coniecimus animum, cum percipere potueris ex <sup>63</sup> frequentissimis litteris nostris quanti faciamus officium tuum. Idque ut et <sup>64</sup> facilius cognosceres, decreveramus tibi annum stipendium centum videlicet ducatorum, nisi timuissemus ne in aliquam suspicionem te coniecissemus cum principe tuo, et officio in te nostro potius offendere[mus] quam iuvaremus, ut in superioribus litteris nostris tibi significavimus, <sup>65</sup> cupientes maxime tuum in hac re prius animum cognoscere. Deinceps igitur nec amplius pertimescas huiusmodi rumores et quod tua in re nos iudicabis facturos facile impetrabis. Vale. Ex Granico diversorio nostro idibus Iulii 1444.

## XVI.

[1 Aug. 1442-3.]

*Humfredus Cloucestriae Dux Petro Candido salutem.*

Etsi superioribus litteris nostris tibi significaverimus ea quatuor volumina quae scribis postremo ad nos misisse nondum ad manus nostras pervenisse, demum tamen cum ea recepimus instituimus tibi ut polliciti fueramus eorum ad nos adventum significare, cum vix tandem longam anni unius expectationem ut arbitramur ad nos delati sunt. Quod nescimus si aut viarum difficultate factum sit aut potius mercatorum negotio <sup>66</sup> quod magis existimamus: propterea vellemus te deinceps admonitum esse, ne quid amplius eisdem mercatoribus committas quod ad nos deferri oporteat, cum parum diligentes sint in rebus nostris; tuam vero diligentiam laudamus approbamusque, tum in mittendis, tum etiam in apparandis libris, cum nobis videatur omne tuum animum curam et diligentiam ad id coniectum esse. Vale. Ex Placentia diversorio nostro Kal. Augusti 1444.

## XVII.

[1444.]

*Hunfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

Non possumus non admirari, Candide carissime, ex hac tua nescimus quo nomine appellemus vel taciturnitate vel tarditate vel potius oblivione nostri, cum iam fere annus excesserit, quo nullas omnino abs te aut litteras aut libros habuerimus, quos nobis iam pridem frequentioribus litteris tuis promisisti te in brevi destinaturum. Ex quo in suspicionem incidimus saepenumero, non fidei tuae, quam certo scimus inviolabilem ac incorruptam esse, sed valitudinis quam cognoscimus facile unicuique mortalium permutari posse; cum huiusmodi ut nosti conditionibus subiecti scimus ut non sit in potestate nostra ob naturae fragilitatem evadere. Propterea instituimus has litteras ad te scribere, quibus velimus te rogare, ut quod cepisti opus peragas; neque te moveant nostra silentia in tuorum laborum mercedem, nam secus invenies in fine fortasse quam cogitaveras ab initio, neminem enim passi sumus <sup>67</sup> immunem abire qui nobis aliquam aliquando operam aut studium praestiterit. Ideo te et hortamur et rogamus ut eam quam incepisti viam peragas non secus quam confidimus ac superamus. Vale. Ex Placentia diversorio nostro Kal. Martiis.

<sup>63</sup> Transcript 'et.'<sup>64</sup> Transcript 'et ut.'<sup>65</sup> Transcript 'significabimus.'<sup>66</sup> Transcript 'negotia.'<sup>67</sup> Transcript 'potuimus'; but see no. xiv. above.

*Hunfredus Dux Cloucestrensis Petro Candido salutem.*

Recepimus tandem optatissimum munus tuum Platonicae Politiae, Candide mi, quo ut sepius ad te scripseramus incredibili quodam desiderio afficiebamur eius visendi, ut intueri ac contemplari possemus divinam illam divulgatissimam Platonis mentem. Quam quidem non minus ac celeste quoddam sydus et colimus et observamus. Agimus propterea tibi quantas possimus gratias pro tam immortalis munere. Volumus et referre ut intelligas non frustra hunc laborem pro nobis suscepisse, maioresque capias deinceps animos nobis huiusmodi in rebus operam praestare, cum nulla res sit qua<sup>68</sup> maiorem possemus inter assiduas occupationes nostras iocunditatem aucupare. Nos institueramus te centum ducatis annuo stipendio condonare. Et iam id incepissemus efficere nisi nos interceptisset quaedam quasi suspitio principis tui ne fortasse in aliam partem acciperet officium nostrum, et dum tibi prodesse conaremur obessemus. Voluimus propterea id tibi prius significare ut sive hac via sive alia quavis meliori nos aestimes tibi complacere posse id nobis tuis litteris confidentissime declares, nam<sup>69</sup> pro viribus enitemur ut officio nostro minime defuisse videamur. Recepimus etiam ea novem librorum volumina quae scribis tuis litteris ad nos misisse, quae itidem nobis gratissima fuerunt. Expectamus reliquos maxima cum aviditate. Qui si applicuerint tibi confestim significabimus. Sed in primis Ciceronem de productione et creatione mundi,<sup>70</sup> Aulungelium perfectum,<sup>71</sup> Cerelium de natali die,<sup>72</sup> Apuleum de magia et ipsius libros floridorum, Collumellam de agricultura, Vitruvium de architectura, et librum illum de totius imperii Romani dignitatibus et insignibus, Pomponium Melam, et Ptolomei Cosmographiam, et librum de omnibus imaginibus caeli, et Sexti aut Festi Pomponii<sup>73</sup> de vocabulis. Hos cum in primis desideramus, si etiam praemiseris, iocundiori animo accipiemus et potissimum si emendati accesserint. Vale. Ex Londonio, primo Kal. Iulij.

## XIX.

*Petrus Candidus illustrissimo Hunfredo Duci Cloucestrensi.*

Nisi tua dignitas sequentibus litteris clariorem me fecisset te volumina illa recepisse de quibus dubitare videbaris, non mediocri tristitia affligerer anxius aliae perfidiae culpam a me esse subeundam. Nunc autem timor ille in gaudium conversus est. Nam ut arbitror Politiam integram Platonis brevi a me suscipies, quam Scaramuciae Balbo ducali oratori ad te referendam tradidi, qui cum fidus sit, sollicitus, diligens, et amicorum amantissimus, non dubito hac te cura meque simul relevabit. Caeteros quos requiris libros brevi mittam tuae claritati, cui me recomendo. Ex Mediolano ultimo Augusti.

<sup>68</sup> Transcript ' unam.'

<sup>69</sup> Transcript ' non.'

<sup>70</sup> Apparently the translation of the *Timaeus*.—ED. E.H.R.

<sup>71</sup> Transcript ' profectum.'

<sup>72</sup> Censorini *de Die natali ad Q. Caerellium*.—ED. E.H.R.

<sup>73</sup> Sextus Pompeius Festus, *de Verborum Significatu*; not Sextus Pomponius, the jurist.—ED. E.H.R.

Harl. MS. 1705 f. 5]

XX.

*P. Candidi Decembris oratoris. In translatione novissima totius Politie Platonis Atheniensis philosophi prestantissimi Prefatio. Incipit feliciter Ad Illustrissimum et Litteratissimum dominum Ducem Cloucestrensem Anglum Principem.*<sup>74</sup>

Cum singularis, ac prope divine virtutis tue, litteratissime princeps, ad extremas orbis partes fama penetrarit, ad nos tamen cum plurimorum testimonio tum vel maxime prestantissimi presulis Zenonis Castellonei Baiocensis Episcopi auctoritate confirmata est, qui tuum nomen quantum in se fuit, assiduis laudationum preconiiis immortalitati consecravit, adeo ut nec viarum labor aut insule distantia, vel Britanici potius maris importunitas, gloriam tuam obtegere potuerint. Que res profecto me impulit, ut si qua ex studiis memoratu digna in lucem prodirent, ea tue glorie ac dignitati putarem referenda. Ceterum cum illa vel scriptorum copia atque auctoritate, vel tuorum diligentia tibi nota dicerentur, Aristotelis quoque Politie muneri te fraudatum audiremus, visum est hos Platonis libros, cum verborum claritate, tum sententiarum pondere illi proponendos ad te mittere. Quorum quidem peregrinationem, et errores ut ita dicam Ulixeos, postremo tuum apud nomen laboris requiem, curarumque finem ut intelligas, pauca non ab re dignitati tue breviter expediam. Emanuel Crisoloras natione Grecus, vir non solum patriis institutus litteris, verum omnium bonarum artium studiis ornatus, cum in Italiam venisset, adeo ingenii sui facultatem eruditus omnibus prestitisse visus est, ut non solum illi presens etas gratias debere, sed posteritas quoque, ac maiorum nostrorum monumenta videantur. Nam quicquid aut vetustate obrutum aut incitiam deperditum, presentibus litteris illustratum est, ab illo defluxit. Hinc Arretinus,<sup>75</sup> hinc Veronensis,<sup>76</sup> hinc multi preclari viri prodire quorum industria effectum est, ut qui paulo ante ne nostrorum quidem res gestas teneremus, aliorum preclara facinora audire et legere possemus. Sed ut ad Emanuelem ipsum redeam, cum plurimos sibi litteris ac virtute potissimum devinctos reddidisset Genitorem tamen meum, virum humanissimum, adeo imprimis dicitur coluisse, ut non modo Grecarum litterarum haberet auditorem, verum omnium consiliorum, totiusque vite sue comitem ascisceret. Habitabat autem ea tempestate vel maxime Ticini, urbe Ligurie antiqua et preclara, divo tunc Iohanne Galeas Vicecomite, primo et felicissimo duce imperante, sub quo et quieta pax et studiis honos, et virtuti precipue laus floruit. Cum multa itaque solitudine uteretur studiosissimus vir, partimque auditorum vacaret disciplinis, partim perscribendis libris inhereret, nec unquam a bonarum artium studiis abstineret, hos potissimum Platonis libros veluti curarum suarum laxamentum, et humanitatis cibum traducere curavit. At vero cum nostrorum disciplinis haud quaquam egregie ea etate frueretur, doctrina prepotentem sermonis gratia decusque destituit. Post quem Ubertus Genitor meus, quantum stilo eniti potuit elegantiores reddere conatus infelicitate quadam temporum imperfectos reliquisse visus est. Hos igitur ut heres non bonorum modo, sed paterni quoque nominis, tuique decoris precipuus amator, postliminio e Grecis litteris, in Latinas versos et ornatos tibi inscribere decrevi, ne aut suo splendore destituti apud nostros legerentur

<sup>74</sup> Thus far in red ink.<sup>75</sup> In margin 'Leonardus.'<sup>76</sup> In margin 'Guarinus.'

Platonis libri, cuius eloquentia inter Grecos singularis est, et tu vel imprimis prudentie magnanimitatis temperantie ac iusticie tue fructum consequerere. Idque presertim a nobis, quod adeo tuo nomini ac dignitati sumus debiti, ut nihil eque ac bene merite de te fame conemur satisfacere. Leges itaque Platonem nostrum, Cloucestrensis Princeps, apud quem divinus ille Socrates de Celesti politia disserere ausus est, memor nihil tam a Grecis aut a nostris accurate scriptum esse quod non horum librorum elegantia superatum sit.

*The English and the Latin Versions of a Peterborough Court Leet, 1461.*

A PEEP behind the clerk's Latin summary of the proceedings of a local court is so seldom vouchsafed that it may be well to set on record certain English sentences, now crumbling to dust among the uncatalogued records belonging to the dean and chapter of Peterborough. They are inscribed upon a scrap of paper attached to a parchment roll which contains the Latin record of the Michaelmas leet held by the steward of the abbot for the borough of Peterborough in 1461. If the paper and the parchment be compared, it will be seen that the clerk's fair Latin copy is not the absolutely faithful record of all that happened in the local court which we are apt to assume it to be in the absence of evidence to the contrary. The bold expressions of the jury have been modified. Was this often the case where, as in the present instance, there were special reasons for such modification? If so, court rolls are not the unimpeachable evidence of social conditions which they appear to be. For local as for central justice we need the report as well as the record.

There were special reasons why the Peterborough record should not tally with the report. The court leet of the borough was a court of the abbot. Though assembled in the name of the king, the only appeal of the Peterborough jury against the abbot or the monastic officers lay to the abbot. It was presumably his steward or a deputy, presiding in his borough court to look after his interests, who took upon himself the duty of purging the report of the jury of all observations likely to offend. After each of the wards of Peterborough, through its constables and tithing men, has presented the offences discovered in the ward, and the surveyors of sewers and the highway have 'presented' a cheerful *omnia bene*, the leet jury endorse and add to the presentments.

The English paper runs—

1.<sup>1</sup> [We]<sup>2</sup> all, the gret inquest of oure souereyn lord kyng, present & confeme all presentmense & maters don in the cownth, except we present

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are not in the original.

<sup>2</sup> The edges of the paper have mouldered away: the words are supplied in brackets.



not noe women that tunne a tangard<sup>3</sup> ale a weke os craftysmen for her howsold & custemers; they are not wurdy to be amersyd; & os for comon brewers & typyllers pat sell ale owth be the mett and lyfe therby, mersy them os they are wurdy, & the ale fonders for to inquere of them in euery ward etc.

2. Also we present the comyn sewer pat ys callyd Martynbrygge in Howgate,<sup>4</sup> that ys nott reperyd, but grete noyng to the kyngs pepu[ll] and catell, that ys lyke to be drownyd both day & nyth for cause of reperyng of the sayd brygge. And os we have knowlege and are informyd ther was gven a place stondyng over pe sayd brygge into the abbey to repeyr yt with; qwych fawth ys in my lord & couent.

3. Also we present & complayn of the awmner of Burgh for clensyng of the comyn sewer that ys from Skyrmuttes place vnto Wyll. Clerke wall in lenkth, that ys 3erly presentyd & neuer amended, but cast up a lytyll to blynd the pepull with etc.

4. [Also] we present & desyre be a speycall commawndment of my lord & the Stuard pat all fylth and corrupeion that comyth owth of the . . . dyke and comyn sewer be avoydyd & caryd away be a certeyn day and in hast, for noyng of the kyngs pepull and the kyngs hy way, to commawnde pe baly<sup>5</sup> perwith etc.

5. Also we present that all the bochers haue in commawndment straytely of my lord & Stuerd that the chyrchzard be clensyd euery Satyrday of bones & fylth that pe bocher doggs bryng in, to be ouer seen wekely be the baly etc.: quilibet sub pena xl d.<sup>6</sup>

6. Also we present John Tendale the qwych ys infekkyd with lepur-schepe fowly, pat ys lyke to infekke pe kyngs pepull. We desyre that he be remeyvd by a day synyd of the Stuerd etc.

7. [Also] we present per schall be iiiii men chosyn to be the Ferers<sup>7</sup> of the cownth, ii chosyn be the baly & ii be the town, & the [great] inquest to do truly & noon excesse to the kyngs pepull etc.

8. Also we present pat all cunstabyll shall haue in commawndment and procleymyd<sup>8</sup> in the markytt oponly, and euery cunstabyll in h[is] ward to see & inquere, yf ther be any ydyll that be comers & goers & wyll nott wyrke os trew pepull shuld, that they be examind & avoyded the town or ellys sett them fast tyll all meen know qwath god pey have to lyffe by.

9. (v<sup>o</sup>) Also we presentt and compleyn of the grevows toll pat the baly take of men and tenawnds of Peterburgh in the town dwellyng and in the parych,<sup>9</sup> of carthys and carygys, the qwych we thynke and desyre be the fredom pat my lor[d] haue, schuld be fre and pardunid. And per of we pray and besech my lord pat yt may so be, for we can nott thynk [but]

<sup>3</sup> The ward presentments contain long lists of men and women charged with tipping (selling by retail) one or two 'tankards' of ale weekly against the assize of ale. They are fined 1*d.* or 2*d.* each. The jurors explain why they do not add the names of others who sell beer by retail unprofessionally.

<sup>4</sup> Now City Road.

<sup>5</sup> The bailiff was also the abbot's officer.

<sup>6</sup> The Latin has been added in another hand.

<sup>7</sup> Affeerors, assessors of fines.

<sup>8</sup> The grammar and meaning are obscure; probably they are to receive their commands and be proclaimed in the market openly.

<sup>9</sup> St. John's parish.

yf yt be contrary yt wyll be full yll payd ; were off we put þis mater in my lord, he to be gode lord to vs all.

10. [Also] we present Herre Raby for a pete brybur, and vntrew to hys neypurse.

The Latin version represents the ten articles thus :—

Duodecim jurati pro domino Rege dicunt super sacramentum suum :—  
[2].<sup>10</sup> quod quedam sewera apud Martenbrig est valde defecta et ruinosa in defectum domini abbatis : ideo provideatur pro emenda eiusdem.

[3]. Et quod elemosinarius burgi non mundat communem seweram a tenemento Ricardi Skirmote usque parietem Willelmi Clerke ad grave dampnum et nocumentum communitatis : ideo ipse in misericordia et procuret <sup>11</sup> emendam citra festum sancti Martini proximum futurum sub pena in capite.<sup>12</sup>

[6]. Item presentant quod Johannes Tendale <sup>13</sup> infectus est cum infirmitate lepre : ideo preceptum est uxori eiusdem Johannis ut ipse amoueat extra domum ad alium locum solitarium quocunque.

[10]. Item presentant quod Henricus Raby est latro communiter de parvis et secretis rebus ad grave n[ocumentum] omnium vicinorum suorum et nichil habet de bonis nec catallis sed corpus eius missum est in gaole <sup>14</sup> domini Regis de Burgo Sancti [Petri].

[1]. Item dicunt quod infra scripti constabularii, decenarii, testes servisie, et supervisores bene et fideliter presentant et preterea que superius patet nullum fecerunt concellamentum. MARY BATESON.

### *Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745.*

THE situation of the province of York on the frontier of Scotland frequently compelled its medieval archbishops to exchange the crozier for the sword. In the reign of Edward II Archbishop Greenfield was at one time too busy in repelling Scottish incursions to be able to attend parliament ; and his successor, Archbishop Melton, fought a pitched battle with the invaders, who sorely discomfited him. These old-world times seemed to have returned when, upon the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745, Archbishop Herring, albeit the meekest of prelates, felt himself enforced to take the lead in organising resistance to the apprehended invasion of the Highland host by enlisting volunteers, convening meetings, concerting measures of defence with the nobility and gentry, and firing the flagging spirit of the country by a famous sermon. This course of action entailed an extensive correspondence with magnates

<sup>10</sup> This and the numbers below have been inserted to show the relationship of the paragraphs to those in the English.

<sup>11</sup> MS. p'3.

<sup>12</sup> 'dim. mar.' is written over the almoner's name.

<sup>13</sup> In the margin 'pena c. s.'

<sup>14</sup> Sic.

in Yorkshire and ministers in London. To none of the latter was the archbishop likely to write with such freedom as to his benefactor Lord Hardwicke, the great chancellor who had made him archbishop of York, and was, much against his own inclination, to make him archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop's letters to him and copies of his answers are extant among the extensive collection of Hardwicke papers recently acquired by the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> and appear well worthy of publication, at least down to the time when, the invasion having been repelled and all fear of its renewal averted, the duke of Cumberland passed through York on his way to take the command of the army in Scotland. They afford a lively picture of the anxieties, emotions, and multitudinous rumours of the time; reveal the general discontent with the administration; and display the prevailing apathy and incredulity, except on the part of the correspondents themselves, at the beginning of the rebellion, soon passing into lively alarm. It really does seem that, if the rebels had elected to march upon London by way of York instead of by way of Manchester, the lord mayor of York might have been reduced to the alternative, contemplated by the archbishop, of running away or of proclaiming the Pretender. The archbishop himself comes out admirably. Without being precisely a born leader of men, he appears endowed with excellent common sense and moral qualities almost more valuable still: loyal, patriotic, disinterested, indefatigable; careful of ecclesiastical decorum as a rule, but ready to discard it in cases of emergency; a good hater of his adversaries' principles, but never rancorous towards their persons; and always ready to enliven serious matters by a jocosely remark or anecdote.

According to Rastall, who in his history of Southwell has given a pretty full account of Archbishop Herring, 'his politics were monarchical.' This must mean that he esteemed the hereditary title to the crown above the parliamentary; and the assertion is confirmed by the remarkable anecdote told by Hume of Herring's encouragement to him to persevere with his history when the first volume published, comprising the reigns of James I and Charles I, seemed to have fallen dead from the press. As a matter of abstract principle, therefore, his allegiance would have been to the house of Stuart, and Rastall is no doubt correct in holding that the zeal he displayed in the Hanoverian cause 'proceeded not from any speculative opinions of the subject's right to freedom, nor from any very enlarged ideas of the British constitution, but was the effect of religious conviction and of civil allegiance. Herring was sincere in his attachment to the religion he professed, and he believed the support of that religion to be intimately connected with the safety of the family in possession of the crown.' These

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 35598.

letters also show that Herring was as inexorably set as Shakespeare's Faulconbridge against any claimant to the crown who should come with the support of France. As a good Englishman and a good protestant he saw his duty clearly, and discharged it manfully.

No more amiable and benign prelate than Herring ever sat at York or Canterbury, and the severity of his language towards Roman catholics may occasion surprise. In purely religious matters Herring, like most of the dignified ecclesiastics of his age, was a model of tolerance, and he regarded Roman catholics not as religious dissidents, but as civil enemies. It could not be otherwise while there was a Roman catholic pretender to the throne: the total overthrow of the Stuart cause had to precede the repeal of those penal enactments which Herring's correspondent, Lord Hardwicke, in a remarkable passage declared to be so inconsistent with the spirit of the age that even in an emergency like that of 1745 it was impossible to put them into effect. The attitude of the rulers of the church is pithily expressed in a letter from Herring's predecessor, Archbishop Blackburne, to Lord Carlisle, 3 Nov. 1733, printed in the Carlisle papers published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission:—

I am greatly obliged to your lordship for your kind intimation concerning the Roman catholics and the warm alarm they have taken at my proceedings. But whatever the hot ones among them may threaten of complaints against me on that account, I am in no pain about it. Such of them as are quiet and peaceable will find the Penal Act, for my part, as harmless as they can wish. But such as can be proved to have been perverting our people from their religion and allegiance must not expect to be suffered to do it with impunity, but to pay for their unquiet abuse of so much lenity as they enjoy under the present government.

One of the most interesting traits in Herring is his perception of natural beauty, a faculty long dormant in England, and which he was one of the first Englishmen to regain. In his letters to Duncombe his descriptions of Welsh scenery as beheld in his visitation tour (performed on horseback) reveal the same delight in nature as is subsequently met with in the letters of Gray. His considerable literary gift was chiefly expended upon his sermons, but almost amounts to genius when a picturesque theme presents itself. Goldsmith or Sterne might have envied his picture of a Welsh interior.

The novelty of the thing gave me spirits, and the air gave me appetite, much keener than the knife I ate with. We had music too, for there came in a harper, who soon drew about us a group of figures that Hogarth would give any price for. The harper was in his true place and attitude; a man and woman stood before him singing loudly,

but not disagreeably; a little dirty child was playing with the bottom of the harp; a woman, in a sick night-cap, hanging over the stairs; a boy with crutches fixed in a staring attention; and a girl carding wool in the chimney, and rocking a cradle with her naked feet, interrupted in her business by the charms of the music; all ragged and dirty, and all intently attentive.

R. GARNETT.

I.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House Aug<sup>t</sup> 31 1745 (arrived Sep<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1745).

My Lord,—I ought to have thanked your Grace long ago for your last kind letter; but, though you had the goodness to wish me a speedy deliverance from Chancery, I have been chained to that oar till within this fortnight, and the daily attendance there, together with others of a more disagreeable kind, hindered me from acknowledging that favour. Since that time, I have (with the interval only of two or three days at Wimple) been confined to this place, attending upon my duty of the twentieth part of a Vice-King, and expecting the much wished for arrival of our Principal. In the meantime we are threatened with having the disposition of the Kingdom wrested out of our hands, and in the North the storm is gathered. Archbishops of York have before now drawn the secular, as well as the spiritual sword, and I hope your Grace will stand between us and danger. That the Pretender's Son is actually in the Northwest Highlands of Scotland, and that he is joined by some of the clans of Macdonald and the Camerons, mostly papists, I take to be very certain. Infidelity has much prevailed here concerning this fact, though I think it is something altered; but I cannot help agreeing with your elder brother of Cant: that in this case, want of faith proceeds partly from want of zeal, which in political faith is the worst source. There seems to be a certain indifference and deadness among many, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated to a right tone. Any degree of danger at home ought to be vastly the more attended to from the state of things abroad. *That* I lament from my heart. I think I see the evil cause to which it is to be ascribed, and yet I know not whether to wish that, by the Public, it should be attributed to that cause. Where to find a remedy I know not. I see only the probability of one, and am not sure that that will be taken. The success at Cape Breton is very considerable. A vast loss to France, and may be a very great advantage to this country. I wish we had more of these articles to balance the account.

Sir John Cope, with about 2000 more of the King's troops, is I believe now in the Highlands, and I hope his force is sufficient (by the blessing of God) to crush this infant rebellion, provided it be properly exerted before the assistance, which the rebels undoubtedly expect from abroad, can come to them. The Marquis of Tweeddale has this morning received letters from Scotland bringing intelligence from a spy, sent on purpose into those parts, that he had seen this young Pretender, and had been an eye witness of several persons kissing his hand. His standard

was set up on the 19th inst. at Glenfinnan, on the borders of Moidart, the country where he landed.

I had writ thus far when a messenger from Margate brought the good news that the King landed there about half an hour after three this morning, and would be at Kensington within two hours. Accordingly His Majesty arrived there about two o'clock in perfect health, and really I think I never saw him look better in my life. He appears also to be in very good humour, and to value himself upon the haste he has made to us, when there was any apprehension of danger affecting this Country. I have not time to add more, except that his Majesty told me the election of an Emperor stood fixed for Monday next, and that I am ever,

My Dear Lord, most affectionately and faithfully yours,

HARDWICKE.

Is it not time for the Pulpits to sound the Trumpet against Popery and the Pretender?

## II.

### *The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Bishopthorpe Sep<sup>r</sup> 7 1745.

My Lord,—I am extremely obliged by your favour of the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, and must take the liberty to trouble you with my most early acknowledgment for it. We received here great consolation from the King's arrival, and are in hopes that it will give some stability to the Public Affairs; as His Majesty has fulfilled the duty of a good King in quitting his insignificant Electorate for the honour of his Crown and the safety of this great People. I hope he will meet with a suitable return of Duty and Affection from them, for indeed, my Lord, the times demand a perfect intelligence between Prince and People. I was glad to hear, as I do from several hands, that the King is so well and cheerful, and his Court so gay; I would to God they would contrive to communicate some share of this fine spirit to the country, where we meet with nothing but sadness and mortifying forebodings of danger, with little or no life or disposition to action. The common topics of conversation for the whole summer have been extremely disagreeable, and no company has come near me (and your Lordship knows my correspondence is chiefly with the friends of the Government), nor have I gone into any company, but instantly we fall upon the disaster at Fontenoy; the perfidy or the weakness of the D[utch]; the frightful progress of the French King, and the ruinous consequences of our engagements on the Continent. To these have been added the perilous situation of our troops abroad, an evil the more felt, and more strongly aggravated, since the alarms from Scotland have taken place, and your Lordship may imagine how ready some people are to point out the absurdity of being left defenceless at home, from the absence of those very troops, the reason of whose support in the kingdom was our home security. As to the Scotch affair, I hope of itself it is not considerable, and that Cope will soon give a good account of the rebels there; and, to be sure, the Court have substantial reasons for their security, and, if it can be, for their infidelity on that

head, but your Lordship wont be angry, if I communicate to you an intelligence directly from Edinburgh from no insignificant hand, that the rebels have plenty of money, are bold and desperate, and that the King's friends among the Clans are afraid of arming, and, but for that fear, the Grants and Campbells could have crushed the rebels instantly. I feel too a great diffidence in Cope, and a sort of persuasion, that if they gain the advantage of him, the whole country will be their own, as far as Stirling. I pray God, all this may be ill-grounded, and that the next Post may bring good news and set our minds at ease. I find the D[utch] forces are hastening to our assistance. We will accept their help, but are we never to stand upon our own legs again? And upon every occasion of danger must all Europe be told, what I hope to God is a lie, that the King has neither the hearts nor the hands of his own people? For my own part, I own I have always looked upon this as a pitiful measure of Government; I think I see that it is like to become a hateful one; and, considering the conduct of the Government, and their present connection with France, it is certainly a very disreputable—God forbid it should turn out a dangerous—expedient. Surely these low applications to the D[utch] must destroy every degree of our credit and influence with them, and they must look upon us, after all our blustering, as their inferiors.

I thank your Lordship for the intimation in your postscript. So far as my example or monitions can go, I shall not be wanting in my duty, but your Lordship will give me leave to observe, that Preaching will be of little avail, where the countenance of the Magistrate is wanting. To say the truth, I think his immediate help is necessary in a place where the numbers and spirit and boldness of the Papists is such, that their public Mass House joins in a manner to the Cathedral; their service is performed daily there, and their congregation formed by the same public notice, and their congregation as large or larger than that of the Protestant Church. In this respect I doubt the lenity of our Government has almost proceeded to Establishment, and the check that gentlemen received last year in their prosecution of the Papists agreeably to the King's Proclamation has cooled their spirit. As to their present actings, I believe the wolf must be actually at the door, before they will rise off their seats to guard against him. This I think I see as plain matter of fact. I beg of your Lordship to forgive the length and impertinence of this letter, but the wisest men know sometimes how to profit by the suggestions of weak ones. I own, I am frightened at our present situation, and it looks like a demonstration to me, that we are now, as to the health of the Body Politic, in the condition of a man who does not ask his doctor whether he may recover, but how long he thinks he can hold out. I am sure your Lordship will not imagine by these observations that I am going to list myself among the factious. I scorn it. I will ever be dutiful to the King, and faithfully grateful to my friends, who will not be displeased with me for speaking like an honest man, though a weak one. I will answer for my Heart, though I cannot for my Head. It is always my heart that dictates, when I subscribe myself,

My Lord, your ever obliged and most faithful Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>

THO: EBOR:

## III.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House, Sep<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1745.

My Lord,—I lay hold on this first opportunity of returning your Grace my sincere thanks for your very honest, friendly and wise letter. The zeal you express for His Majesty, his family and Government, and the affection and regard you show for your friends, are very becoming your character and known principles; which set your Grace far above the suspicion of acting amongst the *factionous*. At least you are secure against any such imputation from me, who have often insisted on most of the topics you mention, and very lately in that *place* where it is most material to say them. As we so well agree in our sentiments, I will not trouble you with going through the several points, but wish that imminent danger may teach us to correct former errors. .

His Majesty did a week ago yield so far to the advice of his faithful servants as to order six Regiments (*i.e.* 6000 men) of his British troops to be brought over from Flanders, with Sir John Ligonier at their head, for the defence of this country. I know this will be some consolation to your Grace, especially as the Lords Justices had some time ago sent our transports to Williamstadt, and they are actually ready to bring them over, so that they may be here with the first fair wind. But you will be surprised when I tell you how this measure has been misrepresented;—that it is deserting our Allies, and giving up the common cause; and the Ministry ought to be impeached for it. As if Great Britain was any otherwise essentially concerned in the common cause, than as the support of it tends to her own preservation; or the whole common cause would not be absolutely lost, if G<sup>t</sup> Britain (from whence it derives its strength and treasure) should become a prey to the Enemy? And, as to the Ministry, I could draw a much better Article of Impeachment for leaving the country so unguarded, though even this they could not help.

The rebellion in Scotland proceeds. The numbers of the rebels increase, and the young Pretender is in possession of Perth, and I wish they may amuse themselves there for some time. I believe indeed they are not all armed with fire arms, and that (with the blessing of God) they might be easily subdued with regular troops; but without regular troops, I see not how. Some of the Dutch forces are sent to Leith, and we expect the rest in the River tonight or tomorrow morning, the wind being fair. You see how Cope has marched eastward to Inverness. I make no reflections on it, and he justifies himself and is now marching back again. Instead of being joined by the Clans of Grant, Lord Reay and Lord Sutherland, he has been joined only by Sir Robert Munro's son and brother with 200 men, much to their honour! But, what is more surprizing, advice is received that Lord George Murray, the Duke of Athol's brother, who was in the rebellion of 1715, and pardoned, and has lived ever since with his brother the Duke, and has received favours from the Government, and also a brother of my Lord Dunmore, have joined the rebels. What symptoms are these? And those, I mean of the King's friends, and some of his servants, who at first propagated the spirit of incredulity, do now, with the same views, represent the affair as dwindling; that the



rebels are a despicable rabble, crushed with all the ease in the world. It is the duty of everybody, much more of those in employment, not to scatter terrors; but when there is a strange lethargy and deadness, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated, opiates should not be administered to them.

This brings me to the latter part of your Grace's letter, which relates to my postscript, in which too I do, in a great measure, agree with your Grace. The case of the Papists, as you state it, and as I have heard of it before, in your great city, certainly calls for the interposition of the Magistrates; and one would think that a few examples would keep such an enormity under. But the true difficulty as to the secular arm in England lies in this:—the laws against papists, as they stand in the statute book, are so severe, that they are the cause of their own non-execution. I am sure your Grace will do everything that zeal, directed by knowledge, can warrant, both by your example and your monitions. In order to show you what is doing in this part of the world, I send you enclosed three papers. The letter to the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury I will make no observations upon. The Salisbury one has more spirit. But that which meets with the most applause is the London one. I submit it to your Grace's consideration whether you will not think it proper to do something of the same kind in your own diocese; and, if you do, I am sure it will be such as both for matter and manner will deserve the approbation of all true friends to Liberty, the Protestant Religion, and the Protestant Succession. One thing I have always observed is:—that representing the Pretender as coming (as the truth is) under a dependence upon French support; I say, stating this point, together with Popery, in a strong light, has always the most popular effect.

I believe I have tired your Grace, and my time will not permit me to add more, except the sincerest assurances that I am ever,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately yours,

HARDWICKE.

#### IV.

##### *The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Bishopthorpe Sep<sup>r</sup> 13 1745.

My Lord,—The history of the enclosed paper, which I trouble your Lordship with, in a few words is this. As I had received repeated and clear and concurrent evidence of the distress of Cope in Scotland, and the increase and strength and progress of the rebels there, I thought it my duty to communicate it to the Lord Lieutenant and other gentlemen of distinction in the West Riding. Their intelligence as to Scotland, though not quite so particular as mine, agreed in the main with it, and was sufficient to give them a very strong alarm. A meeting was agreed upon at Birom, Sir J. Ramsden's seat, for Wednesday morning, where were present; Lords Lonsdale, Malton, Irwin, Galway; Sir Rowland Winn, Sir William Lowther, Sir John Ramsden and myself. The evidences were produced and compared together, and at the same time the information which his Grace the Duke of Newcastle thought proper to communicate to Lord Lonsdale concerning the preparations from abroad; and Lord

Malton produced His Majesty's Commission to put the country into the best posture of defence. All these things being laid together, it was the unanimous opinion of all present that something should be done to animate the King's friends, and, if possible, to repel the enemy, if it should please God they advanced upon us. The first step, in the common opinion, was for the Lords Lieutenant to advertise a general meeting at York, and there it is their intention, I believe, to enter into an association agreeably to His Majesty's direction on the Commission, and to engage in some measure of defence, to be adjusted previously to the meeting, and these to be prepared. As the application is to the Clergy, as well as Gentlemen, I thought it became me to sign, with the Lords. The 24<sup>th</sup> was the soonest and most commodious day. The advertisement will be worked off today and distributed as fast as possible. When I returned from Birom, I communicated the business to Lord Burlington, and Lord Falconbridge, and went myself yesterday to Lord Carlisle, who approved the step extremely, and I have no reason to doubt but the meeting will be such as will give a Life to the King's friends. If there has been any error committed, it was not through want of zeal, but judgment. If the thing be right, I leave it to your Lordships judgment whether it wont be proper to approve it, to the noblemen concerned in it, and to give any orders from London that may be thought proper, before the meeting. Your Lordship is quite right in your notion of the public lethargy, and I must take the liberty to say, that the gentlemen of this country, who are His Majestys staunch friends, apprehend too little attention is paid to this affair above, and too little care taken to communicate right information. The rebels are certainly bold, and the Kings troops in the command of a man who (as the soldiers say who have served in Scotland) has shown most unsoldier-like conduct. The accounts here, of the 7<sup>th</sup> inst. from Edinburgh, are that the rebels are 7000 strong; that perhaps is the number of Fear, but it is certain, that transports were that day getting ready at Edinburgh to bring Cope and his men by sea from Inverness.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful servant,

THO: EBOR:

V.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishopthorpe, Sep<sup>r</sup> 15 1745.

My Lord,—It is a prodigious satisfaction, and gives a great stability to my mind, when I find my sentiments agreeing with your Lordship's. Before I received your Lordship's I had printed and dispersed a short admonition to the Clergy over part of the diocese here, and must now continue it without alteration, but it displeases me prodigiously both as to the *matter* and the *manner* of it. It is indeed nothing more than a sort of Direction that I received from his Grace of Canterbury, with two words of my own at the end of it; and the reason of this was not neglect or coldness—his Grace's Monition was the very first thing of *Authority* that satisfied me as to the reality of our present danger from abroad, and as there is a great delicacy to be observed in matters of a public

nature, especially when communicated to the Clergy from their Diocesan, I kept religiously to his word, who spoke, as I imagined, from the Council Board. If I had received the intimation sooner, and in a more direct manner, from the proper fountain of intelligence, I think I should have made a better use of it; I might perhaps have thrown out something warm and injudicious, and that at this juncture had been better than the cold phlegm of an old man. I know how full the heads of the administration are of more important matters, but I must beg the favour of your Lordship to intimate to my noble friend, the Duke of Newcastle, that I hope, as he has contributed to place me in a station of some eminence, he will support me in the figure of it, and let me know things which it imports me to know by some other canal than that of Canterbury. Your Lordship sees I am a little warm, but I will thaw my resentment by doubling my industry to serve my Royal Master and the faithful friends he confides in, and I hope one means of doing it will be to render this intended meeting in Yorkshire of as much importance as I can. I am considering how to make it general, and to that end, as I know and converse with men of both parties, and with equal civility, I try to recommend it to all as a case of common danger. I hope I shall succeed in it in some measure. Mr Fox speaks heartily, so I hear does Mr Wentworth. I have wrote to Mr Dawnay, Lord Downe's guardian and uncle; I have wrote too to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and think I see a spirit of concurrence in many people of that Denomination, and I took it for no bad omen on our side, that York was much illuminated on the last news from Frankfort.

Lord Falconbridge dined with me yesterday and expressed a perfect uneasiness for the honour of this meeting, and will give it all his credit. He offered a sort of security for the honour and innocence of his relation and neighbour, Lord Fairfax of Gilling, and intimated to lodge a deposition with me. I told him that was a matter of some nicety, but whatever I saw in favour of Lord Fairfax, notwithstanding my good opinion of him, must rest upon his authority. I purpose to go on Tuesday to Temple Newsome to meet some gentlemen there, and settle previously the business of the meeting, in which the lords have all offered their assistance. I enclose Lord B[urlington]'s letter, which I am not quite pleased with. For, though Mr Arundel was with him when he received mine, there is a coldness of Indolence or Incredulity in it.

If the present Administration should quit with no other imputation on their conduct than that of calling the forces from Flanders, they will certainly be canonized in this country; and the contrary conduct is as arrant rodomontade as ever was practised in the world. I hear from Scotland, that the plan there with the rebels is to magnify their expectations from England; I hope it may have no other foundation but keeping up the spirits of their ruffians. A very great man told me, that when he mentioned this Scotch tumult to Norfolk at Scarborough, he flouted it, as the errant in Romance; but added, that he could not answer for what might be done four or five years hence, if France got possession of the power they aimed at. This I think is matter of some observation for a Protestant. Give me leave to tell your Lordship a very short story I have heard. When the D. of Gordon gave his Bailiff orders to bring

in his Clans for the King, the Bailiff drew his poignard, and told his master he would stab him, if he pressed that matter further, for all his clans must go upon another service. A story incredible enough, but a little truth in it would show the inveteracy of those people. Well, be they as inveterate as they please, I hope we shall deal with these beggarly fellows unassisted, but when I think of descents from abroad, *Totus tremo horrescens*. Pray God preserve us from the insolence and tyranny of France!

If his G[race] of N[ewcastle] or your Lordship have any commands for me previous to this meeting, for as the world goes, it may be a matter of moment, you will please to communicate them to,

My Lord, your ever obliged and faithful Friend & Servant,

THO: EBOR.

I am told from good hands that there is a fine train of artillery at Berwick; God forbid it should fall into the rebels' hands, and be pointed against England. The stopping of the rebels in Fife must be owing to fear, or weakness, or design, or expectation of assistance. I pray God their reason may be of the first sort. There is a report in this country, of what authority I know not, that if Cope had attacked the fellows at Coriariok they were so well provided, that they would have torn him to pieces. However it is the general opinion that even in that case he ought to have retreated southward.

## VI.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House, Sep<sup>r</sup> 17 1745.

My Lord,—The proofs of zeal and vigour for His Majesty and his Government, which appeared so laudably in your Grace, and in the other Lords and Gentlemen, who met at Sir John Ramsden's, and which are so fully expressed in your letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> inst., gave me the greatest pleasure. They have also given great satisfaction to His Majesty, and his Ministers, and I think the measures you have already taken, and also those you have further resolved upon, are extremely right. The only doubt I have heard made is whether the certainty of the intelligence of a foreign invasion is not rather too strongly expressed in your printed paper. But if that shall only tend to awaken and animate the friends of the Government to a greater degree of vigour in its defence and support, the effect will be good. I don't imagine you could appoint your day for the meeting at York earlier than the 24<sup>th</sup> inst., and I hope it will be very numerous and hearty.

Your Grace was extremely right in making the communication which you made to my Lord Carlisle, my Lord Burlington and Lord Falconbridge; and I take it for granted that you will have their company and assistance. Undoubtedly all the proper steps will be taken to signify to the Lords and Gentlemen, who have acted so meritoriously, the approbation and thanks of the Government; but I don't see what orders can be sent from home in the meantime, especially as my Lord Malton has His Majesty's Warrant in the manner he desired. One thing indeed might be done, which is Letters from the Lords of Council to the several

Lords Lieutenant to have the Militia in readiness to march, which, as a Council is to be held at Kensington to morrow, may then be considered. Letters of that kind were sent ten days ago to the Lords Lieutenant of the four Northern Counties, but it seems a difficulty has been raised by some of them upon the month's pay, advanced in those Counties in the year 1715, not having been repaid to them. If this difficulty is stood upon, it may make it more necessary to draw out the militia of Yorkshire, who, I take it, are not in the same case as to that point.

At this Council I apprehend the Parliament will be appointed to sit to do business on the 15<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> of October, which is as early as possible.

Your intelligence that makes the number of the rebels 7000 is certainly the voice of Fear, or a voice spread to excite Fear. Possibly they may be about 3000, though some accounts make them fewer, and a great many not to be armed with fire arms. The letters of yesterday bring advice that they are marched from Perth to Dunblane, and that their design seems to be to pass the river Forth somewhere above Stirling, where it is fordable, and so to march into England on the side of Lancashire. Though this cannot be relied on as certain, yet it makes it necessary for the Government and all its friends to be upon their guard. A Dutch mail arrived this day informs us that the first embarkation of the Dutch troops (viz 5 Battalions) sailed from Williamstadt on Thursday last, and that they imagined that they were already in England. From hence we hope that the last orders have met them at sea, and that they are all sailed for Leith, to land thereabouts.

Though I have above hinted the writing letters to the Lieutenants of the three Ridings for raising the Militia, yet I am far from saying that measure will be taken; neither am I clear that it will be right; for if it should happen to interfere with your scheme of raising voluntary troops by associations, it may do more harm than good. Therefore all I say is that it will be considered tomorrow.

I pray God prosper your undertakings and am ever most truly and affectionately,

My dear Lord, your Graces most obedient & most  
faithful humble Servant,

HARDWICKE.

## VII.

*The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Temple Newsome Sep<sup>r</sup> 17 1745.

My Lord,—I came hither to-day to confer with Lord Irwin and Sir Rowland Winn upon the methods of making the meeting of the 24<sup>th</sup> (which is likely to be a very great one) of as much credit and use to the Kings affairs as may be. It has been agreed to settle the matters to be proposed at the general meeting previously the day before at my house at Bishop Thorpe, and such Lords and others will be invited to it, as are like to give judicious and cool advice, and such as understand the county. I am apt to think an Association will be the first thing agreed on, and I hope some present methods of defence, in case the mischief gathers strength, will immediately be entered into. Some soldiers of experience

and affection for the King will be called upon to assist and form a practicable plan of self defence, which, it is hoped, will be supported by a subscription. If it please God to give a good turn to our affairs before that time, this meeting in favour of the Government will have its use, and show the Kings enemies, both at home and abroad, that His Majesty has one County, and that a great one, that will stand by and support him, in time of danger, at all hazards. I have got somewhat deep into this affair, before I was aware of it—I will do the best I can to carry it through, and, be the event what it may, nobody can rob me of the satisfaction of having discharged, as I was able, my duty to the Public. I purpose calling upon Mr Fox on my way home tomorrow, and inviting him to the conference; For I have all along inculcated, that for the present all party considerations should be buried, and nothing attended to but the public safety. I send your Lordship a letter from Manchester, communicated by Sir R. Winn, who assures me that his correspondent is a man of understanding and integrity. I enclose too the Pretender's Deputation of his son, and his Sons Declaration.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships most obliged &  
affectionate Friend and Servant,

THO: EBOR:

### VIII.

#### *The Same to the Same.*

Bishophorpe, Sep<sup>r</sup> 21 1745.

My Lord,—I have the honour of yours of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst, and shall let the Lords know, in the best manner I can, how satisfactory their intended service is to His Majesty, and hope the meeting will prove of great use at this perilous season to the country in general.

The strong assurance of the danger from abroad was judged to be agreeable to the intelligence from London, but, for my own part, I had some inward doubts about it. I did not explain them; for as the Nation was in a lethargy (not yet I doubt full awake in the Southern parts of it) I thought it best to use such words as might tend to rouse them. If it is *mendacium officiosum*, I shall die without compunction about it, for those Powers are habitually bent on doing us all the mischief they can, and I wish experience may not show us, that the expression in the advertisement was not too strong, but premature.

I hear from all hands that the Meeting is like to be very general, and it is hoped, very unanimous. As I am in some measure embarked in conducting it, I begin to be very solicitous for such an issue of it as may be most for the service of the Public and the honour of the King. I believe a strong Association will meet with no difficulty; but I have my fears about a subscription for present defence. The money must be paid upon the nail, and in the quickest way; a body of Forces, Horse & Foot, they say will be three weeks or a month in raising. The Association in 1715 is now before me, and, *mutatis mutandis*, will be copied in this. That was followed by issuing proper commissions, and raising the Militia. Most of the Lords, I believe all the Protestant ones, will meet here early on Monday morning to settle the measures for the next day. Your Lordship may be sure I shall oppose nothing, but for-

ward with my best abilities the most vigorous resolutions, but yet zeal must take counsel of prudence, and nothing should be proposed, but what the gentlemen of the County are sure can be carried into execution. There must be no debating at the General Meeting: I would to God, a large and exemplary subscription were practicable: if not, it is my opinion, that the stop should be at the Association of people who come together unanimous, sent home again in good humour, with an honest alarm upon their minds that the danger is real, and a resolution, if needs be, to stand up against it. Mr Fox and Mr Wentworth, members for York, are with us, and Mr Dawnay, Lord Downe's guardian, and yesterday the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, a committee of them, came from York to assure me that they would give the meeting all the countenance and help they can in the body. I hope the King will have very strong assurances of a general obedience and attachment to him in this country. Since the news of taking Edinburgh, we have been relieved by hearing Cope is at Dunbar. He is now in his proper part, and I hope will at least stand as a barrier to England, but yet I wish to God, every soldier of the King's were here to cover us instead of Brabant—God forbid we should be in the position of the man who is busy putting out the fire in his neighbour's house, when the flames have seized his own! I am afraid of nothing so much as treachery; if that be stirring, the King's friends must be more stout and vigilant.

Your Lordship will forgive me, but I cannot help hinting to you, that the great people of this County think that the intelligence to them from above is not so direct and authentic as they could wish it. Certainly, my Lord; we are in the most imminent danger, and I am informed from all hands that the Papists, who met at Stockton races, are in high spirits, and I could give some instances of insolent behaviour from them. I pray God direct the minds of the King and his faithful servants to put a speedy and effectual end to our fears and our dangers.

I am, my Lord, with all possible affection, your Lordships  
most obliged & faithful Friend,

THO: EBOR:

I cannot be easy without saying another thing to you. I have heard the security at London censured in this manner in several parts of this country:—Why should we stir to support a Government that does not seem to believe its danger, or be inclined to support itself? God forbid this should run.

#### IX.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House Sep<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1745.

My Lord,—I owe your Grace a thousand thanks for the letters, the first of the 15<sup>th</sup>, the later of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst, from Temple Newsome; and have taken care to keep His Majesty particularly informed of your laudable zeal and activity in his service, of which he yesterday did to me express himself highly satisfied, and spoke with the utmost approbation and praise of the part which your Grace so worthily takes in this critical juncture.

I now proceed to answer your letters in order. I know your Grace

does not suspect the Duke of N. of any design not to meet you with the greatest regard, and I am sure you have no reason for such a suspicion. You will permit me to say that your imagination that the Archbishop of Canterbury's Monition proceeds from deep consultation at the Council Board, is a little mistaken. No other intelligence was conveyed to him or any of the Bishops but the Recital contained in His Majesty's Proclamation against Papists, and it was left to every Bishop (how rightly I wont say) to act as he pleased. And your Grace must observe that the Canterbury letter extends only to the Clergy of that diocese, and not even to the whole Province; and the Salisbury Monition expressly refers to the Preamble of the Proclamation. If there had been any general measure, you may be assured I should have taken care to have informed you earlier than I did. But this is now become quite immaterial, for the activity your Grace shows, and the acts you do, are ten times more importance than a printed paper.

As to your General Meeting at York, I think entirely with you that it is right to make it as extensive as possible, and to take in men of all parties and denominations, who are not Jacobites. I lay more weight upon the evidence and *éclat* that will arise from such meetings and Associations of the zeal and spirit, and good affections of His Majesty's subjects in support of his Government and against the Pretender, than upon the military utility of their troops, without however excluding that. For I think it material to convince Foreign Powers (as I told the King today) that the appearances in England are very different from those in Scotland, and that they will be mistaken if they take their measures from the latter. I return your Grace Lord B[urlington]'s letter. I take the coldness and dryness of it to proceed from the indolence of his temper, rather than from any other motive. Men must be taken as they are made. For these reasons I have not spoken of it to anybody, and should think it best for your Grace not to do so.

It was not thought proper to send any orders for raising the Militia in Yorkshire, for the reason hinted in the conclusion to my last—lest it should interfere with your scheme of Associations and voluntary troops, which indeed I believe to be a more effectual method.

By the contents of your last I think you are proceeding in a very right method, and a previous Conference of proper persons to settle preliminaries cannot fail, in my opinion, to bring things to some precision, and to have a good effect.

I have communicated a copy of the Manchester letter to the Duke of Newcastle, who writ to my Lord Derby last night by express.

I am glad your Grace is engaged deep in this affair. You cannot be engaged too deep when so much is at stake; and I am sure your wisdom and prudence will so regulate your conduct that it must end to your own honour, as well as the public service.

I dont wonder the Papists should affect to represent this rebellion as trifling, in order to bring about the neglect of it. But that Persons, who protest more zeal for the King, more flattery to his prejudices, and to enjoy more light of his countenance than others should do so, is astonishing. It is something like Count Kaunitz, the Queen of Hungary's Governor at Brussels, and the French General, by an odd concurrence,



sending orders to stop the making the great inundation at Ostend, on the same day. It is the talking of it down, and representing it as nothing—a rabble that might be crushed in an instant, and dissipated of itself, which, in my way of thinking, has brought it to the height it is at. The industry of some people has, for this week or ten days past, represented it as dwindling, and dying of its own weakness; and yet on Thursday about midnight an express arrived, which gives us the strongest reason to believe that the rebels are before now in possession of the City of Edinburgh, the Capital of Scotland, and some accounts add that they are more than 5000 strong: I fear that in Edinburgh they will find friends, money and arms. However, I rather like that they should amuse themselves there than march for England. But let me turn the medal, and show your Grace the better side. Cope with his troops are come back, and landed on Monday night at Dunbar, and joined by the two regiments of dragoons; so that he was south of the rebels, and within 20 miles of Edinburgh. We expect every hour news of some action. God grant it may be more soldierlike than the march, and a successful one! The last embarcation of Dutch troops (viz. the other four regiments) arrived this morning in the river. Some of the first are marching for Lancashire; one is gone by sea to Cope; and two regiments of those left will be sent to Newcastle. There are letters also come to the Admiralty that one half of the British troops embarked at Willemstadt on Wednesday last, and the rest now there were to embark on Thursday; so that, the wind being now fair, we expect those 6000 men in the river every hour.

As to the story your Grace has heard relating to the Duke of Gordon, it is well known here. It was not the Bailiff, but one Gordon of Glenbucket, a vassal of the Duke's, who was in the rebellion of 1715, and is gone into this; and your story is in substance true. A monstrous instance of a very old, but hardy, daring Highlander.

I had writ thus far on Friday night when an express brought word that the Pretender's son with his rebels marched into Edinburgh on Tuesday morning, and was proclaimed there, and was lodged in Holyrood House. This is no more than I expected; but the same express says they are now not above 3000 men at most. Cope's army was all landed; the two regiments of dragoons had joined him; and the transports with the Dutch Battalion were seen the same day off Tynemouth. But Good God! what a figure does this Country make, when such a rabble has overrun one Kingdom, and taken possession of the Capital, and what an encouragement to foreign enemies to invade us!

I am called away, and can add no more but that I am, with my whole heart,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately Yours,  
HARDWICKE.

X.

*The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Sep<sup>r</sup> 27 1745.

My Lord,—It is a trouble to your Lordship, but permit me to write to you, as it is a relief to me. The Spirit of the Country is prodigious,

and we are all in motion from one corner to the other, and the Lords will certainly do their duty. The city is so much in earnest, that they will make of themselves a considerable purse, and put between two and three troops into action. The Lord Mayor told me yesterday, that the lowest of the Citizens contributed something. Oglethorpe is here, and has persuaded thirty or forty young gentlemen volunteers to follow him to Berwick, a sort of Hussars. They are to rendezvous at Knavesmire on Monday morning, have a Ball at night, and march on Tuesday morning. We must leave it to the general to consider whether a Ball will inspire or enfeeble his myrmidons; but let the spirit of defence go forward. Mr Wood came to me last night, with a message from Lord Burlington. He is now, I believe, angry with himself for not being at the meeting, and I believe thanks me at his heart for answering for him in the hearing of the county. He has sent his subscription, and is certainly a warm friend. I have sent a minute of the previous transaction to the D. of Somerset, as I have partly done too to the Earl of Ailesbury.

I conceal it, but I own I conceive terrible apprehensions from the affair at Preston Pans, where the conduct of our General was—I wont give it the right name, but that of the rebels excellent; and from what I can collect, and the judgment which I form upon the opinion of the soldiers here, they are admirably disciplined; and, our men have felt it, well armed. Their resolution and conduct in taking the little battery was admirable, and, as they are keen and savage, their leaders well know how to point their strength properly and effectually. There is something too in their artful taciturnity that alarms one, and they say, it is fact, that from their setting out to this hour, it is not easy to say who leads them, and they are not seen, in a manner, till they are felt, so silent and well concerted are their motions. I hope in God all this is known above much better than it is here, and that it is now seen that this rebellion is not to be quashed by small platoons of an army, but must be attended to *totis viribus*. Who can say what would be the consequence of such an advantage gained in England? What shall we think of the behaviour of the Scotch nobility upon this occasion? Strong marks of treachery, my Lord, when they fled their country, which they might have saved by only standing up in Edinburgh in their own defence, and lending Cope their advice and countenance. Lord Loudon is an exception to this, who has behaved like a brave and honest man. Some of the Papists here I am told have subscribed—*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. The power of some of them is very great, and it must be left to the wisdom of the Government to consider whether Tempest of the W. Riding near Skipton, against whom an information of arms has been lodged on oath, and who is said to be very artful and zealous, should not be secured. I am told too that Constable of Holderness, Dunbar's heir, has a troop of three hundred at his command. Dunbar was secured by Lord Irwin at Hull in the year 1715. Lord Conyers D'Arcy told me yesterday, that young Duncombe had desired a commission, which may be a great accession of strength in the N. Riding. I write in some agitation of spirit, but I would do as I have done, were the rebels at Northallerton,

and, by the grace of God, will die rather than live under a French Government. I hope Lady Hardwicke is in spirits.

I am, my Lord, your most faithful Friend,

THO: EBOR:

We have it from undoubted authority, that the meeting at York on the 24<sup>th</sup> inst. was the most numerous that was ever known, being composed of almost all the nobility, Gentlemen and Clergy of that great County. It was conducted, as the occasion required, with great seriousness and quiet. The Association was signed most heartily and unanimously, and the subscription, which is going on, was very large and cheerful. The City of York showed a laudable example upon that occasion, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen undertaking to raise and maintain troops for their own defence. The town of Kingston on Hull is resolved to do the same. There appears at York a fine spirit in a set of brave young gentlemen, who purpose to act as volunteers in the service of their country, and began to form themselves on the very day of the meeting.

The foregoing paragraph contains matter of fact, and I submit it to your Lordship whether it is not proper to be inserted in every newspaper. If so, your Lordship will be so good as to order it.

Besides the general sense of the danger, it is thought the spirit and courage of the people was raised by the news of the action in Scotland, which appears to have been a surprise, not an engagement. The brave English were butchered in cold blood, a plain proof of the savageness of the rebel Highlanders, and that their leader is a man of blood.

This is grounded upon hearsay, and I should think, if true, not improper to be annexed to the other, that the natural indignation may run like wildfire. The intelligence from Berwick is, that the whole affair was over in twelve minutes.

## XI.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House, Sep<sup>r</sup> 28, 1745.

My Lord,—I return your Grace my hearty thanks for the honour of your letter and the several inclosures, which I received yesterday morning by flying packet. In this gloomy and melancholy season, nothing could possibly give me so much satisfaction as the uncommon zeal and ardour which has been shown, by so numerous a representation of your great and loyal County of York, in the cause of their King and Country. God grant that the glorious example they have set may be followed by other counties! But I own I feel a particular pleasure in the great and noble part which your Grace has taken on this occasion, and in the gallant, wise, and becoming manner, in which you have exerted yourself. I was so full of it, that I went immediately to Kensington, and gave the King an ample account of it in his Closet. I found him apprized of it by the Lord Lieutenants letters, which he received from the Duke of Newcastle; but he was so pleased with it that he desired to hear it over again. I informed his Majesty of the substance of your letter, the sermon your Grace had preached last Sunday, and with such prodigious expedition printed and dispersed; and when I came to your speech, he

desired me to show it to him. His Majesty read it from beginning to end, and gave it the just praise it so highly deserves, and said it must be printed. I said I believed it was printed at York, but it is determined to print it in the Gazette. If in this my commission be exceeded, I plead my Master's commands, but I hope your Grace will not disapprove it, since my sincere opinion is that it deserves to be so published, and that the topics and animated spirit of your composition are calculated to do much good. When I had gone through this part, I said:—'Your Majesty will give me leave to acquaint my Lord Archbishop that you approve his zeal and activity in your service.' To this the King answered quick:—'My Lord, that is not enough; you must also tell the Archbishop that I heartily thank him for it.' His Majesty also highly applauded the zeal, affection and unanimity which had appeared in the several Lords and Gentlemen on this occasion; the Association; the largeness and generosity of subscription; the union of all parties, and the general conduct of the whole; and doubt not, but the same zeal and industry will carry this good work through, and complete the utility of it; for which no assistance or powers from the Government will be wanting. But these matters will be properly taken notice of and answered by the Duke of Newcastle to the respective Lords Lieutenants.

His majesty also took particular notice of the good affections and vigour expressed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and City of York, which are highly agreeable to him.

It is a most happy circumstance in this affair that the unfortunate and shameful defeat of our forces under Sir John Cope did not cast a damp on your meeting. As it did not, the spirit and success of your meeting will I hope give new spirits to the people, and abate the ill impressions of so tragical an event; just as the providential arrival of the British regiments from Flanders furnished a kind of armour to us in London against the first shock of that bad news. If those troops had not come in the critical moment, God only knows what would have been the terror and confusion here. Let me tell your Grace, for your further comfort, that eight British battalions more, and 1500 dragoons are actually ordered to be brought over immediately; transports are already provided here; and other transports are ordered to be taken up in Holland, so that they may take the opportunity of the first fair wind. I know some friends of yours, who have talked themselves hoarse in contending for this measure, and whose early advice, if followed some time ago, would have prevented, in all human probability, this dismal scene. But the conduct of *some persons* on this occasion has been infamous. However I hope in God it is not now too late: a great body of forces will forthwith be sent to the north, and some of them are actually on their march. I contend every where that they must be a *great body*; for the King's Crown; the protection of his People; the work of the Revolution, which has been building up these seven and fifty years, must not be risked upon an even chance.

Your Grace sees by the printed papers what has been done by the merchants of London to support the Bank and thereby the public Credit. It is a step that never was taken before, and has had a prodigious effect to stop the run which was begun.

We know nothing here of the Castle of Edinburgh having fired upon the

town, and I believe the report is not true ; neither have we heard of any extraordinary instances of cruelty committed in or after the battle ; which has induced me not to add this last circumstance to your advertisement, but I have directed it to be published as a paragraph of news in all the papers, just as your Grace sent it up.

I am ever, with my whole heart, my dear Lord,  
Most faithfully and affectionately yours,  
HARDWICKE.

## XII.

*The Same to the Same.*

Powis House, Oct 3. 1745.

My Lord,—You wrong your own good judgment when you say that your letters are a trouble to me. On the contrary, nothing is a greater consolation to me in these comfortless times than to hear from your Grace, and of you. By the former one is sure to learn something material ; by the latter to hear of everything that can do honour to you, and credit to your friends. The part which I take in it I hope your Grace does me the justice to feel in some measure for me.

As I trust that my letter of Saturday last<sup>2</sup> got safe to your hands, I have little to add by way of answer to yours of 27 past. I am glad the raising of your troops goes on so briskly, and hope your corps of young hussars will prove of service. I dont doubt Lord B[urlington]'s being hearty, and am very much pleased that you have writ to the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Ailesbury. The affair of Gledsmuir was a terrible one. *Pudet haec opprobra.* But as to the discipline and excellent manœuvre of the rebels, dont let your people be too much alarmed with it. 'Tis cried up by one set of people to excuse their own shameful behaviour ; by another, to strike terror, and excite, if possible, a general panic. Much exaggerated by both. But I entirely agree with your Grace, that it will not be prudent nor excusable, to attempt to crush them by small bodies. You see by my last the doctrine I have preached, and still continue to inculcate *totis viribus.* In short I have pressed more in the Closet, and at Councils of war, on this subject, than perhaps belongs to my station. For your comfort, you will have, to a trifle, all the rest of the British foot brought over from Flanders, so that I hope we shall have one good army in the North, and another in this part of the kingdom, to be ready against an invasion.

The subscription of some of the Papists is surprising, and your Grace's Latin observation upon it is just. *Aliquis latet error ; equo ne credite Teucris.* It can be only colourable, and to procure some relaxation in their favour. I know nothing, nor can I find that anything is known by others here, relating to the two considerable Gentlemen you mention.<sup>3</sup> If the informations your Grace mentions are before the justices of the peace and Deputy Lieutenants, they know the powers which the Law invests them with, and the positive directions given by the proclamation and Letters of the Privy Council to put them in execution. *Hannibal ad portas.* This is no time for suspense and delay. I am glad of the Decla-

<sup>2</sup> No. XI. above.

<sup>3</sup> Tempest and Constable.

ration of young Mr Duncombe, and think it an acquisition of consequence in that part of the kingdom.

Letters came today that Gen<sup>l</sup> Guest had threatened to cannonnade the Town of Edinburgh, unless they furnished him with provisions, and that, upon this threat, they had agreed to furnish the Castle with all they could want. This is good, provided he guards against a surprise, which he undertakes for. It is also writ that the rebels have begun to commit devastations and cruelties. I pity the poor sufferers, but the fame of it will do good. One inference I collect from their suffering the cattle to be supplied, which is, that they do not intend to stay there to compel that fortress to surrender, but will march forward, if they are not already set out. Some letters spoke of their designing to begin their march on Tuesday last. I wish Wade was nearer to them, but his troops advance as fast as possibly they can. I have a very good opinion of the zeal and good countenance of your volunteer corps, but I own my reliance is, under God, on the regular troops. Your Grace's resolution is a magnanimous one, and becoming every good Englishman and Protestant. The spirit you have shown proves you are above being intimidated. You are very good in remembering my poor wife. You know we have sometimes called her Cassandra. She is in raptures with you, and, with all the rest of the family, sends your Grace her best compliments, thanks, and wishes. Be assured I am ever,

My dear Lord, most faithfully and affectionately yours,

HARDWICKE.

### XIII.

*The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Bishophthorpe (rec<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>).

My Lord,—I shall lay it up on my memory as incomparably the most happy circumstance in my life, if it please God, to be of any service to the Public at this dangerous juncture, and your Lordship may be sure that I feel a satisfaction not easily expressed from having the approbation of a friend so wise and good as yourself, whom I must love and honour, *dum spiritus regit artus*. I took the liberty yesterday to send my Lord Mayor the passage in your Lordships letter which expresses the Kings approbation of their doings. Though indeed they want no spur, for they have raised an incredible sum of money for this City, and will in a little time perfect their intended levy of near 300 men.

Hull has been spoken of as in a panic. Upon inquiry I find it utterly false. The spirit is alive there, and shows itself in the most active preparations for defence. Nothing was ever better done, than sending Oglethorpe hither. He captivates the young fellows and the populace, and was received at his return from Knavesmire the other night with most prodigious acclamation. As the General desired it, I rode upon the ground with him for what he called Countenance.

The town of Rippon has showed a very good example; and as it happens to be so much under my peculiar jurisdiction, it was a peculiar pleasure to me to receive by the hands of their Recorder with the complete Declaration of Loyalty, a contribution of near 400*l.*, and all this without solicitation, which makes it so much the better.

We were thoroughly alarmed on Tuesday with danger from the Papists, and particularly that Lord Fairfax of Gilling was on the point of rising. Search warrants went out instantly, and returned with the fullest justification of that noble Lord; who, I believe, is the King's friend. The alarm struck the more, as we had more certain intelligence at the same time that the Papists at Egton, a little town on the Moors full of them, had made public rejoicings on Cope's defeat, and had all like to have been cut to pieces by the protestant ship-carpenters of Whitby.

I believe it is very certain that Cholm[ondely] Turner will raise a thousand men in his own management for the service of the King in Cleveland.

I did not quite like the result of the previous meeting at Mansfield of the Notts Gentry. They wanted a Commission for their President, the D. of Kingston, and the subscriptions waited for the example of his Grace of Newcastle. I hope it appeared, as it should do, yesterday, for at this time what is done with spirit is twice done.

I purpose, God willing, to set out from hence this day sennight, and be in Town the Tuesday following, unless your Lordship should signify to me, and it should appear to me, that my being here is like to be of any use, and, to say the truth, that I have been of any, is owing to my having offended no man in point of party, and they happen to agree in me as *Uno Tertio*. I trouble your Lordship with our York Paper, for the sake of Oglethorpe's puff, and a paragraph relating to this young man's Cabinet Council, which comes to me from good hands and should be made public. They can't confute it, if it be wrong, but by telling truth, and that may have its use. We have had two or three papers dispersed here from Edinburgh, from the Pretender's press, called the *Caledonian Mercury*. One of them consisted of a journal of his progress, agreeable to what we here know of it. Another was wrote with great fire and popular art, as the meditations of an honest, impartial man in his closet, raising an argument of the plain signs of God's finger in the manner and rapidity of his success. The third was a Proclamation issued after Cope's defeat, forbidding public rejoicings in Edinburgh for the victory, as it was purchased with the blood of his own subjects. These two last were calculated to do much mischief. I have ordered the Postmaster to day and for the future to open these letters, when he suspects them, and undertake to justify him. \* \* \*

I am my Lord with perfect truth

Your Lordships most faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

#### XIV.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York*

Powis House Oct<sup>r</sup> 5 1745.

My Lord,—I troubled your Grace with a long letter by the last post, and have been so much employed all this day that I have only time to answer the business part of your last. The principal point, and that a material one, is whether you should come to Town at present or not. I have not had an opportunity of seeing the King to day, but I have talked

with the Duke of Newcastle and several of your Grace's friends on the subject. The letters from the Lords and Gentlemen in the North have all done you so much justice on this occasion, and every body here is so highly sensible of your Grace's eminent usefulness in those parts, that we are all of opinion that your Grace should postpone your journey for a short time at least, and that your presence in Yorkshire will be of infinitely greater service than it can be at Westminster, where no opposition is expected to any measures for the security of the King and Kingdom. You may be sure nobody pretends to prescribe to your Grace. I only lay before you our thoughts, leaving it entirely to your own judgment, which will be best formed upon the spot, where all circumstances must appear in the proper light. And in truth I don't know but this may be a better way than speaking directly to the King, for I am so fully apprized of the high opinion of the part your Grace has acted, and of the utility of your being there, that I know beforehand what his answer would be, and that might possibly put you under a difficulty.

I rejoice in the glorious progress of your subscriptions and levies; and am told that the second Nottinghamshire meeting succeeded extremely well, and that the first was only intended to agree upon the second, which was a general one.

I like your paragraph about the young Pretender's Cabinet Council. I believe it is in fact true; and it will be propagated here.

I entirely approve of what your Grace has done in order to suppress the distribution of that treasonable paper the Caledonian Mercury. The like orders have been given here, and will undoubtedly be justified and supported.

I am unfeignedly, my dear Lord, ever yours,

HARDWICKE.

(*To be continued.*)

### *A Report of the Battles of Jena-Auerstädt and the Surrender at Prenzlau.*

In the records of the British Foreign Office ('F. O.' no. 74, or 'P. R. O.' no. 200) there is the translation of a long report on the above-named occurrences. It is not dated, signed, or endorsed in any way; but Mr. Hubert Hall, of H.M. Public Record Office, kindly informs me that he believes the original to have been compiled by General Bennigsen, who communicated accounts, written in a similar style, of the battle of Eylau, &c., to his brother in London. It was probably written shortly after the surrender of Prince Hohenlohe to Murat at Prenzlau (28 Oct. 1806). Portions of it are evidently based on inaccurate first reports, and these I have omitted; but several of the details, especially those referring to Prenzlau, are of interest and deserve publication.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

The Battles of Auerstädt and Jena were fought on the same day, but were in every respect two distinct actions. That of Auerstädt was lost



by the King at the head of 60,000 men<sup>1</sup> in which there were 120 Squadrons of Cavalry, and that of Jena by Prince Hohenloe (*sic*) at the head of 35,000<sup>2</sup> men in which there were 25 Squadrons of Cavalry and by a second division under the orders of General Rùchel whose force amounted to 15,000 men.

The Prussians previous to their movement, in consequence of their left Flank being turned occupied a position from Jena to Erfurt, Prince Hohenloe commanding the Division on the left, the King the Centre and Genl. Rùchel the Right, when intelligence arrived that the French had penetrated to Leipsic, Naumbourg,<sup>3</sup> & which exposed the rear of the Prussian army. The King with the Central Troops marched and on the second Day was acquainted that a corps of Men under Genl. Davoust had crossed the Saal and occupied the Chaussée along which the King proposed to move. The King and the Duke of Brunswick proceeded to reconnoitre, and the Duke was wounded as He was leaning out of his carriage in the act of observing through his Telescope.

The Queen was within 50 paces at the same time and the King now suffered her to depart and put himself at the Head of his army as the Duke of Brunswick could no longer act—but until the moment of his wound he had the actual direction.

The Prussian Army confined to the Chaussée by mountains could not deploy, so that Marshall Davoust was enabled to keep his Position with 30,000 men<sup>4</sup> against 60,000 gallantly led and frequently animated to the Charge by the intrepid example of the King himself, who had two Horses shot under him. At length finding all efforts ineffectual to dislodge the Enemy the king determined to retire upon Prince Hohenloe of whose misfortune he was then ignorant. At this instant Genl. Blùcher offered to charge with the Cavalry, as he imagined that by making a little Détour he could break in upon the Enemy, but the king refused his assent since so much blood had already been spilt, and the Columns were put in motion for Weimar, where they fell in with the routed division of Prince Hohenloe.

The French had early in the morning commenced an attack upon the Prince with their main Army commanded by the Emperor. Mountains Woods and Vallies covered their line from the view of the Prussians, but in front was a plain on which were pushed the Tirailleurs, occasionally the Cavalry and Artillery. These Tirailleurs, Cavalry and Artillery were relieved as regularly as sentinels and as they extended their line finally to the space of two leagues Fresh Columns occupied the intervals and occasionally the Cavalry Charged as the Prussians gave way, so that the Battle of Jena was strictly an affair of Tirailleurs, Cavalry, and Artil-

<sup>1</sup> This is inexact. The king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick began the battle with between 47,000 and 48,000 men. Wartensleben's division came up before the end of the fight, and part of another; but their reserve under Kalckreuth did not take an active part in the battle.

<sup>2</sup> He had rather more than 36,000 at first, and by midday 47,000, exclusive of Rùchel's corps (Foucart, *Campagne de Prusse*, i. 671).

<sup>3</sup> The French had only *threatened* the western part of Saxony.

<sup>4</sup> Davoust claimed to have had only 27,000 engaged in the battle. See Davoust, *Opérations du Troisième Corps*, pp. 31-2; also Lehmann's *Scharnhorst* for the Prussian numbers.

lery, nor did the French Line ever appear until the Prussians were retreating.<sup>5</sup>

For many Hours the Prussians maintained Their Ground against an immense superiority, and a cessation of fire for a few minutes from a village and (*sic*) which the French had occupied early,<sup>6</sup> gave a momentary Hope that Victory had declared against the French, but just at the moment that the Prince Hohenloe had resolved to Charge into the village with the Infantry and was disposing Corps of reserve to support that attack, the Regt. of Quarnitz Grendrs. gave way, and the example of one Corps influenced all the rest, who fled in disorder, and who had unfortunately too few Cavalry to cover with effect their retreat ; but night finally proved their shelter. Genl. Rüchel also advanced to support Prince Hohenloe and meeting the French about half way from Erfurt to Jena was himself beaten.<sup>7</sup> Prince Hohenloe's Corps and the King's Army met at Weimar where was also the baggage so that the confusion was considerable and a part of the King's army mechanically but most ignorantly pursuing the Chaussée that led to Erfurt were there obliged to capitulate.<sup>8</sup> The others who had more presence of mind struck off to gain Magdeburg and the Country where the French were not. The Queen who had fled from Auerstädt met Genl. Rüchel after the defeat of Prince Hohenloe. The Genl. gave her a route written with his pencil on a Card but she was obliged to go through Erfurt and the French were once so near as to observe and pursue her Carriage until a thick wood enabled her Escort to take a new direction.<sup>9</sup>

After giving further details of the two battles the report recounts in a more satisfactory manner the surrender at Prenzlau (28 Oct.) Hohenlohe, with the chief body of the troops that held together after the battles of Jena and Auerstädt, retreated by way of Nordhausen, Magdeburg, Burg-Neustadt, and Neu-Reppin. At Prenzlau he was within an easy march of the fortress of Stettin.

Prince Hohenloe with 12,000 men had nearly reached Prinzlau (*sic*) after a severe march in which he was pressed by the Duke of Berg at the head of 5000 Cavalry who were marching on the Chaussée from Berlin to gain this Town and intercept Prince Hohenloe since he was obliged to pass through it on his way to Stettin. On the Right of Prinzlau is a River, on the left a Lake, and a marshy ground separated the Roads on which the Prussians and French were moving.

Part of the Prussian Column had entered the Town without posting any Force to defend the Gates and secure the retreat of the remainder

<sup>5</sup> The French never were in line ; apart from Napoleon's preference for attack by columns, the unevenness of the ground prevented it, as well as greatly hampered the line formation of Prince Hohenlohe's army.

<sup>6</sup> The village of Vierzehn Heiligen. <sup>7</sup> Rüchel had 18 battalions and 18 squadrons.

<sup>8</sup> Most of that army retreated to Sömmerda ; part fled to Erfurt by mistake or through confusion in the evening ; 10,000 men surrendered there to part of Ney's corps on 15 Oct.

<sup>9</sup> Much of this is mere hearsay evidence. General Rüchel was very severely wounded at the close of the battle, and could not have given the queen any such advice.

when the French commenced with their Guns an attack on the Gateway. A Regt. from the Rear was ordered to form in front, and the Prussian Cavalry to take post also there until the Army had passed,<sup>10</sup> but the French Dragoons charged, routed the Prussians, Horse and Infantry, and entered pell-mell into the Town, with the fugitives. The Prussians rushed through leaving many prisoners, their Ammunition Waggons which had been left in the rear instead of being put in the front of the Corps as should be on a retreat in such a case, and the bread which had been prepared for them at Prinzlau and of which refreshment the Troops stood in the greatest need. Prince Hohenloe endeavoured now to form his Corps in the plain beyond the Town into Squares, and returning into the Streets was met by a flag of Truce, who (*sic*) demanded his Surrender, and almost at the same moment Prince Murat and the Chiefs of the Corps rode up and with vehement action entreated the Prince to capitulate as he was surrounded by 100,000 men marching in various directions. The French Officers followed Prince Hohenloe amongst his own Troops who were stupified or might have taken them Prisoners. Prince Hohenloe now sent Col. Massembach his Qr. Mr. Genl. to see if the Fact was true which Prince Murat stated, who returned after some time and gave as his opinion that the Prince should capitulate; so then 12,000 men when within 5 Germ<sup>n</sup> miles of Stettin laid down their arms to 5000 who were never re-inforced for many hours afterwards.<sup>11</sup> Such a want of common Intelligence in the Conduct of this Column is scarcely to be paralleled, for, with the precaution that a Sergt. ought to have been acquainted with, Prinzlau could have been secured, the Troops refreshed, and with the loss of a small rear Guard would have reached Stettin in safety, which might have produced the most important results. But if Prince Hohenloe is to be accused of imbecility even for finally surrendering, Col. Massembach His Qr. Mr. Genl. is loudly charged with Treachery since besides his behaviour on this occasion, he purposely as it is said lost two days by shallow artifices in the movement of the Army from Magdeburgh.

The despatch closes with a plan of Prenzlau and its environs, which need not be here reproduced.

<sup>10</sup> This is inexact. It was a battalion of infantry and 12 squadrons that remained as a rear-guard; and most of this force was withdrawn before the French charged.

<sup>11</sup> In the works of Marwitz (vol. ii. pp. 52-3) and Höptner (vol. ii. pp. 176 *et seq.*) on the campaign Massenbach is charged with having declared that the French had a greatly superior force at hand. Some reports credit him with saying that he had seen their 100,000 men. The number of Prussians who surrendered was 10,000 infantry and 1,800 cavalry.

## *Reviews of Books*

*Outlines of Comparative Politics.* By B. E. HAMMOND.  
(London : Rivingtons. 1903.)

AT the first glance this book provokes us to compare it with Henry Sidgwick's *Development of European Policy*; but such a comparison would be unjust to Mr. Hammond, who, as his preface explains, has merely aimed at producing a manual to be used in connexion with his own lectures or those of his master in political science, the late Sir John Seeley. These *Outlines* are a survey of political constitutions in the order of historical development; they supply the data for testing the abstract conclusions of the comparative method, and would be difficult reading for those who have not yet formed an acquaintance with the theories of Seeley or Mr. Hammond. Sidgwick's book is, on the contrary, complete in itself and self-explanatory. We are by no means sure that Mr. Hammond has been well advised in departing from this model. His *Outlines* would be much more intelligible and interesting to weaker students if he had imported into them more of the generalisations which he prefers to reserve for the lecture room, in particular if he had given his views as to the connexions between the successive developments of political life which he describes. But, his plan once accepted, we have very little but praise for the execution of it. His accounts of constitutions, ancient and modern, are lucid, though concise; he has taken great pains to eliminate the non-essential; and it must be admitted that his historical apparatus is at once extensive and more critically selected than that of Sidgwick's *Development*. With Mr. Hammond's theories we suspect that we should quarrel if they were more fully developed. He appears to limit unduly the scope of political science. He deprecates the idea of criticising measures of conscious political construction, and prefers to dwell upon those states which he calls 'natural,' which grow and are not made. Thus he apologises for the brevity of his survey of the Roman empire by saying that it was 'a purely artificial product' and that 'art criticism in the world of politics is dull work.' Now, the organic theory of development is valuable as an instrument of analysis, but it cannot be allowed to play the tyrant in this way, and a political science which neither studies statesmen nor aims at forming them is incomplete. The distinction between natural or homogeneous, and artificial or heterogeneous, states, to which Mr. Hammond constantly recurs, is a useful one for the purposes of description, but is too superficial to be made the basis of a method. All states which last long enough to acquire a settled constitution are natural in the sense that the individuals, classes, and subordinate communities which they comprise have interests in common.

All states, on the other hand, are artificial in the sense that they begin as federations of elements which are more or less heterogeneous in their interests. The most homogeneous of communities does not evolve a constitution in the way in which an organism evolves a specific type. The most primitive of rulers establishing the most simple of polities has before him problems to be solved—that is to say, has opportunities of choice. There may be one form of government which is best adapted to the needs and circumstances of his community, but this can only be discovered through conscious thought. He does on a small scale precisely what the rulers of heterogeneous empires do on a great scale. He aims at discovering and satisfying common interests; and such interests will be found in the most heterogeneous state: their evidence is proved by the existence of the state.

Mr. Hammond disclaims the object of analysing the causes which produce development in politics. But it is impossible to give an adequate account of successive stages in political development without alluding to the causes of change; and it is plain that in every case he assumes one cause alone, which is some change in the centre of gravity of the community, some shifting of the balance of power through economic developments. That this is one cause, and indeed a leading cause, of change we admit. But it would be interesting to know how much or how little weight Mr. Hammond attributes to another cause which he ignores, to changes of political ideas. Would he explain these ideas simply as a reflexion of social conditions? He might do so, if he confined himself to the rare cases of states developing in an isolation which is intellectual as well as geographical; but he would find himself at a loss when he came to any period of advanced civilisation. Every civilised state is more or less influenced by ideas which come to it from the outside. Mr. Hammond, following in the steps of Sidgwick, admits the importance of imitation as a factor in producing the similarity of modern states. But he appears to leave out of account the influence of abstract ideas and theories as distinct from that of institutions. We may do him an injustice, but, for all that we can see in this book, he would explain the constitutions of ancient Greece without reference to Greek theories of aristocracy and democracy, and the constitution of modern Europe without mentioning the ideas of conscience and equality. It is a natural omission in the work of one who applies the organic theory too rigidly to politics. But a theory which fails to take account of all the phenomena to be explained is in obvious need of revision. We think that Mr. Hammond would have found in political ideas and theories a more satisfactory clue than any which he suggests to the history of medieval constitution-making. Medieval constitutions, if described from the static point of view, defy classification; but it is easy to trace their affiliations and bring even their dissimilarities under a general law, if we regard them as the product of minds which were by no means exclusively occupied with economic and utilitarian considerations; if we take account of Teutonic custom, Carolingian tradition, Roman and feudal law, Christianity and scholasticism as influences moulding the course of politics. States are best explained as the resultant of social forces and abstract ideas, varying from one another according to the relative importance of these influences in

the process which produces each. The mechanical classification of them according to structural resemblances will tell us very little about their true nature or the law of their development. H. W. C. DAVIS.

*Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen.* Von THEODOR SCHREIBER. ('Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.' XXI. 3.) (Leipzig: Teubner. 1903.)

As is well known, the extant heads, which have been referred to a common Alexander type, are both numerous and diverse in character; and the task of deducing from them, with the aid of the scanty notices concerning Alexander's personal appearance contained in respectable ancient writers, an archetype really representative of the conqueror himself has attracted various art critics and scholars. Until Dr. Schreiber's work appeared the best discussion was that of Koepf, who established the so-called 'Azara herm' of the Louvre as the most veracious extant representative of the Lysippean portrait. But since not only many new heads, rightly and wrongly ascribed to Alexander, have come to light since the appearance of Koepf's book, but also that monograph had made little attempt to explain how so many and great variations from the Lysippean type are in existence, Dr. Schreiber has resumed the discussion *de novo*. In brief he tries to show first what three at least of the original Lysippean statues were like (this is done chiefly with the aid of certain recently found statuettes); secondly, into what groups the other Alexander heads fall, and how those groups acquired their distinctive character. The author traces in a convincing manner successive stages of idealisation in the subsequent portraiture, and plausibly connects the process with the growth and decline of the Alexander cultus. Thus upon the doubtless flattering but lifelike Lysippean type followed first heroic idealisations, and then still remoter romantic portrayals. Of the former class the Chatsworth head, a Leochares type, is not a bad example; of the latter the well-known head from Alexandria in the British Museum is now generally held one of the finest specimens. It is unfortunate that the Louvre 'herm' should be in itself so poor a work of art, and that with certain even inferior Alexandrian copies it should have to represent to us the face and head which originated a new type in art, and for so long stood for the God-Man. But close study of its characteristics serves to give some inkling of the original from which it was derived, and to show how much our idea of Alexander's presence (as of his history) is probably due to the pious or romantic prepossessions of later ages. Dr. Schreiber's book, which is well illustrated, comes opportunely after the appearance of M. de Ujfalvy's sumptuous but uncritical work on the same subject. D. G. HOGARTH.

*The Submerged Greek and Roman Foreshore near Naples.* By R. T. GÜNTHER. Reprinted from *Archaeologia*, LVIII (1903).

*Earth Movements in the Bay of Naples.* By R. T. GÜNTHER. Reprinted from the *Geographical Journal* for August and September 1903.

THESE papers, originally communicated to the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Geographical Society, contain some of the most important

information about the topography of the Campanian coast and islands in Roman times that has yet come to light. Who that has wandered along the shore of Baiae has not asked where are those wonderful marine palaces which we read about in Horace (*contracta pisces aequora sentiunt iactis in altum molibus*) and see depicted in the wall-paintings preserved in the Naples Museum? Mr. Günther has found them, or rather their foundations; and the discovery which he has made is that the coast line sank in post-classical times and rose again in the sixteenth century, though not sufficiently to lay bare the foreshore with its remains of villas built on the original sea front. There accordingly the foundations lie, often deep in the water, but recognisable as works of man and not the reefs and rocks for which they had previously been taken. Under the circumstances it could not be expected that the ground plans of the buildings should have survived in all their details, but interesting comparisons can be drawn between the submerged walls and the structures represented in the paintings of the Naples Museum, and important observations made as to the construction of Roman harbours and breakwaters. The so-called Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli, with its columns perforated by marine shell-fish, has, of course, always been a standing witness to the submersion and subsequent elevation of that particular building. The phenomenon is now shown to have extended over the whole district from the Sorrentine peninsula to Gaeta, including Capri and the other islands. The number of historical sites dealt with is considerable, and we would specially direct the attention of students to what is said about the port of Puteoli, the Julian harbour, the naval station at Misenum, and the *Stagnum Baiarum*, to which we may add the Roman remains in Capri, and the history of Amalfi. One can but admire the combination of geological, archæological, and literary evidence which has produced such important results. It is not given to many to undertake historical research of so complete a nature. If we must make a criticism, it is that we regret that Mr. Günther has committed himself to the existence of Palæopolis or Parthenope.<sup>1</sup> We see no reason for going back from the view of Mommsen and Beloch that the Palæopolis which Neapolis implies can only be Cumæ. The identification of the Bagni della Regina Giovanna with the sea bath of the villa of Pollius, near Sorrento, described by Statius, perhaps presents more difficulties than the treatment here given suggests.<sup>2</sup> We see no explanation of the *gemina testudo* on which Statius insists, and his account seems to refer to a natural hot spring. The changes of level might, however, have destroyed this.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

*Storia di Fondi.* Per GIOVANNI CONTE-COLINO. (Naples: Giannini. 1902.)

*Memorie storiche e statutarie di Fondi in Campania.* Per BRUTO AMANTE e ROMOLO BIANCHI. (Rome: Loescher. 1903.)

FONDI, the ancient Fundi, is a place of considerable interest from both the archæological and the historical point of view, and a carefully written monograph on the subject would be a book of great value and importance. Unfortunately neither of the two gentlemen (for Professor

<sup>1</sup> *Submerged Foreshore*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Earth Movements*, p. 20.

Bruto Amante appears to be mainly responsible for the second of the two works) who have, within a year of one another, each published a volume of over four hundred pages upon their native town can be said to be adequately equipped for his task, at any rate in regard to the classical period. Neither author treats the texts of the classical writers with sufficient care. The *saltus, qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari* of Livy, xxii. 15, cannot refer to the *bosco di Fondi* (or *del Salto*), between the Lake of Fondi and the sea, which indeed it would have been pointless to occupy, inasmuch as the Via Appia kept close to the mountains on the further side of the lake. De la Blanchère<sup>1</sup> rightly says, *Minucius se poste à la Piazza de' Paladini, qui n'a jamais été mieux décrite*, i.e. at the highest point of the road behind and above Terracina. Still less could it be called Formianus Saltus, even supposing that the better reading in Catullus, 114, 1, were not Firmanus (for Formianus would not scan).<sup>2</sup> The identification<sup>3</sup> of Campodimele with Apriola (*sic*), one of the early cities of Latium, the site of which, though it cannot be fixed, must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rome, is rightly rejected by Signor Conte-Colino (p. 282). Nor can I find any basis for this writer's statement (p. 31) that 'Livy says that it is apparently certain that when the two Roman colonies of Pometia and Cora joined the Ausonii Aurunci in the war against Rome, Fondi, which belonged to them, must have joined them.'<sup>4</sup> Both our authors persist in calling Vitruvius Vaccus 'Vitruvius Vacca,' but Signor Conte-Colino is alone in the ingenious suggestion (p. 31) that the *Vacci prata*, where his house in Rome was situated, are to be identified with the Campo Vaccino—the medieval name of the Forum.

In the domain of epigraphy we are even more unfortunate. Neither author has been able to emancipate himself from the sway of the *Via Appia* of that *importunissimus falsator* Pratilli, which, though written in 1745, still holds the field as the latest work on the road as a whole—*leider voll unzuverlässiger Angaben und Fälschungen*,<sup>5</sup>—while other forged inscriptions are copied from Gudius;<sup>6</sup> and these fabrications are employed to determine the sites of temples. But no authority at all (except that of tradition) is given for the statement that a temple of Isis once stood upon a platform of 'Cyclopean' masonry, now occupied by Professor Amante's villa.<sup>7</sup> Nor is good use made of genuine inscriptions. The way in which that in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, x. 6243, is reproduced by both authors<sup>8</sup> is a monument of carelessness. Nor should the inscription on two lead pipes—'PVB[licum] MVN[icipi] FVND[ani]'<sup>9</sup>—have appeared as 'P. M. F.,' and been interpreted as 'Pubblica (*sic*) Munificentia Fundana.'<sup>10</sup> The offence is almost less excusable in Signor Conte-Colino's case, for he quotes the *Corpus* freely, and in fact reproduces all that part of it which relates to Fondi. This in itself is an

<sup>1</sup> *Terracine*, p. 55.<sup>2</sup> *Memorie*, p. 5.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 202.<sup>4</sup> The reference in the note to Liv. ii. 10 is unfortunate, as this chapter contains the story of Horatius Cocles.<sup>5</sup> Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, ii. i. 241; cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, x. p. 373.<sup>6</sup> *C. I. L.* x. 838\*, 883\*.<sup>7</sup> *Memorie*, p. 15; *Storia*, p. 48.<sup>8</sup> *Memorie*, p. 47; *Storia*, p. 29.<sup>9</sup> *C. I. L.* x. 6245.<sup>10</sup> *Memorie*, p. 37; *Storia*, p. 19.



excellent thing, but one might have hoped that it would have saved him from various errors. Professor Amante, on the other hand, has made very little use of the *Corpus*, though he refers his readers to it, in order, as he says (p. 36), not to repeat things already known which can easily be looked up. It cannot, however, be too clearly understood that no writer making the smallest pretence to scientific accuracy or completeness ought to cite inscriptions from any previous work when they have been published in it. A little careful study of its pages might have taught Signor Conte-Colino and Professor Amante<sup>11</sup> that the municipal inscriptions of Fondi do not belong to the period before the city came beneath the sway of Rome, but are of the usual type, the *tessera hospitalis* published in *C. I. L.* x. 6231 being, perhaps, the only inscription that belongs to a date before the social war (cf. p. 617). Professor Amante might further have learnt not to interpret 's. c. f.' as 'Sen. Consul. Fundanus' (*sic*),<sup>12</sup> whereas it is a component part of the common phrase 'EX S[enatus] C[onsulto] F[aciendum] LOCAVERUNT;' and we might have had a clearer account than the following from Signor Conte-Colino of the occurrence of Fondi in the itineraries: 'anche negli antichi itinerari si fa larga menzione, come asserisce a p. 315 nel suo tomo iv. Lorenzo Giustiniani (*Dizionario Geografico del Regno di Napoli*).'<sup>13</sup> Of general archæological information Signor Conte-Colino gives us rather more than Professor Amante,<sup>14</sup> though he makes (p. 19) the remarkable statement that the area enclosed by the walls of Fondi (within which the modern town is still enclosed) is to be treated as merely the citadel of a far larger city, and (p. 35) is apparently not very clear as to the history of the Via Appia, which had reached Brundisium long before the time of Trajan.<sup>15</sup>

The desire not uncommon in writers of the history of their native town to claim as citizens of it as many historical or literary personages as possible is probably the reason for the strange confusion between Varronianus and Varro,<sup>16</sup> which Professor Amante rightly rejects. A conjecture that Tiberius was born at Fondi is mentioned and rejected by Suetonius, though both writers minimise the value of his statement. Signor Conte-Colino, indeed, quotes a lengthy biography of Livia from the *Enciclopedia popolare Italiana*, which (whether from the fault of the original or from that of the transcriber) begins with the following astounding statement: 'Livia Drusilla Augusta dell' illustre famiglia Claudia, figlia di Livio Drusillo Claudiano, partigiano di Bruto e Cassio, si uccise dopo la battaglia di Filippi.' But even this is surpassed by the

<sup>11</sup> A certain confusion in the latter's account (p. 51, note 2) of the different kinds of franchise accorded by Rome to the allied and subject cities of Italy is not inexcusable; but an awkward change from years B.C. to years A.U.C. might have been avoided (p. 48), and also the mention of Publius Philo as dictator in 399 B.C., whereas Q. (?) Publilius Philo was dictator in 339 B.C. (*Liv.* viii. 12.)

<sup>12</sup> *Memorie*, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Storia*, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Neither author gives us any information as to the fate of the 74th milestone of the Via Appia (*C. I. L.* x. 6857), which according to Fonteanive (*Avanzi Ciclopici*, p. 165) was broken in pieces in 1880 by a resolution of the town council, who considered it a hindrance to traffic, a fragment only being removed to the local museum. Only three years before the museum had been opened with great enthusiasm, as befitted a population 'second to none in its love for antiquities' (*Storia*, p. 66).

<sup>15</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*, ii. 39.

<sup>16</sup> *Storia*, p. 46.

description (p. 45) of a large and magnificent tomb, a mass of concrete surmounted by huge projecting blocks of stone, 'quasi tutti di una dimensione che sfidano superbamente ancora l'ala edace del tempo.'

In the sections which deal with the medieval and modern history of Fondi and with the episcopal see of Fondi Professor Amante seems to be far better acquainted with his subject. During the Lombard invasions Fondi was abandoned in 592, its bishop taking refuge at Terracina; but it is doubtful whether it ever actually fell under their sway. At some time or another it certainly came under the rule of the holy see, though perhaps not before 754. It was burnt by the Saracen invaders on their return from their unsuccessful attack on Rome in 846, and ceded with its territory by Pope John VIII to Docibile, duke of Gaeta, as an inducement to further exertions in resisting their attacks. The history of this first period is, however, very intricate. Fondi appears more than once in donations made by the emperors to the holy see; and it seems to have been sometimes held by the dukes of Gaeta, sometimes to have formed a dukedom of its own, held, however, by members of the same family. From about 1140 we find Fondi under the rule of counts of the Neapolitan kingdom, until about 1297, when the Caetani family, then among the most powerful in Italy, returned to it, Roffredo, a great-nephew of Pope Boniface VIII, marrying Giovanna, the only child of Riccardo dell' Aquila IV. Onorato I, his grandson,<sup>17</sup> was one of the chief supporters of the antipope, Clement VII, who was elected and consecrated pope in Fondi in 1378. His successor, Benedict XIII, was also supported by Onorato, who had naturally been declared a public enemy by Urban VI and Boniface IX, the popes of Rome. Onorato died, however, in 1400, and his brother Giacomo, who succeeded him, had always taken the other side in the schism. He ruled in peace, therefore, until 1419. His grandson Onorato II was perhaps the builder of the palace, the windows of which are remarkable for their beautiful tracery. The castle, a fine building of the same period, which stands close by it, guarding the south-eastern gate of the town, is attributed by Professor Amante to him or his successor Onorato III. The latter retired in 1504 to Altamura, which he received, with the title of prince, when Fondi and several other towns were given to the great captain Prospero Colonna by Ferdinand the Catholic in return for his services in war. Prospero's son Vespasiano married the beautiful Giulia Gonzaga<sup>18</sup> as his second wife in 1526, and died in 1528. She thereupon married her stepdaughter Isabella to her brother Luigi Gonzaga (il Rodomonte); he died in 1532, but not before a son, Vespasiano, had been born of the marriage. In 1534 Hairaddin Barbarossa, one of the worst pirates of the Mediterranean, tried to carry off Giulia, who only escaped by hiding, and sacked the

<sup>17</sup> The date of his succession to his father seems uncertain; on pp. 116, 141 we find the date given as 1370, but on p. 303 he is spoken of as if he was already count of Fondi in the description of his twice repeated removal of the body of St. Thomas Aquinas from Fossanuova to Fondi in 1349 and 1356.

<sup>18</sup> Professor Amante has written a fuller monograph on the subject, *Giulia Gonzaga, contessa di Fondi, ed il Movimento religioso femminile nel Secolo XVI* (Bologna, 1896).

unfortunate city; but he retired on the approach of Ippolito de' Medici from Rome. Ippolito was apparently a suitor for Giulia's hand, but he was poisoned in 1535, and died at Itri, Giulia being present. There shortly followed disputes between Giulia and Isabella as to the possession of Fondi and the care of the boy Vespasiano, both of which were decided in favour of Giulia. His education was her special care, and he also served in several campaigns. His favourite residence was Sabbioneta, and Fondi was almost entirely neglected. He died in 1591, leaving only a daughter, who married Luigi Carafa, prince of Stigliano. Their granddaughter Anna married Ferdinand de Gusman, duca di Medina, in 1636 (p. 172).

The long prevalence of absenteeism—no ruler of Fondi had resided in or near it since Giulia Gonzaga left it about 1534—and the consequent neglect to drain the low-lying lands, coupled with the rapacity of the stewards who administered the estates, led to much distress and sickness, and to a continual diminution of population. There is a manuscript description of the state of things in 1631 by an anonymous writer, from which Professor Amante quotes some interesting passages (p. 176). Especial stress is laid upon the harm done by the herds of buffaloes which had been introduced some sixty years before. The princess Anna and her husband visited Fondi in the year of their marriage, and as a result of what they saw a scheme was drawn up and carried out for the drainage of the low-lying lands, and for their being brought back from pasture to cultivation. The consequence was an increase in the population and an improvement in the climatic conditions; but the works were not properly kept up, and distress and malarial fever reappeared. On the death of Nicola de Gusman, the son of Ferdinand, in 1690, the city of Fondi with its territory reverted to the royal treasury of the kingdom of Naples, and was granted to Count Mansfeldt, a German, whose daughter sold it in 1721 to the Di Sangro family, in which it still remains. In 1791, after many ineffectual appeals for aid to the lords of Fondi, Ferdinand I of Naples was persuaded to authorise a scheme formed for the drainage of the marshes; but large sums were spent with little result, and the work is by no means completed even now. The French Revolution and the events which led up to the unification of Italy (pp. 205–72) affected Fondi a good deal, owing to its position on the highroad between Rome and Naples. Many personal recollections of the author's grandfather are given, and will have interest for local readers.

The next section (pp. 273–327) deals with the episcopal see of Fondi. Soter, the thirteenth in the series of popes (168–77), was a native of Fondi; but the place does not seem to have become the seat of a bishop until 236. Signor Conte-Colino, who gives much the same account of Fondi in the middle ages, but with less detail (pp. 88–168), does not succeed in avoiding certain absurd errors. In inserting Pietro Caetani as consecrated in 1381 he has made a mistake of a century, having failed to decipher the inscription upon the great bell of the cathedral,<sup>19</sup> and is thus compelled to insert a second Pietro Caetani in 1481 as the forty-fifth bishop. With regard to the forty-third bishop he makes the impos-

<sup>19</sup> *Memorie*, p. 311.

sible statement that 'in 1445 the above-mentioned Martin V nominates Niccolò di Fazio da Traetto (this pope governed the church from 1415 to 1431).'

The last section of the *Memorie* opens with a short sketch of municipal life in southern Italy, which leads up to a long chapter (pp. 343-427) entitled 'L' Editore degli Statuti Fondani e due illustri Contemporanei (Fr. de Sanctis e Angelo Camillo de Meis).' These short biographies of the writer's father and two of his intimate friends (the latter neither of them closely connected with Fondi) are obviously a tribute of affection and esteem, and it would be ungracious to insist on the small amount of interest they are likely to excite in the readers of this Review. The volume closes with a short summary (pp. 427-58) of the statutes of Fondi, Itri, and Monticelli—*oggi Monte S. Biagio, Villa Galba in fieri*—though Suetonius's description, *Galba natus est in villa colli superposita prope Terracinam sinistrorsum Fundos petentibus*,<sup>20</sup> seems to point to a site near Terracina,<sup>21</sup> and will not warrant the imposition of this name upon the village. More than once—as, for example, in the case of Fratta Maggiore, now (though in Mommsen's opinion *temere omnino*<sup>22</sup>) known as Ausonia—the desire to claim an identification with some town of the early days of Italy has led to a change which fixes upon a modern village a name which it has no right to bear; and it is as well that Enrico Amante's suggestion has not been adopted.

The latter portion of Signor Conte-Colino's volume, after a useful account of the churches of Fondi (pp. 168-206), though the inscriptions on p. 178 are carelessly copied, and the derivation of the name Campo Demetriano direct from Demeter (a name which does not occur in Latin literature) is a solecism (p. 202), deals with a variety of subjects—the present condition of Fondi, its industries and institutions; and then (as a warning to the citizens of Fondi) follows a long quotation from an article depicting in lurid colours the misfortunes of the Italian emigrant in Brazil; further quotations from other writers concerning the Lake of Fondi, and the Bosco del Salto which lies between it and the sea; biographical sketches of illustrious natives of Fondi, in great part quoted from various works; notes on the history of the neighbouring towns, from which we learn little that is new, though a few items of archæological information are welcome.<sup>23</sup>

With regard to the comparative merits of the two books there can be no question: Professor Amante's is considerably superior, but in certain points does not entirely supersede Signor Conte-Colino's. The illustrations to the former are welcome, but might have been better reproduced, and a plan of Fondi is unfortunately not among them. An index to them would have been useful; and we should have been told that that opposite p. 13 is a reproduction of a part of the map prefixed to book iii. of Pratilli's *Via Appia*. A bibliography is given (pp. 41-4), but the order of its arrangement is neither alphabetical nor chronological; and the references to other writers are not always sufficient. The book is provided

<sup>20</sup> *Galba*, 4.

<sup>21</sup> De la Blanchère, *Terracine*, p. 89.

<sup>22</sup> *C. I. L.* x. p. 529.

<sup>23</sup> Professor Amante (pp. 193-205) has a similar section in which the account of Minturnæ is remarkable for the confusion made between the amphitheatre and theatre.

with a good index and an analysis of contents, Signor Conte-Colino contenting himself with the latter. Neither book is free from misprints, which in dates are especially annoying. The great faults of these and other local histories (which in themselves are most welcome) are, first, a lack of wide perspective, of ability to see what will be generally interesting, and, secondly, a lack of scientific thoroughness and completeness, which is apt to make them hampering and puzzling to a reader in search of detailed information with regard to particular points—as, for instance, the topography and archæology of the place in Roman times. A little careful observation on the spot by the writer would be worth far more than many erudite quotations from previous works. There is one evil in the amount of topographical literature already existing in Italy—that it is extremely difficult to get to the bottom of a great many of the statements which pass on from author to author without, as it would seem, any one taking the trouble to verify them. One would have been far more grateful to Professor Amante if, instead of quoting at full length Gesualdo's description of a road along the coast from Terracina (?) to Gaeta, he had given us observations of his own, made on the spot.

T. ASHBY, jun.

*Baptism and Christian Archæology.* By CLEMENT ROGERS, M.A.  
(‘Studia Biblica,’ Vol. V. 4.) (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903.)

IN this work Mr. Rogers seeks in the evidence of art and architecture the safest indication of what was the actual practice of the mass of early Christians, as distinguished from the ideal which he considers to be depicted in the writings of the fathers. In these and in the earliest church historians the recurrence of such expressions as *mergitamur*, *in aquam demissus homo*, *καταδύοντων τὰς κεφαλὰς*, and the like, leaves the clear impression that baptism by immersion was the usual custom in the early ages; the Bible narrative, the meaning of the verb *βαπτίζειν* or its Aramaic equivalent, and the prepositions connected with it all point in the same direction. When, however, we turn to the strong historical evidence from Christian art collected in this well arranged and carefully written volume, we find that catacomb frescoes and carved sarcophagi, the monuments of later Christian art, and the dimensions of the oldest fonts still extant lead alike to the conclusion that, if we are to judge simply from archæology, the usual method of administering baptism in the time before Constantine was by affusion only, a practice apparently universal in the fourth and fifth centuries and customary down to the middle of the ninth, when immersion was ordered for infants. In his preface the author goes so far as to express his ‘conviction that no other method than affusion was adopted till the general introduction of infant baptism in the early middle ages made submersion possible.’ In this conflict of testimony we can but welcome the present work as a valuable contribution on one side of the question. Still, even if we accept Mr. Rogers’s insistence on the paramount value of archæological evidence, it may be suggested that sufficient allowance has not been made for the obvious difficulty of representing baptism by submersion and for the well-known preference of the early Christians to portray their

sacred mysteries by symbols rather than by actual representation; *e.g.* the witness of archæology to the crucifixion as the crowning act of redemption is as nothing compared with that afforded by literature, whilst it is entirely silent as to any reception of the holy communion. We do not mean to say that early art is intentionally misleading or to detract from the value of the evidence collected in the present volume, but simply to put in a word for the claims of Christian literature and a caution as to the due value of archæology. Mr. Rogers gives us in a small compass the results of the latest investigations in east and west, and his references can be depended on, though he naturally follows the received opinion in assigning to the ninth century the Minerva pontifical which we hold was in all probability written in the time of Landulf II, bishop of Beneventum, 1108-19; and his account of the earliest known baptism fresco, that in the crypt of Lucina, will require revision if we accept Monsignor Wilpert's recently published work as accurately representing the original, for in his plate (no. 29) the water of the Jordan reaches as far as the Saviour's breast.

The chapter on the shape and use of the so-called baptisteries in the catacombs is particularly interesting, on account of their antiquity and associations, and, as each year adds considerably to our knowledge of them, it may not be out of place here to bring Mr. Rogers's references to them up to date. Of the three which he mentions as the only ones now known to exist in the Roman catacombs the first, though extant in current local tradition, is unfortunately a myth, due perhaps to a desire felt some years ago to provide a baptistery in the place which was then supposed to be the *nymphae ubi Petrus baptizabat*. Professor Marucchi now states positively that no font of any kind exists in the *coemiterium maius* formerly called the *Ostrianum*. The supposed baptistery in the catacomb of St. Priscilla cannot be hurriedly passed over in view of the controversy connected with it which is now occupying the attention of Roman archæologists. Remeasured recently, the so-called 'font' is 4.18 metres long, from 2.01 to 2.15 metres wide, and 1.42 metres deep. Undoubtedly it was originally a water reservoir belonging to the villa above it, but there is no clear evidence that it was ever used for baptism; there are no steps to descend into it, no place for the officiant, and apparently no means of lighting it. The opening which gives access to it is probably not older than the fourth century, and has a ledge of that date on the ground which so bars the way that it would be most difficult for a catechumen to enter the tank and almost impossible for him to get out. The marks of chains or ropes show that water used to be drawn from it, and there are traces of another water basin and a drain in front of the opening. The staircase to it does not, as supposed, start from the Basilica of St. Silvester, which had its own separate baptistery above ground. That the tank was held in veneration from the fifth or sixth century is clear from the numerous *graffiti* and marks on the wall of the apse which lead to it, but this was probably the time when the place began to be looked on as the *Fons Petri*. With the exception of the traces of what may have been a stone *pelvis* there is no sign of any means of baptism by affusion, and submersion would have been almost impossible; even Professor Marucchi now admits that it was not

a baptistery in actual use, but *quasi direi di devozione e secondo il rito di affusione*. Another more recently discovered tank in another part of the same catacomb in all probability served as a permanent cistern for the water continually required for the construction and the maintenance of the catacomb. The third example given of a subterranean Roman font is that at S. Ponziano, with its sixth-century frescoes, representing the baptism of our Lord, and a cross coming out of the water, but here again there is no proof that it was ever used for baptism, such representations being appropriate over any spring of water. It may indeed be questioned whether there ever were any subterranean baptisteries; none such are mentioned in early documents, and the public nature of the rite which for five centuries was reserved for the bishop, and was as a rule restricted to a few days in the year, when consequently large numbers of persons were gathered together, seems to militate against their existence, and if affusion was the customary method of administration there was no need even in the days of persecution of more than a small receptacle for water in the catacombs.

A careful examination of the two fonts at Naples, made in February 1903 under the guidance of Monsignor Galante, leads to conclusions somewhat at variance with those of Mr. Rogers; one feature, however, in the Naples catacomb which fully supports his theory is the existence of a fifth-century fresco, not yet published, which represents the baptism by affusion of a fully clothed adult. HENRY MARRIOTT BANNISTER.

*History of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Year 1547.* By the Rev. E. A. D'ALTON, C.C. (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, 1903.)

THIS work is planned on a scale large enough to give what is much wanted, a good general history of Ireland, and the writer, though he has no great literary gift and no pretensions to be a philosophical historian, tells the story in general lucidly, and on the whole with admirable temper. He commendably gives his authorities in footnotes, but unfortunately they are not always the best; and he seems to have no grasp of the distinction between primary and secondary evidence in matters of history. His treatment of the mythic and heroic cycles of Ireland is only slightly more critical than Keating's, and is of the same order. He seems to be unaware that the stories of the Fir-bolg, of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and even of the children of Milè are treated mythologically by nearly all modern writers of repute, and that such ethnological and historical facts as are to be gleaned therefrom are not to be gained by merely 'stripping these tales of obvious exaggeration and mere poetic adornment, and leaving out the gods and goddesses, the giants and the fairies.' His sketch of what he calls pre-Christian civilisation seems to have been mainly compiled from O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, and from Mr. Ginnell's book on the Brehon laws, though assistance to a more critical treatment of archaic Irish law might have been derived from Sir Henry Maine's *Early Institutions* and M. d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Etudes sur le Droit Celtique*. We are told by Archbishop Healy that Father D'Alton has a good knowledge of the Gaelic tongue,

but he seems to have adopted no fixed principle in the spelling of Gaelic names. In writing 'Tuatha de Danaan' he adopts an absurd form (unhappily much in vogue) which suggests that the word 'de' is the French preposition, instead of the genitive case of the Irish word for goddess. He writes 'Dalaraidhe' in Irish, but 'Dalriadia' in his own Latin; 'Laoghaire' and 'Cennfealedh' in Irish, but 'Olave Fola,' 'Drumcat,' and 'Sliave Mis,' which are neither orthographically Irish nor conventional anglicised forms, nor are they good phonetic equivalents. He spells 'Fin' and 'Con' with a paucity of consonants, but 'Kinnellconnell' and 'Mellaghlin' with a superfluity. He writes 'Dubhthack,' but 'Duv gall.' It must, however, be admitted that the spelling of Irish names is a difficulty to the popular historian. Perhaps the wisest plan, towards which the best writers seem to be gravitating, is to produce the older Irish names in the older and simpler Irish spelling, and, until there is a consensus among scholars, let the pronunciation take care of itself. After the Anglo-Norman occupation the conventional anglicised forms, where such exist, might be used, with the seventeenth-century Irish equivalent in brackets or in a note for purposes of identification, and an indication, where necessary, of the modern pronunciation. Where no recognised English form exists the Irish form should be given, with its approximate phonetic equivalent.

The chapters detailing the Irish intertribal contests are almost as tedious as the pages of the Four Masters. The salient points which had a lasting effect on the history of the race are not brought into due prominence. Though there are chapters compiled with much assiduity on the rise and progress and the decay of religion and learning, little or no attempt is made to give an idea of the most precious heirloom of the race, its imaginative literature. This, if critically studied, would be likely to cast more light on what early Ireland, pre-Christian and post-Christian, thought and felt and believed than all the monastic annals of the middle ages can shed. When we come to the Anglo-Norman invasion, we find many of the best authorities ignored. Modern writers are frequently relied on, but no use appears to have been made of Miss Norgate's studies of Henry II and John. As to original authorities, Giraldus Cambrensis is always quoted from Wright's translation, instead of from the Rolls edition, and though many of the translator's blunders in place and personal names are corrected or avoided some are reproduced—e.g. 'Olechan,' p. 215, for Olethan. The statement (p. 182; cf. p. 184, note) that Dermot gave lands near Wexford to Maurice de Prendergast is founded on a misunderstanding: by *Mauricio* Giraldus meant Maurice Fitz Gerald, as is manifest from the words *iuxta pristinae conventionis debitum* as compared with the *conventio* previously mentioned (pp. 229, 233, Rolls edition). Mr. D'Alton's distrust of Giraldus's evidence is carried so far that he often prefers to quote Ware's *Annals*, based on the point entirely on Giraldus, rather than Giraldus himself. The second great authority on the period, the old French poem inspired by Maurice Regan, Dermot MacMurrough's secretary, though largely relied on, is always quoted from Harris's inaccurate copy of Carew's faulty paraphrase printed in *Hibernica*, instead of from the text and literal translation published by the present writer under the title *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*; if Mr.



D'Alton had consulted this, he might have added to his narrative some points of interest, and would have at least avoided several errors. He would not, for instance, have written an impossible 'Hatchdrift' (p. 184) as the site of the three days' battle between Fitz Stephen and Donough of Ossory, but Achadh-ur, the Irish name for Freshford, a few miles north of Kilkenny. Nor would he have said that when Strongbow was hard pressed in Dublin by Roderic O'Conor the latter's terms were that Strongbow 'should quit Leinster, surrender the towns of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford,' and return to his own country (p. 189). Roderic's conditions were haughty enough, but he in fact proposed to leave the Danish towns mentioned in Strongbow's possession. To Roderic it mattered little whether they were held by Norsemen or by Normans. Why Mr. D'Alton should say that Strongbow upon Dermot's death was '*de iure* as well as *de facto* king of Leinster, though he did not assume the title,' passes comprehension. Strongbow was certainly not king by Irish law or custom, and we are expressly told that at the time all the Irish of the country revolted against him except three chieftains who remained faithful to him. Ultimately Henry's grant confirmed what Strongbow's sword had won. It is strange that an Irish writer does not dwell on the clash between Norman feudalism and Irish tribalism, which was the keynote of difference between the races at this time. But this work after all shows a considerable amount of painstaking research, is in general pleasantly if unpretentiously written, and does more to fill up the gap between the reign of John and that of Henry VII than any other general history of Ireland with which we are acquainted.

GODDARD H. ORPEN.

*Studien zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Grossgrundherrschaft Werden an der Ruhr.* Von RUDOLF KÖTZSCHKE. (Leipzig: Teubner. 1901.)

A BURNING question of the day among historians is that of fixing the exact limits of the sphere of action of manorial administration, especially in the early middle ages. Evidently a minute investigation of the organisation of as many individual manors as possible is the necessary preliminary before general conclusions can be drawn. The Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde has, therefore, done well to include among its numerous valuable publications editions of the most important *Urbare* of Rhenish convents and chapters. In the present book one of the editors anticipates some of the results of his edition of the rolls of the great Carolingian abbey of Werden. For detailed description he has selected two samples of the chief modes of manorial organisation—namely, the once royal estate of Friemersheim, on the Rhine, as a type of what he calls *gutswirtschaftliche Verfassung bei dichter Besitzlage*, and on the other hand those possessions of the convents that were sprinkled in small lots over a large part of Westphalia as a type of the *grundherrschaftliche Verfassung bei Streubesitz*. *Gutsherrschaft* and *Grundherrschaft* are now recognised terms of two distinct kinds of manorial organisation which it would probably be difficult to render in a couple of phrases in English. (See G. von Below, 'Territorium und Stadt,' *Historische Bibliothek*, vol. xi. Munich, 1900.) In a further chapter of particular interest

the author elucidates the various changes in the central administration of the conventual estate from the beginning of the ninth century to the end of the fifteenth. Offices were turned into benefices; only subordinate improvements were introduced, no general reform to meet the changed requirements of the times; estates were pawned to raise funds for the most urgent needs, until by the second half of the fifteenth century the whole convent was fairly on its way to ruin, the number of monks being reduced to three, namely, the abbot, the provost, and the treasurer. At last, in 1474, the archbishop of Cologne stepped in and a fundamental reform was effected.

The whole little book is a most praiseworthy performance, thoroughly methodical and clear in its arrangement and well written, the only mistake of consequence I have found being the description as the abbot's menials of certain independent artisans living in the town of Werden in houses built on *fundi* belonging to the abbey, as I have explained in my book *Ämter und Zünfte*, note 173 a. This error I was able to detect by an inspection of a portion of the proofs of Dr. Kötzschke's edition of the manorial rolls, which he kindly sent me, and I only mention the fact as illustrating the necessity of the full publication of such documents in order to make them accessible to all investigators. Those of Werden are sure to be particularly interesting and valuable.

F. KEUTGEN.

*Quomodo primi Duces Capetianae stirpis Burgundiae res gesserint* (1032-1162). By A. KLEINCLAUSZ. (Dijon: Barbier Marilier. 1902.)

DR. KLEINCLAUSZ has treated his subject thoroughly, but with commendable brevity. As his title indicates, he has confined himself to studying the government of the early dukes of Burgundy and their relations with the French crown. Cluni and Cîteaux are only mentioned so far as they come into connexion with this subject, and the share of Burgundy in the crusades is barely indicated. However Dr. Kleinclausz has given us quite as much as we have a right to expect in a thesis, and it is not his fault that the evidence which he has brought together suggests more problems than it solves. Even for the bare facts of political history we have to rely upon slight and often unsatisfactory evidence; we do not know the terms upon which Richard the Justiciar received the march or duchy of Burgundy, nor the extent of the lands which it comprised; the charter by which the duchy was granted to Duke Robert I has disappeared since 1847 and its terms are only known from the description given by Courtépée in his *Description du Duché de Bourgogne*. The case is worse when we ask what causes produced the severance of the duchy from the upper and lower kingdoms, or the motives of that provincial patriotism which frustrated Robert the Pious and Henry I in their idea of incorporating the duchy with the royal demesne. Geographically the duchy is bisected by a mountain range; ecclesiastically it was a part of the province of Lyons and divided into several dioceses; while if consideration of race had determined its future it would probably have followed the fortunes of Lorraine and Provence rather than those of West Francia. We can only suggest an explanation. It is probable that the duchy was saved from incorporation with Upper or Lower Burgundy in the year 888

by the local influence of Richard the Justiciar ; that the project of uniting the duchy to the Capetian demesne was resisted because the nobility were shrewd enough to see that their liberties would be more secure under a duke, even of the royal house, than under the king ; and that the resistance succeeded because the small number of the nobility made a concerted resistance possible. Certainly the power of the dukes of the first line was small ; their vassals had usurped all the ducal demesnes and most of the regalia and other privileges attaching to the office ; and the Capetian dukes were only tolerated on condition of confining their claims within modest limits. Under Robert I and his immediate successors the ducal court was migratory and scantily attended ; the duke depended chiefly on the dues paid by religious houses ; and the nobles were allowed to plunder, to wage private wars, or to roam on crusades at their pleasure. Stephen of Cluni might well exclaim that the curse of God lay upon the duchy. While pious and well-meaning the dukes were powerless to protect their poorer and weaker subjects against the strong. The church, in spite of their favours, was compelled to look for protection to the king of France.

Yet the Capetian dynasty continued and even throve in course of time. The dukes were a long-lived race and pursued a policy of self-aggrandisement with quiet tenacity. They outlived the most formidable of their secular rivals and benefited by the increase of prosperity which came, through no merit of their own, with expanding commerce and more peaceful manners. Thanks to the astuteness of Robert I they secured, in Dijon, a capital of which the strategic advantages could hardly have been bettered, and were able from this base to watch with equal ease their dominions on both sides of the mountains. The duchy of Burgundy came to be regarded as part of the eternal order of things ; a dependency indeed of France, but a dependency which had a right to be autonomous ; powerful enough to be a valuable supporter, but not so powerful as to be dangerous. The most interesting period of Burgundian history begins more than two hundred years after the point at which Dr. Kleinclausz concludes ; but even to those who are chiefly interested in Burgundy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this study of origins should be useful.

H. W. C. DAVIS.

*Die ursprüngliche Templerregel kritisch untersucht und herausgegeben.*  
Von Dr. GUSTAV SCHNÜRER. (Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder. 1903.)

THE authenticity of the rule of the Knights Templars has been the subject of a good many learned dissertations from the time of Mabillon onwards, and Dr. Schnürer's essay may be regarded as a successful vindication of the traditional view as against the revolutionary ideas advanced by Prutz in his *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Tempelherrenordens*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Schnürer proves conclusively that the French version is derived from the Latin, and not *vice versa*. In this respect cap. 63, which has been misunderstood by the French translator (p. 33 *seq.*), is decisive. The same chapter also shows that the Latin version was

<sup>1</sup> Königsberg, 1887.

drawn up when the Templars had no settlements in Europe and brethren could only be received into the order in Jerusalem. Again, the almost despotic power assigned to the master by the rule, though fully in accordance with the ideas of the fathers of the council of Troyes, was not in accordance with the subsequent development of the order. The duty of obedience to the master is inculcated (cap. 33) in words adapted from the rule of St. Benedict (cap. 5), in marked contrast to a later capitular degree of the order (before 1180): *Trestous les freres dou Temple doivent estre obedient au Maistre, et li Maistres si doit estre obedient a son covent*. The text of the rule as issued by the council of Troyes has evidently been interpolated. Thus among those present we find Rainald, abbot of Vézelay, *qui non multum post factus est Lucdunensis archiepiscopus*. He became archbishop in March 1128; his death in August 1129 is not mentioned. References occur to the council as something past, e.g. in the introduction to the rule; *licet nostri dictaminis auctoritatem permaximus numerus religiosorum patrum, qui illo concilio divina ammonitione convenerunt, commendat*, &c. The council left any points on which they were insufficiently informed to the decision of the pope, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the chapter of the Knights Templars; and the rule consists of the decrees issued by the council as revised by Stephen, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the chapter of the knights, probably in 1129. A very careful and acute analysis of the text has enabled Dr. Schnürer to distinguish between the clauses which originated from the council and those which were added by the patriarch; and this is probably the most valuable part of his dissertation. In one case at least (cap. 60) the patriarch reversed a decision of the council.

In his estimate of the part which St. Bernard played in the matter Dr. Schnürer is less convincing. Baldwin II sent a letter to the abbot of Clairvaux, probably in 1126, urging him to obtain papal recognition and approbation of the new order. There is no evidence that this application was successful, so (Dr. Schnürer infers) a new mission was necessary, the mission headed by the Master Hugo, which applied directly to the pope and resulted in the council of Troyes. St. Bernard only attended the council and took up the cause of the Templars at the command of Cardinal Matthew, the papal legate in France. Considering, however, that the council met on 13 Jan. 1128, that it was constituted in such a way as to be specially fitted to deal with the organisation of an order both military and monastic, and that the approval of the new order was taken for granted, surely the natural inference, in the absence of any documentary evidence to the contrary, is that a great deal had already been done to smooth the way, and done by the man who had already a personal connexion with the poor *commilitones* of the Holy City, who drafted the decrees of the council, and whose 'Praise of the New Knighthood'<sup>2</sup> was soon to ring through Europe. A. G. LITTLE.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Schnürer puts the *De Laude Novae Militiae* between the beginning of 1228 and the beginning of 1229—the period when Hugo de Payens was in Europe.

*Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien mit Ausschluss von Venedig.* Von ALOYS SCHULTE. Zwei Bände. (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 1900.)

It would cost years of special study to master the vast amount even of the printed material worked up in this book, the mere titles filling sixteen closely printed pages; and it would take ten times as much room as would probably be placed at my disposal to do justice to its manifold contents. Professor Schulte had been entrusted by the Historical Commission of Baden with the task of collecting, in the archives of Milan, Genoa, and other places, documents illustrating the history of trade between the cities of northern Italy and those on the Upper Rhine. Before long, however, he perceived that any systematic collection and publication would far surpass the power of any single man. His next idea was to print select charters with explanations; but finally he resolved to write a full history on the basis of such materials as he had been able to gather, editing documents of special interest in a special volume. I think he has, on the whole, acted wisely. It would have been impossible for him to effect alone for the trade of southern Germany what so magnificent an institution as the Hansische Geschichtsverein has, during more than thirty years, been engaged upon doing for that of the north. If, then, an author of such extensive learning, who has enjoyed unusual opportunities of examining unpublished material, is willing to supply as full an account of transalpine trade as can at present be obtained, is there cause sufficient why the world should be kept waiting decades until a thoroughly well grounded history can be written? I am, therefore, ready to feel grateful for the mass of information brought together in these volumes, and, for the rest, to regard the book as a pioneer work, calculated to afford a great deal of material for scientific discussion, and to serve as a guide to future investigators. I trust, however, that the main lines of Professor Schulte's history will remain unshaken. At the same time it must be confessed that the style of the book is frequently careless, the arrangement not always lucid; several times the same thing is said twice over in almost identical words within a few pages or even lines; some chapters are compilations of matter not sufficiently digested, valuable in itself, but not what one has a right to expect in a history. In short, as a work of art Schulte's book will by no means bear comparison with its great prototype Heyd's *Geschichte des Levantehandels*. But these are blemishes which may, without much difficulty, and we trust soon will, be wiped out in a second edition. Another drawback is that the existence of a number of valuable works on German trade with Venice has induced the author to confine himself to that with the rest of northern Italy. The shortcoming from the point of view of a history even of South-West German trade with Italy is more serious than may at first sight appear, inasmuch as the reader is constantly liable to form erroneous ideas as to the volume of the transalpine trade of any of the German towns under consideration. It is to be hoped that Professor Schulte will finally extend the scope of his work to a history of German trade with Italy.

Very rightly the author begins by an examination of the geographical conditions, the influence of the disruption of the Central Alps lengthwise

by the valleys of the Rhône and the Rhine, starting west and east from the central massive of the St. Gotthard, the intersection by numerous passes of the two southern and the want of passes in the two northern chains thus formed, the convergence of the southern passes towards Milan, and the divergence of the northern approaches. Similarly each chronological section is introduced by an account of the passes and other roads, the organisations of the transport system during the period, and kindred topics. The cardinal point of the whole history is the opening of the St. Gotthard, early in the thirteenth century, by the building of the famous Stäubende Brücke, a triumph of engineering, not a bridge in the strict sense, spanning the Reuss, but a gangway hanging in chains from the perpendicular rock over the foaming cataract, to connect two portions of the same bank. In the eighteenth century this 'spraying bridge' was superseded by the tunnel of the Urner Loch; before the thirteenth even Roman cunning would seem to have been baffled at this point, which, but for a freak, Nature herself might be thought to have intended for the simplest and the easiest crossing of the mountain barrier. A more exalted mind, however, than that of an Urseren village smith, I venture to think, must be credited with having planned and executed so stupendous an undertaking. Yet it does not appear that the opening of the new pass revolutionised trade to the extent one is led to expect. In fact, it is difficult to find any traces of an immediate influence even in Schulte's book. Undoubtedly, therefore, the author overrates its significance when he says (p. 2) that for the history of trade in the middle ages down to the successes of the great navigators no discovery has been so important as that of the St. Gotthard. If you put 'fact' for 'discovery,' a term which seems rather out of place here, how about a number of facts more or less connected with the crusades; how, above all, about the opening up of the Baltic? I am inclined to attach much rather political than commercial significance to the opening of the St. Gotthard, particularly in its beginnings.

The political importance of the pass is, however, by no means overlooked. On the contrary it plays a prominent part in a disquisition on the origin of the Swiss confederation. Schulte's definition of Switzerland as a *Passstaat* has given rise to rather an acrimonious debate between G. von Below (see *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxxxix. 217 sqq.; *Beilage der allgemeinen Zeitung*, 10 March 1903) and the author (Schmoller's *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung*, &c., xxvii. 268-74; see also his article 'Ueber Staatenbildung in der Alpenwelt,' *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 1901). Perhaps the question of the correctness of applying the term *Passstaat* may, to English minds, suggest a *querelle allemande*. Still there can be no doubt that considerable historical interest must attach to an examination of the influence the possession of so important a pass has had on the formation of the Alpine republic.

Over a hundred pages of this important work are devoted to the Italian money-dealers in Germany in their various capacities as collectors of papal taxes; as creditors of German archbishops, bishops, and abbots, who were frequently deeply in debt to them for sums borrowed to pay the multifarious Roman dues; as private bankers, farmers of tolls, and coiners. Among other things Professor Schulte shows that, as far as Germany is con-

cerned, the Cahorsini or Kawerschen hailed from Asti, though possibly they had only usurped the place of natives of Cahors who may have preceded them. But if Italians, perhaps in thousands, flocked to Germany, so did German merchants in considerable numbers wander to Italy. In 1498 the first German-Italian dictionary was printed in Milan, and a second edition appeared three years later. If Venice declined to permit foreign merchants to proceed further, Genoa was more liberal. The detailed account of the great trading families and companies in the South German towns, especially the Grosse Ravensburger Gesellschaft, is among the most interesting parts of the book, particularly since it serves as a check on Sombart's brilliant but entirely mistaken deductions in his work on *Der moderne Kapitalismus*.

The Alpine passes, however, did not serve direct trade between the countries at their base alone. English wool travelled that way to Lombard looms. And a large portion, perhaps the greatest at the time, from Italy sought the fairs of Champagne, until these were ruined by the new French fiscal policy. Trade then turned to other centres. It is important to note in this case, as in others, how companies of merchants first take the regulation of trade facilities in hand, even pay for the building or mending of roads in foreign lands, and make all necessary arrangements with the authorities of the countries and towns with which they do business. Only afterwards do their own governments step in, often for merely political reasons, and by no means always with beneficial effect. Their wars, on the other hand, supply impecunious knights and nobles with pretexts to waylay merchants, even neutrals, suspected of carrying contraband of war. An elector palatine and a margrave of Baden thus once acted on a proclamation of Henry VII of England to arrest certain Milanese merchants, long after the proclamation had ceased to be in force.

It need hardly be said that in a book of this calibre a full account is given of the wares carried across the Alps. A short but particularly interesting chapter is devoted to the origin of posts. Among the most welcome features of the book are two excellent maps, and the documents published in the second volume, although forming only a limited selection, are yet of considerable value, apart from their having served as a basis for much of the narrative. Take it all in all, Schulte's *History of Medieval Trade* stands out as one of the most important additions to historical literature of late years.

F. KEUTGEN.

*The Chronicle of Morea.* Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως. Edited in Two Parallel Texts by JOHN SCHMITT, Ph.D. (London: Methuen. 1904.)

Now that medieval Greek history is at last beginning to receive, at the hands of scholars, the attention which it deserves, a new edition of the *Chronicle of Morea* is very acceptable. Those who have hitherto desired to study the chronicle have had to use the three editions published by Buchon in 1825, 1840, and 1845, which have neither the accuracy nor the thoroughness of the present work. Dr. Schmitt, who has spent many years over the task, has printed side by side the Copenhagen and the better of the two Paris manuscripts from among the eight copies

(five in Greek, one in French, one in Italian, and one in Aragonese) which are still extant of the chronicle, the original of which has unfortunately been lost. The advantage of Dr. Schmitt's method is that thus alone can a complete account be presented to the reader, as one of these two manuscripts supplements the other: that of Paris was written, he thinks, by a Greek, who omitted such passages as would offend the Greeks, while that of Copenhagen represents the feelings of the conquering race. It is curious, however, that (pp. 206, 207) the Grecophile uses the French word *μπασιάρδος*, and the Francophile the Greek *νόθος*. The drawback of the present edition is that it is almost wholly confined to the literary, or rather linguistic, aspect of the chronicle, and does not deal, except incidentally, with the numerous historical questions arising out of it. Dr. Schmitt's main object has been to elucidate the Greek language by means of 'the chief literary monument of the Frankish period.' At the same time historical students may be grateful to him for providing them with a better text than they have had before.

On the vexed question of the authorship of the original chronicle the editor differs from Paparregópoulos, who thought that he must have been a Gasmule. On the contrary, he regards him as having probably been a Frenchman, and as certainly a strong catholic. His interest in, and knowledge of, legal and feudal matters seem to point to the fact that he was a notary, who knew much of law but little of war, which he always dismisses cursorily. With regard to the other difficult problem—whether the Greek version or the French *Livre de la Conquête*, which was discovered by Buchon, was the original—Dr. Schmitt differs from both Buchon and Hopf, and thinks that the *Livre de la Conquête* cannot be the original. His view is that the chronicle, in its original form, was composed about the year 1300, while the French version goes down to 1304, and even mentions, in a chronological table annexed to it, events as late as 1333. On the still more vexed question of the origin of the name Morea he expresses no personal opinion, but merely refers to other writers. With regard to the style of the chronicle, he considers it a very prosaic piece of work; yet Paparregópoulos, a Greek and a good stylist, thought that here and there the chronicle displayed the freshness of classical Greek. Prosaic or not, it may have inspired, so the editor thinks, no less a poet than Goethe in the second part of *Faust*. According to this theory the person of *Faust* was borrowed from the chivalrous William II Villehardouin, and the castle where he dwells is none other than the historic Mistrá, still the most splendid monument of mediæval Greece. Anyhow a living Greek dramatist, Bernardákes, has drawn from the chronicle his drama *Μαρία Δοξαπατρή*.

In one brief section of his introduction alone does the editor deal with the historical value of the chronicle. Undoubtedly the researches of Hopf, which ought to be put into readable form instead of remaining buried in the cemetery of Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, and the *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, by Marino Sanudo, have shaken the authority of the chronicler here and there. Professor Lámpros of Athens has lately, we understand, discovered fresh manuscript evidence for the Frankish period in Greece, which, when published, may also throw new light on that complicated subject. But the chronicle is still, and will always be, a



necessary source for a history of feudal Greece, no less than a striking example of that gradual process which has produced the modern Greek language. It is a remarkable fact that any one who knows modern Greek can read without difficulty the *Chronicle of Morea*, while no modern Frenchman can read, without special study, the French romances of the same period. Moreover the artificial style of historians, like Chalkokondýles and Phrantzès, who wrote a century and a half after this anonymous chronicler, has much less resemblance to the popular idiom of to-day than his 'political' verse. A Cypriote scholar, M. Zachariádes, has kindly pointed out to me one linguistic fact which has escaped the notice of the editor—namely, the great number of words and formations used in the chronicle which are still found in Cyprus and nowhere else. This may have an important bearing on the question of its authorship. No attempt has been made by the editor to provide historical notes to the chronicle; but he has drawn up a careful index of notable Greek words, an index of persons, and another of geographical names, as well as a very sketchy map of Greece, showing the chief feudal places. Having visited most of the Frankish castles in Greece, I think it unfortunate that the editor, whose personal knowledge of Greece seems to be confined to Corfù, should have taken his accounts of them at second hand and mostly from old authorities. Thus Chloumouítsi is still a splendid old castle, and the derivation of the English title of 'duke of Clarence' from the port of Glaréntsa, near it, was exploded long ago by Colonel Leake.

W. MILLER.

*Studies in Dante.* Third Series. Miscellaneous Essays. By EDWARD MOORE, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1903.)

A REVIEW of the third series of Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante* need hardly repeat what has been said of the former volumes; the same qualities are found here, with new matter, all of it valuable, both for the interpretation of Dante and for the history of medieval studies and ways of thinking. The essays on the Astronomy (pp. 1–108) and the Geography of Dante (pp. 109–43) not only help the reader through some of the most troublesome passages in the text, but also serve as a convenient, full, and lucid exposition of a large part of popular science in the middle ages, useful to historical students in many other directions besides its immediate scope. The paper on the assumed date of the *Divina Commedia* (pp. 144–77) has perhaps a more limited interest, but it touches incidentally on many remarkable things, perhaps a little too much on the vanities of commentators. The fourth article, on 'Symbolism and Prophecy in Purg. xxviii.–xxxiii.' (pp. 178–283), has three subdivisions—'The Apocalyptic Vision,' 'The Reproaches of Beatrice,' 'The DXV Prophecy.' The allegory at the end of the *Purgatorio* is one of the most difficult things of the *Divine Comedy*. It was elaborately treated by the late Professor Earle in his introduction to the second part of Dr. Shadwell's translation, and the present study is intended partly to controvert the views of a writer whose admirable gifts are warmly recognised by Dr. Moore, while his conclusions are shown to be disputable. In this case, as in the essay on Beatrice in the second series, Dr. Moore's arguments and opinions will

probably be accepted in preference to the more fanciful theories of Professor Earle, whose work on Dante nevertheless will always retain the charm of his style and his free original ways of thinking, whatever may become of the propositions he sought to establish.

With regard to the reproaches of Beatrice Dr. Moore gives an explanation that appears not only to interpret the passage fairly, but to judge rightly the place in Dante's life of those lyrical poems—the *Pietra canzoni*—which it is so hard to reconcile with the idealism of Dante, whether in the *Vita Nuova* or the *Commedia*. Dr. Moore touches too seldom on the poetical value of Dante's work. Here, although the context is biography and not literary criticism, the remarks on these poems serve to give them their right place—no dishonourable one—among this author's writings. There is something very satisfactory in Dr. Moore's treatment of this problem, where the difficulties are of another sort than those of astronomy or historical allegory, and infinitely more dangerous. That everything is made plain it might be too much to say. The variety of Dante's moods is not to be expressed so simply. But Dr. Moore's sentences ring true, and make it easier to understand and appreciate the differences of kind in Dante's lyrical poetry. The interpretation of DXV is ingenious, and, like the rest of Dr. Moore's studies, it provides by the way a number of memorable things touching the poet and his history. The discussion of the epistle to Can Grande (pp. 284–369), corresponding in many respects to the essay on the *Quaestio* in the previous volume, is another paper in which the intellectual habits of Dante and his age are described in the process of working out a particular problem of authenticity. Dr. Moore defends the epistle as Dante's own and not a forgery. In the course of his demonstration one is forced to admire his patience with certain critics who have not had patience enough to understand Dante. On both sides there is some want of proportion, but Dr. Moore's excessive care is better than the other party's brisk and self-satisfied evasion of the points to which Dr. Moore perseveringly compels them to return. Here again the essay is too much an exhibition of various gratuitous errors of critics steadily refuted by Dr. Moore; but there is something besides. The epistle to Can Grande comes out from the scrutiny an almost perfect example of Dante's procedure as a critic of poetry. The poetry is his own, but that makes his exposition none the worse. Though the epistle has so many analogies with other things in Dante, especially with the *Convivio*, there is nothing quite of the same sort as a whole. It is one of his minor works in which he shows his conformity to many favourite intellectual fashions of the time; in which he begins for the *Paradiso* the same laborious formal process as he had used in commenting on his poems in the *Vita Nuova*. As the epistle has been very commonly accepted by scholars, its vindication has not the special interest attaching to the *Quaestio*. But its intrinsic value is far greater, and this fresh examination of it, apart from its success in controversy, brings out distinctly some of the most characteristic things in what may be called Dante's prose mind.

W. P. KER.

*Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham.* Edited by J. T. FOWLER, D.C.L., for the Surtees Society. 3 vols. (Durham: Andrews. 1898-1901.)

CANON FOWLER has already edited a great number of manuscripts relating to the north of England for the Surtees and other societies, but this book is perhaps his most important contribution to history. The rolls, extracts from which are contained in these volumes, were originally examined for the purpose of supplying explanatory notes to the new edition of the *Rites of Durham*, but the more carefully the rolls were examined the more important did their contents appear, so that finally it was found necessary to expand what had been intended to be notes upon a single volume into a separate publication in three volumes. Few of those who have the necessary time at their disposal possess sufficient knowledge, enthusiasm, and perseverance to go carefully through a great mass of rolls in much-contracted writing, and many of them in such a mutilated condition as to require the most tender handling, and thoroughly to weigh the value of each entry and to extract the important and valuable parts. We wish that the rolls could have been printed entire, but this would have involved an expense that no society could be expected to incur, and Dr. Fowler has performed the task of selection with the greatest skill and success. Whether in some places such entries as the following, *Joh's de Kendall bras po si bo dis bo nō si*, might not have been with advantage more fully expanded is a matter of opinion. Dr. Fowler has considered the matter and decided as he thought best. He is the best judge, and the few examples of full expansion which he gives will in most cases enable the student to make out the meaning for himself.

The introduction printed at the end of the third volume contains the best description that has ever been written of the whole establishment of a great Benedictine monastery. Durham was one of the largest and richest of the religious houses in the country, and possessed a more complete staff and organisation than would be found in a smaller house, and it is unlikely that any office or department would be found in one of the latter that was not represented at Durham. The bishop took the place of abbat, but his position was merely titular, and the real head of the house was the prior, who was entitled to use the mitre and crosier and was the peer of mitred abbats of other houses; he ranked with the county magnates of the north, and in his mansion at Durham, now the Deanery, he kept a state little inferior to that of the lord bishop himself. Below the prior was the sub-prior, who was responsible for the supervision of the monastic household and performed the duties which belonged to the prior in most abbeys. As the sub-prior took the place of the lord prior in his absence, so the third prior acted for the sub-prior when necessary. The prior's chaplain was also a most important person, regulating the prior's household and having under him an army of officers and servants, from the chamberlain down to the errand-boys, much as in any other great establishment. The departments of the convent may be divided into three classes, each managed, under the prior, by its own officers. These classes were connected, first, with the conduct of divine service and the care of the fabric, the shrines, and the goods and ornaments of the church; secondly, with the monastic household

as distinct from that of the prior; and thirdly with the abbey estates. The duties of the officers of these departments to some extent overlapped, the chief officers having to manage their own estates as well as to look after a department of the general convent business. Of the officials in the first class the sacristan was the most important; his office, or checker (the word is still used in some parts of England to describe any rectangular inclosure), was in the angle between the north transept and the north aisle of the choir, with a private entrance into the church. His duties are defined in the *Rites of Durham* as

to se that there should nothing be lackinge w<sup>h</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> church as to provide bread and wyne for the church & to provide for wax and lyght in wynter . . . to see all the glass wyndowes repayred & mendid and y<sup>e</sup> plumbers wourke of y<sup>e</sup> church: w<sup>h</sup> mending of Bells & Belstrings and all other workes that was necessary to be occupied both w<sup>h</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> church & w<sup>h</sup>out y<sup>e</sup> church, and to se y<sup>e</sup> church to be clenly keapte . . . also his office was to lock up euery day all the keyes of euery alter in y<sup>e</sup> church (euery alter havinge there seuerall aumbree and some two) and to lye theme furthe euery mornynge betwixt vij and viij of y<sup>e</sup> clocke vpon y<sup>e</sup> height of y<sup>e</sup> aumbrie (being of waynscott) wherin they weare lockte standing w<sup>h</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> north quer dour that euery mouncke myght taikie y<sup>e</sup> key & appoynt what alter he was disposed to say mess at.

The sacristan also managed the estate of Sacristanheugh. The great variety of the entries in the sacrist's rolls makes them most interesting and valuable. Every sort of thing was supplied by him, from the altar bread and wine and wax down to poison for foxes, and several words occur the meaning of which even Dr. Fowler's learning and industry have failed to discover. The duty of supplying wax alone for such a church as Durham must have been by no means a light one; at Salisbury in the fifteenth century the treasurer, whose duty it was to provide wax there, complained bitterly of the burden put upon him in this respect by the institution of eight new festivals, and the chapter thought his complaint so reasonable that they granted him relief. The bursar's rolls are the longest and most numerous, as all the other officers made out their accounts to him. The roll for 1536-7 is printed at full length and fills more than forty pages. There are rolls of many other minor officers, and Dr. Fowler's admirable introduction deals with them all, fully explaining the duties of each officer and calling attention to the principal and most interesting entries.

To the third volume, besides a very full index and list of subjects, Dr. Fowler has added a glossary, which we think the most important part of the book; it is invaluable to all students of medieval writings, and is full of copious and learned explanations of obscure words, the meaning of which would be sought elsewhere in vain. We wish the author could see his way to issuing it as a separate publication. English words abound, and among them many that are not the ordinary ones found in literature, but the names of articles of domestic use and of the materials and tools of the workman and things of the like nature. Dr. Fowler has sent many hundred quotations to Dr. Murray for the *New English Dictionary*, and Dr. Murray, in some remarks printed at the end of the introduction, cordially acknowledges the immense value of these quotations in enlarging our knowledge of the English vocabulary of the

fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Dr. Fowler says that this work has cost much more labour in the preparation than any of those which he has edited hitherto, and we fully agree with him in considering that the labour has not been ill bestowed. A. R. MALDEN.

*State Intervention in English Education: a Short History from the Earliest Times down to 1833.* By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY, B.A., LL.B. (Cambridge: University Press. 1902.)

IN the earlier part of the book Mr. de Montmorency has collected a good deal of interesting information, but he does not put together and use his information in a way which suggests real familiarity with the times or the subject of which he writes. He is constantly making highly precarious inferences from his facts. For instance, he quotes a constitution of Archbishop Islip in 1362 reciting that many parish churches were without priests, together with a statement that it was at about the same time that Latin began to be construed into English instead of French in the grammar schools, and then concludes that 'the plague cleared the country of French priests and raised up the English tongue as a vehicle for literary expression.' The conclusion might appear slightly rash if we knew nothing about the history of the period, but the notion of a hitherto undiscovered exodus of French priests in the middle of the fourteenth century is simply ridiculous to any one acquainted with the facts. The book is essentially a lawyer's book, largely compiled (as such a book ought to be) from the rolls of parliament and the statutes at large, and yet the author's unfamiliarity with medieval ideas prevents him from really appreciating even the legal aspect of his subject. He gives a full and remarkably interesting account of the unsuccessful action which the prior of 'Lanton juxta Gloucester' brought in 1410 against a schoolmaster for teaching without his license in the town of Gloucester, and then goes into a rhapsody about the educational freedom conceded by the common law. 'The common law of England as declared by the crown in parliament' (in another case) 'forbade none to learn, and the common law as declared by the representative of the crown on the judicial bench forbade none to teach.' This is completely to misstate the matter. The rights of the ordinary were part of the common law; all that the court decided was that the matter belonged to the court Christian. It would be just as absurd to say that, because a parish priest could not, I presume, have brought an action against a layman for saying mass in his parish, the common law of England at that period conceded unlimited freedom of public worship. A still more ridiculous anachronism is the statement that 'in 1410 there was probably as large a proportion of dissenters in England as there was in 1710, though dissent was not organised in the same way.' If a tenth of the population were in some sense Lollards in 1410, they had certainly no idea whatever of 'dissent,' but went to mass like other people. If the Lollards of a later date might less anachronistically be described as 'dissenters,' they were certainly nowhere near a tenth of the population. When Mr. de Montmorency gets out of the middle ages, he becomes a far safer guide. His account of the legislative and other action in favour of education in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is a really valuable piece of work, and contains much that will probably be news to many who think themselves fairly acquainted with the subject. The clergy get their due as the great promoters of education in the country (a fact amply acknowledged by so impartial an observer as Brougham), and it is stated that we should have had a system of national education in 1807 but for the action of the house of lords.

H. RASHDALL.

*Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba.* Edente DAVID ROYCE, M.A. Vol. II. (Exeter : Pollard. 1903.)

ELEVEN years ago we noticed the first volume of this important chartulary.<sup>1</sup> The devoted editor did not live to see the publication of the second, the text of which, however, he had revised before his death at a ripe old age in 1902. To Canon Bazeley we are indebted for a memorial preface and for the correction of the introduction, which is printed as it was left, though it was not finally completed. The introduction is mainly occupied with the lives of the abbats of Winchcombe and some miscellaneous notices. The chartulary here printed was begun by Abbat John Cheltenham on his appointment to the abbacy in 1423.<sup>2</sup> As its structure is not described in the introduction, it may be well to explain that the collection was made on an unusually regular plan. After the instruments connected with the election of Abbat Cheltenham the numeration of 536 articles begins, three others at the end being unnumbered. But the index prefixed only registers the first 515, so that the remaining contents which have no arrangement are probably later additions. The 515 numbered articles fall under fourteen heads, which may be tabulated as follows:—

1. Papal documents (nos. 1-44).
2. Royal documents (45-76), with an appendix (77-80).  
Charters arranged according to the properties concerned:—
3. Sudeley—Cotes and Throp (81-105).
4. Enstone, in Oxfordshire (106-168).
5. Sherborne and Windrush (171-233).
6. Sudeley—Toddington, Gretton, and Greet (234-243).
7. Hailes (244-254).
8. Cutsdean (255-263).
9. Halling, Haselton, Yanworth, and Chedworth (264-341).
10. Winchcombe (342-475).
11. Rendcombe and Eycote (476-486).
12. Lidstone, in Enstone (487-496).
13. Leach and Twining (497-504).
14. Alne, in Warwickshire (505-515).

The first section is interrupted by nos. 2-4, royal documents; no. 5, a monition of the archdeacon of Gloucester, 1402, acting under a papal commission, in restraint of the ringing of the bells of Winchcombe parish church; no. 7, a general pardon by Henry VI to the abbat and convent; and no. 14, an immense record of an appeal to Rome, relating to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, vol. viii. (1893), pp. 551-4.

<sup>2</sup> The date, 1422, given on the title-page, on pp. xxix-xxx, and on pp. 1-7, is according to the old style.

repair of the chancel windows in the parish church, extending over fourteen years, 1386-1400, and filling 31 pages. The appendix to the second section includes no. 77, a charter of William, earl of Gloucester, and nos. 78-80, three papal bulls apparently omitted by accident from the first section. The Enstone section includes but one anomalous document, no. 109, a plea *de quo waranto* touching the claim of the master of the Knights Templars to hold view of frankpledge in Temple Guiting; but between it and the next section are two acquittances (nos. 169, 170) for the knight service due from the abbat of Winchcombe. In the Sherborne section we find, no. 213, a writ to the bailiff and officers of the hundred of Slaughter; and near the end of the Winchcombe section, after no. 473 but unnumbered, are nine pleas *de quo waranto*. These, we think, are the only exceptions to the homogeneity of the volume down to no. 515.

The chartulary is not to be compared in general interest with the older *Landboec* printed in 1892. Too many of the documents are marred by the wearisome prolixity characteristic of the later middle ages. But it includes also a large number of pieces of earlier date. Many of these have already appeared in vol. i.; in such cases the editor gives simply a reference and collation. But the collation is not always accurate, and it is impossible to know from the published book how much, *e.g.*, of the bull of Alexander III (i. 25-29) is textually recited in the confirmation of Alexander IV (ii. 93-95). A more serious blemish, from the point of view of those who wish to acquaint themselves with the contents of the chartulary rapidly, is the inexactness of the marginal notes, which often do not help the reader at all to get at the purport of the text and often contain obvious mistakes. Thus the mandate for the execution of a bull (nos. 5, 8, 12) is confounded with the bull itself (nos. 6,<sup>3</sup> 9, 13). On p. 46, in an appeal to Rome, Andrew Baret is not 'the proctor for the convent,' but auditor of causes of the apostolic palace, to whom the hearing of the case was at first committed. On p. 214 'the pope' should be the abbat of Bardney. Again, we read on p. 19, on 3 April 1391, Richard II issued a writ to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, commanding them to ascertain the amount of the rent due from the hundreds of Kiftsgate, Holeford, and Gretestan, with the fairs appertaining thereto. To this there is a marginal note: 'Search fruitless. Henry III had farmed them (1271) to the sheriff for 80 marks a year, above the ancient rent; which term ran on.' But what Henry farmed was a great deal more than the rent of the hundreds in question; it was the rent of the shire and of Winchcombe market. It was, therefore, necessary, as the recital here states, to go further back than 1271 in order to ascertain the rents of the particular hundreds, and it was found (p. 20) that in 1259 these returns amounted to 35*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* (the figures give 35*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, but probably xxxviii*s.* iid. in one of them is a slip for xxxviii*s.* xd.), or 31*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* net, and that the profits were usually farmed for 32*l.* It should seem from the two detached half-yearly accounts given in vol. i. pp. xxi, xxii, for 1263-4 and 1265, in which latter year there was no fair, the fermor must have made a profit of some ten pounds. On p. 22 an inspeximus of Edward III is said to confirm grants of Henry III; but one of the grants

<sup>3</sup> The first document on p. 38; the numeral has fallen out in printing.

is of Henry II, as the witnesses show.<sup>4</sup> The *curia* at the foot of p. 183 is not the hundred, but a manorial court. On p. 434 *de Banco* is explained as 'King's Bench' instead of 'Common Pleas.' On p. 213 the opening words of two bulls are given, but no reference is supplied in the margin to pp. 43, 45, where the documents occur. In the text itself, the insertion of *volentes* in the address of a letter (p. 212) not only makes no grammar but also goes against the customary form on such occasions, in which *salutem* is followed by a wish expressed in the infinitive, as here, *et apostolicis efficaciter parere mandatis*. Sometimes too proper names are unnecessarily emended. On p. 248 Adam de Winchcombe is followed by *Wenriz* ? in brackets; but Adam of Winchcombe was apparently his name, though he lived at Windrush (see, e.g., pp. 254, 273), and it seems likely that he bore the surname to distinguish him from Adam of Windrush, who appears not unfrequently in these Windrush charters. Considering the circumstances in which the book has been published, we are unwilling to refer to the numerous transcriber's or printer's errors which it contains.

Some points of dating call for notice. As Urban V was not at Rome, or indeed in Italy, on 15 May 1366, the document on p. 83 must either belong to a later year, 1368, or, if the text is correct, be referred to Urban VI. The bulls on pp. 87, 89 assigned to Nicolas V, 1451, are really those of Nicolas IV, 1291. The provision of Clement V (pp. 222 ff.) dated *xviii. Kal. Julii*, 1307, appears in the *Calendar of Papal Registers*, ii. 24, under *v. Id. Iun.* But this does not necessarily prove an error in the chartulary. A similar discrepancy is found on p. 120, where Edward III's letters patent of 7 Oct. 1329 are dated from Worcester, instead of Dunstable, as in the official enrolment.<sup>5</sup> On p. 219 the *Datum Annunciac' xx. die mensis Iunii* should evidently be *Auenion'*, but this may be the fault of the manuscript.

We have left ourselves space for no more than a few specimens of the matters of interest contained in the chartulary. The submission of the competitors for the crown of Scotland in 1291 was announced to Winchcombe and duly recorded (p. 133), as it was at other places.<sup>6</sup> So was Henry III's charter of the forest (p. 137), though it should have been verified in the *Statutes of the Realm*, i. 27, and not through an *inseximus* of Edward I. There are some instances of suit at the hundred and county court being paid in lieu of a money rent (e.g. pp. 260, 261). A number of charters proceed from Robert, *advocatus* of Arras and lord of Termonde and Béthune, and his descendants, who held land in Gloucestershire (pp. 308–316, 333, 334); some of the witnesses are Flemings. There is a curious indenture between the monasteries of Winchcombe and Cirencester concerning the rights of the respective houses over criminals in Yanworth and Haselton, 1249 (pp. 380–382). A bull of Eugenius IV, 1442, abolishes a procession of the villagers of Cow

<sup>4</sup> Eyton, *Court of Henry II*, p. 187, assigns it to c. December 1174, but notes a difficulty in the date of place. This appears in the patent roll of 1 Henry IV, from which he takes it as *apud Clum'*: in the Winchcombe book it is *apud Clunnum*, which does not seem to help matters.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward III, 1327–1330, p. 450.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. at Salisbury: see *Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections*, i. 379.



Honeyborne (*Honeyborne Wynckcombensis*) to Evesham Abbey on Whit Tuesday, which had led to disorder, but requires them still to pay their accustomed farthings (pp. 537-539). A good deal may be collected about the ancient extent of Wychwood Forest (in which we notice a perch of 20 feet, p. 28), and the abundant lists of field names are of great value for local topography. REGINALD L. POOLE.

*Roberti Gaguini Epistole et Orationes.* Texte publié par L. THUASNE. 2 vols. (Paris: Bouillon. 1904.)

THE works of Gaguin have met with much less attention than they deserve, owing in large measure to the rarity of the volumes in which they are to be found. In the seventeenth century a proposal was made to reprint them, at a time when some of his papers were still in existence; but it was not carried out, and it has been reserved for M. Thuasne to give to the world the first modern edition of one of the leading scholars of the early French Renaissance. Born in 1433—a date which is here established for the first time—Gaguin made his way to Paris for study in 1457. The business of his order—that for the redemption of prisoners—took him into many lands, notably on one occasion to Granada, and as his reputation grew he was employed on royal embassies to Germany, to Rome, and to England. With Fichet he took a prominent part in encouraging the introduction of printing into Paris, for nearly thirty years he was general of his order, he was many times elected dean of the faculty of canon law in the university, and in his last decade he was the accepted head of the literary world of Paris. Besides the works here published, which include some French poems of great interest, he wrote a history of France in Latin, the first which is not a mere chronicle; in which, besides essaying a comprehensive treatment of the earlier times, he narrates the affairs of his own day. From the accession of Louis XI onward, in spite of occasional inaccuracy, it becomes of considerable importance; and M. Thuasne has done well to vindicate Gaguin's merits as an historian and his value as an authority. His historical work was not confined to this; for besides editing Justin, Sallust, and Florus he translated Caesar and the third decade of Livy into French.

Of the contents of M. Thuasne's volumes the letters form the largest part. They were written between 1463 and 1499, and were twice printed in Gaguin's lifetime. The first edition was carelessly executed, and M. Thuasne has therefore chosen to reprint the second, published a few months later, in November 1498. He has added a few gathered from other sources, but has not included, doubtless from considerations of space, the letters written to Gaguin; for even the prefaces of books dedicated to him, a good test of a man's importance, would form a substantial addition. The letters are arranged in order of time and are fully annotated, the biographical notes being a veritable mine of information, drawn largely from sources difficult of access. M. Thuasne has laid the foundations of this work in prolonged researches among the manuscripts and early printed books of the Paris libraries, the prefaces to the latter being a very fruitful source. The large number of incunabula quoted by M. Thuasne, which are not to be found in Proctor, suggests the desirability

of amplifying Hain by the addition of the names of the libraries possessing individual volumes, and thus forming for the libraries of Europe a catalogue of early printed books, such as Mademoiselle Pellechet is preparing for France. On such a scale the work would need much organisation and the collaboration of many, but its completion would be of the highest value for the study of this period.

As the result of this careful preparation the book contains a long series of notices of men of letters, whose names barely occur in the biographical dictionaries, such as the brothers Charles and John Fernand, Aegidius of Delft, Roger of Venray, Peter Succurribilis, Arnold Bosch, Nicholas Ori, and many others, whilst even the well-known names are enriched with new facts. Indeed, there is hardly a page in the book which does not contain much that is interesting and new. The biographical sketch of Gaguin himself is a most valuable piece of work, full of fresh material, and it concludes with a just estimate of his character, as of one whose importance lay in his influence on his contemporaries rather than in the intrinsic worth of what he has left behind. The letters were written at an age when Latin had not yet been adapted to the necessities and the freedom of a later day, and in consequence are somewhat constrained and frigid; but this does not obscure the charm of character and the dignified modesty of the writer. They are full of interest, literary, historical, and personal, and the list of correspondents includes many names of importance.

In a few points M. Thuasne may be criticised. The work would have been more straightforward if the prefaces and dated verses, and perhaps the orations also, had been introduced in their order among the letters, instead of being separated into an appendix; and the index might have been made more readily useful by distinguishing in another type the reference to the page where the principal notice occurs of each person of importance. In the question of the priority of Trechsel's (24 June 1497) and Bocard's edition (31 March 1497) of Gaguin's *History* M. Thuasne agrees with Madden in placing Bocard's first, but the arguments in favour of the opposite view, Clément's, seem to me conclusive. Gaguin himself speaks of Trechsel's as the second (Ep. 85, 19 Nov. 1497), and in the preface to the reader *recognito iam opere* he says that Trechsel *secundae impressioni impensam sufficiet*; in Bocard's edition this preface is reproduced identically, except that Bocard's name is substituted for Trechsel's and *denuo* for *secundae*. The text of the two editions is also identical; but the occasional contributions at the end of each volume further indicate the priority of Trechsel. Each contains some verses by J. Badius Ascensius, who was then working with Trechsel. M. Thuasne's view that Gaguin, after arranging with Trechsel for a second edition (Ep. 78), grew impatient, and committed the work also to Bocard, involves the supposition that Badius's verses, which are not in the first edition of 1495, were somehow procured by Bocard and published, despite the rivalry between the two printers which under the circumstances may be presumed; it is more probable that Bocard, publishing after Badius, printed his verses. Again, Bocard's edition contains a complimentary letter and verses by Cornelius Girard of Gouda, which Trechsel's does not. M. Thuasne has discovered from a manuscript (ii. 24)

that Cornelius was in Paris between November 1497 and August 1498. The practice of the time makes it almost certain that Cornelius's letter and verses were composed while the book was in the press and were added at the conclusion, since they are the last items before the colophon. I cannot find anything to support M. Thuasne's view except in Ep. 79, dated 27 June, without year. There the *History* is said to have been printed a third time; but there is no reason for dating the letter in 1497, and 1498 seems more probable, since if Gaguin had not yet received a copy of Trechsel's edition on 11 Aug. 1497 (Ep. 80) he is hardly likely to have known on 27 June of the completion of the colophon three days before.

M. Thuasne also follows Madden in taking the year date of Gaguin's preface to the reader, 1 Feb. 1497 (Appendix xvi.), as a misprint for 1496, although it occurs twice in Trechsel's edition (on the last leaf as well as in the preface) and once in Bocard's; on the ground that the Gallic year uniformly began with Easter. This is surely a drastic method, to establish a rule by exterminating exceptions.<sup>1</sup> The same prepossession leads him to prefer 1498 as the date of William Herman's *Odorum Sylva*, published by Erasmus. Marchant's two editions concur in giving 20 Jan. 1497 in the colophon, and that this is to be read in the new style is shown by Erasmus's prefatory letter, dated 7 Nov. 1496 (in Arabic figures): and it may be noted that the other letter contained in the book, from Gaguin to Herman (Ep. 77), is also dated 16 Sept. (1496.)

In the question of the quarrel between Balbus—whose birth is placed in Oct. 1454 through a complete misapprehension—and Faustus Andrelinus, in which Gaguin was appealed to by either side, M. Thuasne differs widely from my views expressed in these pages in July 1902, dating Balbus's flight from Paris in 1490-1. A comparison of the headings of Faustus's *Amores*, iv. 1, and *Elegie*, ii. 7, in the printed versions, with the headings to the same poems in a vellum manuscript presented to Louis XII (Bibl. Nat., Lat. 8134) shows clearly that the *corvus* over whom Faustus triumphed is Cornelius Vitellius, and not, as M. Thuasne proposes (i. 94 and 388), Balbus. The crucial point, Faustus's visit to Toulouse, may perhaps be established from the records of that university; but, until it is, I incline to adhere to the dates at which I formerly arrived, and I should therefore date Ep. 55 as 25 April 1492, and Ep. 51 30 Jan. 1493 or 1495. For Ep. 58 I should retain the date 16 Sept. 1494, which M. Thuasne discards as fictitious. One of his grounds for this decision is that the same letter appears in a subsequent edition by the same publisher with the date 1496; but that this need not invalidate the first date is shown by the example of Erasmus's *Adagiorum Chiliades* and *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, the prefaces to which assumed new dates in later editions. In confirmation too of Faustus's deferring the publication of his eclogue *de fuga Balbi* may be quoted his words from the preface to his *Elegie*, published 3 April 1494, *bucolicum carmen quotidiano prope convitio flagitatum emittam*. Ep. 68 is dated by M. Thuasne 7 Oct. 1493, relying on Zeno's determination that Hermolaus Barbarus died in July of that year. This is, however, uncertain; and Gaguin's suggestion that John Fernand *in expeditionem cum rege*

<sup>1</sup> It has been noticed that from 1470 the priors of the Sorbonne dated the year from Christmas or 1 Jan.: see Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, p. 114.—ED. E.H.R.

*Franco abierit* might be taken to refer to the Italian expedition of 1494-5, in which case the letter would be dated 1494.

In a work of such magnitude a certain amount of inaccuracy is inevitable. In spite of criticisms M. Thuasne's work remains a monument of industry; and it is not a mere amassing of material. He has himself been the first to use the stores he has gathered in his sketch of Gaguin's life, and he is greatly to be congratulated on having rescued from obscurity a man whose importance to his own time can hardly be over-estimated and who has long needed his *vates sacer*.

P. S. ALLEN.

*A Letter from Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Duke of Guise, January 1562.*

Reproduced in Facsimile from the Original, in the possession of the late John Scott, of Halkshill, Esq. Edited by JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J. (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society. 1904.)

THE Scottish History Society is to be congratulated on having found such a valuable auxiliary as Father Pollen. Three years ago, under its auspices, he published a volume, entitled *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, which both from the importance of the documents it contained and the conscientious care of its editor must be reckoned among the most interesting and most noteworthy which the society has given to the world. And now Father Pollen contributes another volume to the society, such as his industry and opportunities enable him alone to produce. The present work is not comparable in importance to its predecessor; the documents at the editor's disposal are not of great historical significance, but, such as they are, they receive their full value from the manner in which he has discharged his task. He has given a long and careful introduction, an appendix of illustrative materials, and accurate translations of every document in the book.

As the title of the volume indicates, its most important document is a long letter from Mary to her uncle, the duke of Guise, admirably reproduced in facsimile by Messrs. Constable. Written in Scotland in January 1562, it belongs to the period when Mary, then only about six months returned from France, was ardently seeking to establish an understanding with the queen of England. From the first, it may be said, the negotiations of the two queens were doomed to failure. It is true, as Father Pollen says, that the relations between them had not as yet the bitterness which, as events gradually unfolded the opposition of their destinies, they were to assume in the last years of Mary. Yet already, at once from natural antipathy and from the sense of conflicting interests, they were divided by a gulf which no diplomacy could bridge. The curious dilemma was that, while Mary refused to recognise Elizabeth as the rightful queen of England, she wished Elizabeth to name her as her successor. Father Pollen thinks that Elizabeth was unreasonable in refusing to acknowledge 'her good sister's rights, from the mistaken idea that thereby her own might possibly suffer' (p. xvii). But did not the relation of the two parties and the character of a time when venturesome methods of removing princes were the common practice of every country, amply justify the fears of Elizabeth if she should give such an advantage

to one who in the eyes of Europe generally and of three-fourths of English and Scots alike was the legitimate sovereign of England? In a less adventurous age Queen Anne, in the last years of her reign, refused to allow her successor to settle in England, lest his presence should endanger her own security. It was surely no mere sally, but the expression of a well-grounded apprehension, when Elizabeth retorted to Lethington, urging the claims of his mistress, 'Princes cannot like their children. Think you that I love my own winding-sheet?' Successive historians have interpreted the last clause to mean that Elizabeth dreaded assassination in the event of her recognising Mary as her successor, and it seems difficult to understand the words in any other sense. In Father Pollen's opinion, however, they do not bear this construction, but the reason he adduces is somewhat irrelevant. Mary and Elizabeth, he says, were not now the bitter enemies they afterwards became (p. xvii). But the point is not what Mary herself would have done, but what her supporters might have ventured to do in the interests of one who in the eyes of most men was inhumanly debarred from her rights. The history of the sixteenth century justifies a probable conjecture as to what their action would have been.

In addition to the light which the letter throws on Mary's relations to England it throws light also on her relations to the Guises—relations all-important for her future government of Scotland. The policy of her mother, Mary of Lorraine, had been exclusively directed by that family, and with disastrous results to French ascendancy. Would her daughter, if events made it possible, be equally disposed to accept their dictation? Mary's letter clearly proves her conviction that the Guises were the only real friends she possessed, and that their interests were inseparably bound up with her own. At this period, however, the Guises were no longer in the commanding position they had held during the reigns of Henry II and Francis II. On the death of the latter Catherine de' Medici had ousted them from the national councils, and they were now engaged in a desperate effort to recover their ascendancy. Catherine, though never friendly to Mary, was quite aware of her importance as a political factor, and that she must always be a formidable source of strength to the Guises. To detach Mary from their interest, therefore, would be a stroke of policy which would materially strengthen her in her contest with the ambitious family; and it was with this object among others that Catherine despatched the Sieur Paul de Foix to Mary with a communication expressly designed to dissociate her from the policy of her uncles. They had engaged in a plot, she was to be told, which, as herself a legitimate sovereign, she must regard with natural indignation. In their desperate endeavour to recover their lost position her uncles had conspired to murder the king of Navarre and to abduct the duke of Orleans, the heir to the throne, and only a timely discovery had prevented the execution of their purpose. Mary listened with an incredulous smile to the wild story, and in her letter to the duke of Guise pleasantly exposed Catherine's tactics. The main historical importance of the letter is, in fact, its conclusive evidence of Mary's continued attachment to the family of her mother, and of her desire for their co-operation in whatever policy she might for the time see fit to

adopt. And it was, in truth, from the conviction that she was a Guise at heart that for very different reasons both Elizabeth and John Knox never ceased to regard her with suspicion and apprehension. In this letter we have the full justification of Knox's unswerving opposition to the policy of Lethington and the lord James Stewart, whose dream it was to gain Mary to protestantism by the prospect of the English crown. By the ties of natural affection, by all her instincts in religion and politics, and by the essential circumstances of her position, Mary was bound to the Guisian interest; and the uprising against her mother had shown that for Scotsmen of all parties that interest was incompatible with the national tradition and the national ideals.

If in the interpretation of his documents Father Pollen does not completely efface himself, he is so sparing and moderate in the expression of his own opinions that his readers have little ground to quarrel with him. Occasional sentences there are, indeed, which may seem out of place in an editorial introduction. 'Scotland was then' (at the date of Mary's letter) 'in a paroxysm of intolerance' (p. xlvi). This is Father Pollen's way of saying that at this period Scotland saw fit to change its national religion. 'The catholics,' he says in another place, 'dreaded her conforming to Anglicanism; the protestant zealots feared that they might intervene between them and their English protectors' (p. xlix). But if 'zealot' be a term of opprobrium, why not Roman catholic as well as protestant zealots? Again, speaking of the cardinal of Lorraine, Father Pollen says that he 'had certainly a very great reputation, both as a diplomatist, an orator, and a financier, and from this time also as a church reformer' (p. xx). But the cardinal had a reputation for less laudable qualities, of which historical justice must likewise take account. For French protestants he was *le tigre de France*, and for the natural man, as incarnated in Brantôme, he was an ecclesiastic with *l'âme fort barbouillée*, while the latest French historian of the period, M. Lemonnier, who holds the balance between the two religions with singular impartiality, describes him as *brillant, fertile en ressources, ingénieux, autant que cauteleux et sans scrupule . . . fanatique par profession, incroyant au fond*. But these are venial offences, if offences they are, on the part of Father Pollen, and may perhaps be more justly attributed to human than individual frailty.

P. HUME BROWN.

*England in the Mediterranean: a Study of the Rise and Influence of British Power within the Straits, 1603-1713.* By JULIAN S. CORBETT.  
2 vols. (London: Longmans. 1904.)

THIS is a brilliant and original book, based on wide researches, but most valuable not so much on account of the new facts it contains, although there are many, as on account of its explanation of well-known ones. Mr. Corbett undertakes to be an interpreter even more than a narrator of events. While he chronicles step by step the growth of English power in the Mediterranean, his chief aim is to show the relation of one step to another, to elucidate the cause which from time to time led to the despatch of an English fleet to the Mediterranean, and to trace the series

of experiments by which a strategic tradition and a national policy were gradually evolved.

Mr. Corbett begins by a sketch of the state of the Mediterranean at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The discovery that the galley could not hold its own against the galleon as a fighting machine opened the Mediterranean to the fleets of the maritime powers of northern Europe, and laid bare to their attack the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy, which had hitherto been secure. The pirates of Algiers, Tunis, and Sallee, instructed by English and Dutch renegades in the art of sailing war ships, became so powerful and so dangerous as to make the Spanish end of the Mediterranean almost impassable for trading ships. The northern states were forced to send squadrons through the Straits, and once there the squadrons could be utilised to carry out political schemes. The history of Sir Robert Mansell's expedition to Algiers in 1620, 'the first attempt of a British government to influence the European situation by the presence of a royal fleet in the Mediterranean,' shows this, and its significance is admirably brought out by Mr. Corbett. He points out that neither James nor Charles understood the influence which they might have exerted by the employment of the navy in the Baltic or the Mediterranean during the Thirty Years' War. 'The definite adoption by England of a policy of activity in the Mediterranean' dates from the period of the Commonwealth and is associated with the names of Blake and Penn. The importance of Blake's cruise in the Mediterranean in 1654 is well explained by Mr. Corbett: he points out that its great effect on the relations of England and France is generally overshadowed by Blake's exploit at Tunis. Incidentally he rehabilitates two traditional stories about Blake which modern criticism had discredited (i. 217, 314).

The turning-point in the history of English power in the Mediterranean is the acquisition of Tangier. While Captain Mahan condemns the sale of Dunkirk as 'inexcusable from the maritime point of view'<sup>1</sup> Mr. Corbett warmly defends it both upon strategic and political grounds. 'There was,' says he, 'everything to gain and very little to lose by giving up Dunkirk to France. It was getting rid of an incumbrance which has no place in the world-wide schemes of empire, and acquiring something that for the time at least was an essential part of it. . . . Monk's level head forced the surrender of Dunkirk for Tangier, and swung the country definitely into the course that was to lead it to empire' (ii. 13, 15). There can be no doubt that Mr. Corbett is right in so closely connecting the two events. It was absolutely impossible for financial reasons to maintain garrisons both at Dunkirk and Tangier, and the latter was the more valuable possession of the two. But it seems improbable that Monk looked so far ahead as Mr. Corbett suggests, and there is no ground for the theory that the proposal of the Portuguese ambassador for the marriage of the infanta to Charles II with Tangier and Bombay as her dowry influenced Monk in his overtures to the exiled king (ii. 6). The evacuation of Tangier in 1684 was the result of the breach between Charles II and his subjects, marked the culmination of French influence in Europe, and seemed definitely to arrest the development of British naval power. The

<sup>1</sup> *Influence of Sea Power*, p. 105.

history of our naval policy during the war of the Grand Alliance is one of the most novel parts of his book; compare, for instance, the few lines devoted by Macaulay to the operations of Russell in the Mediterranean in 1694-5, or even the recent treatment of the subject by Markham and Clowes,<sup>2</sup> with Mr. Corbett's demonstration of the important results achieved by the pressure which Russell's fleet brought to bear upon France and Italy and upon the French forces in Spain. The proof that this was due to the insight and decision of King William himself is conclusive, and would have delighted Macaulay.

The final establishment of English power in the Mediterranean dates from the acquisition of Gibraltar in 1704 and Minorca in 1708. Mr. Corbett shows that the conquest of Gibraltar had been first proposed by Sir Henry Bruce in 1625 and seriously designed by Cromwell in 1656, and that William III was seriously bent upon acquiring either it or Minorca. He minimises accordingly the credit due to Rooke for the capture of Gibraltar, proving that since the death of William III 'every admiral that sailed for the Straits had been instructed to capture it if he could,' and that 'by this time the idea had become a commonplace both in the cabinet and the service.' He was not incurring any great responsibility for attacking it, for he knew 'how long Gibraltar had been the secret and the open aim of successive English governments,' and 'by the queen's instructions he had full authority to undertake the operation' on certain conditions. Therefore, though 'it is the custom of historians to credit England's possession of the gate of the Mediterranean to Rooke's fearlessness of responsibility,' he was certain of the approval of his superiors and had only to overcome the reluctance of his subordinates (ii. 255). Leake's resolution to attack Minorca deserved far more praise, being indeed 'a lasting example of sagacious naval judgment for all time' (ii. 306). Whatever their merits these admirals were but instruments, and, according to Mr. Corbett, the brain which inspired English naval policy was that of Marlborough, 'who alone of Englishmen appears to have grasped the true potentialities of the Mediterranean.' Speaking of the instructions drawn up for Rooke in 1704, he declares that never perhaps before 'was the higher strategy of the Mediterranean more luminously formulated,' and that they reveal 'the hand not only of the great general, but of the great war minister, who sees in their true proportions the scope and end of naval action' (ii. 204, 217, 229, 242, 247). Though Marlborough's great design against Toulon failed, he gained in the effort to accomplish it 'all that was possible, all at least that could be permanent' (ii. 314).

The appendix, with its discussion of the development of English naval tactics, deserves special attention. Mr. Corbett there comes to the conclusion that 'though the line was conceived as a tactical system in the first Dutch war its advocates were not able to enforce it till practice and experience, about the end of the second war, had produced minds that believed in it and the skill to use it.' He argues that 'the new battle formation arose out of the "Fighting Instructions" of 1653,' drawn up by Blake and Monk. In another place he speaks of the soldier-admirals as 'lifting naval warfare to a science.'

There are a number of minor points which may be noticed. Would

<sup>2</sup> *The Royal Navy*, ii. 363.



it not have been well to mention William Rainborow's expedition against the pirates of Sallee in 1636? There is a good account of it by Dunton in the *Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Library of the Earl of Oxford*, published in 1745 (ii. 492). It would be interesting to have the views of Mr. Corbett as to the identity of 'Mr. Robert Blake, a merchant,' who acted as interpreter for the king of Morocco's ambassador to Rainborow (*ib.* ii. 497). In Mr. Corbett's account of Rupert's doings at Lisbon he might with advantage have mentioned the papers on the subject which Mr. Gardiner contributed to vol. ix. of the *Camden Miscellany*, and referred to the map of the entrance to the Tagus given in his history. Similarly in his account of the naval operations in the Mediterranean in the time of Queen Anne he might have mentioned the printed *Correspondence of Richard Hill*, edited by W. Blackley in 1845, as well as the manuscript correspondence in the British Museum. The two volumes contain a good deal of information on naval affairs, and something may also be gleaned from Christian Cole's *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, 1733, as to the designs against Toulon and Naples in 1708. Mr. Corbett laments that no list of the fleet sent out under Blake and Montague in 1656 now exists. Fortunately there is one amongst Thurloe's unpublished papers,<sup>3</sup> and the total very closely agrees with that given in Mr. Corbett's note (i. 322). There is a paper about Duteil and his galleys in the same collection.<sup>4</sup> Martin Beckman, the engineer, who is several times mentioned in the book, was certainly a Swedish subject. There is a letter from the king of Sweden to Charles II in March 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ , interceding for Captain Martin Beckman, who is a prisoner for a false information against him. Beckman, who was knighted on 20 March 1685, died 'engineer-general of England' in June 1702. He or his father had served in the royalist army during the Civil War.

Mr. Corbett has a bad habit of quoting large extracts from letters or documents without always stating where the documents are to be found, as, for instance, in the case of the two letters quoted on pp. 221, 223 of his first volume.

C. H. FIRTH.

*Die Politik der Niederländer während des Kalmarkriegs (1611-1613) und ihr Bündnis mit Schweden (1614) und den Hansestädten (1616).*  
Von ERNST WIESE. (Heidelberg: Winter. 1903.)

THIS is a painstaking study, based chiefly on the Hague archives, but also on much recent Hanseatic and Scandinavian research, of a little-known section of that complicated chapter of European politics which precedes the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. After the conclusion of their twelve years' truce with Spain the United Provinces were, owing to their wealth, their courage, and their circumspection, already in a position approaching to that of a great European power; and for the Baltic states their alliance was necessarily an interest of the highest significance. Denmark, whose persistent claim to the *dominium maris Baltici* was least likely to be abated under the ambitious rule of Christian IV, Sweden, whose king, Charles IX, depended for the security of his throne upon a

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson MS. A. xxxix. p. 498.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson MS. A. 477, p. 61.

solid counterbalance against catholic sympathy with Poland, and the Hanse Towns, unable to hold their own either in their former sphere of influence or even within the empire, were alike desirous of Dutch countenance. On the other hand the United Provinces, and Holland of course in particular, had to safeguard their Baltic trade, though the numerical proportions in the seventeenth century of their ships in these waters seem to have been much exaggerated both by contemporaries and by modern historians. They could not prevent the closing against them of hostile ports by belligerents; they could not even retaliate upon Swedish seizures of their ships; while Denmark had in her hands a weapon of unique effectiveness in the control of the Sound and the determination of the Sound dues. As for the Hanse Towns, they were hampered by a particular conflict between one of their number (Brunswick) and its territorial prince, who had in his favour the goodwill both of the Danish king and of the emperor.

During the Suedo-Danish war the states-general contrived to evade a participation in the conflict, but they promoted the English mediation for peace, and otherwise facilitated the young king Gustavus Adolphus's endeavours in the same direction. After this, however, there followed the conclusion of an alliance with Sweden, and of another with the Hansa. Before the latter was settled Dutch armed intervention had actually put an end to the siege of Brunswick. But while the Swedish and Hanseatic alliances counterbalanced the preponderance of the Danish power in the Baltic (it is not quite clear what was the connexion between these transactions, or the apprehension of them, and the lowering of the Sound dues), and filled Christian IV with indignation against the 'hucksterers' who had dared to conclude them, the Hanse towns gained little or nothing from their league with their ancient rivals. What perhaps they could least of all have foreseen was the interpretation to be placed by the successor of Matthias upon that emperor's claim, urged on Lübeck's behalf against Christian IV, that the indubitable lord of this the Holy Roman Empire's Baltic Sea was the head of that empire himself.

A. W. WARD.

*The Reign of Queen Anne.* By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. 2 vols.  
(London: Chatto & Windus. 1902.)

THE two volumes of moderate bulk in which Mr. McCarthy presents us with a view of twelve of the busiest years recorded in English history will not appeal to the laborious student of detail. The author has sketched a series of pictures of which some leading statesman or general is the central figure. He has nothing to tell us of any revision of judgments by the light of modern research, or of economic conditions unassociated with personalities which affected the current of history. On the literary side of national life his culture enables him to introduce the reader to a bowing acquaintance with the philosophers, poets, essayists, and pamphleteers who adorned the age. The great war of the reign is pictured as arising solely from a clash of eminent personalities inspired with a vague political doctrine as to the balance of power.

The time may possibly come when readers of history will find it as hard to understand what business England had in promoting and taking part in the

Crimean war as matter-of-fact readers find it now to understand what business England had, during the early years of Queen Anne's reign, to trouble itself about the attitude of France with regard to the vacancy in the succession to the crown of Spain (i. 43).

The matter-of-fact reader would understand fast enough if Mr. McCarthy had explained to him the vital importance to the commercial classes of England and Holland that Spain should not become a dependency of France. The naval predominance that would have followed and the effective surveillance maintained by France over commercial affairs would have closed to the two maritime powers the Spanish ports and those of the Levant, would have extinguished the surreptitious but profitable trade with the Spanish colonies, would have shut the Spanish Netherlands against English goods, and would, in a word, have established a continental blockade against this country, which would have had more preponderant power at its back than ever Napoleon I wielded.

A similar tendency to lose sight of the operation of one class of causes is to be seen in Mr. McCarthy's observations upon the English policy in Ireland. No Englishman nowadays justifies much of the repressive legislation directed against the Roman catholics; but, as it is admitted to be bad, it is not necessary to make it worse by representing it as a purely religious persecution. The people of this country had learnt from experience that the Roman catholics of Ireland were the force on which the Stewarts relied to trample down their liberties. This and not mere religious animus was the reason for laws to prevent the aggregation of great estates with their appurtenant hordes of retainers or the possession of horses likely to be useful for cavalry. And while Mr. McCarthy speaks of measures like these as persistent persecution he dismisses the persecution of the protestants in Hungary, which was severe enough to provoke a rebellion, as 'certain disqualifications imposed on the Hungarians.'

Of all the persons who distinguished the reign Harley presents a character most exposed to the conflict of opinion. Mr. McCarthy does not seem to have made up his mind as to Harley's relations with the Pretender. He tells us (ii. 257) that 'the two leading advisers of the queen, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were secretly laying plans to facilitate the restoration of "the king over the water."' With this the statement (ii. 267) that 'there is not the slightest reason to believe that he (Harley) would have voluntarily risked any interest of his own with the hope of forwarding the interests of the Stuarts' scarcely harmonises. But it is truer to fact than the first view. The belief that Harley committed himself during Anne's life, even indirectly, to the interest of the Pretender rests upon a passage in the *Berwick Memoirs* which the confusion of dates deprives of value. That the impeachment of Harley broke down is as strong as negative evidence can be that the 'plans' which Mr. McCarthy describes as in process of being laid by him were unaccompanied by evidence of document or of act.

The rapidity of the author's touch sometimes involves an undesirable looseness of statement. The reader is introduced to the electress Sophia as having 'on her mother's side some family connexion with Charles I' (i. 10). As the fate of England turned upon her pedigree, it would have

been worth while to give it with precision. 'Sweden,' we are told, 'had lately begun to distinguish itself in war' (i. 41), as though 'the Lion of the North,' to whose organisation Charles XII owed his successes, had never existed. 'The coronation oath' is represented as having been introduced with Anne's accession (i. 74). The electress Sophia, we are told, was fluent in a number of languages, from which German is strangely omitted (i. 220), just as St. Paul's, the school of Marlborough, is not in the list given of the public schools of London (i. 220). On the other hand there are not a few repetitions which a leisurely revision would have excised. For example, in summing up the Aylesbury election case, to which Mr. McCarthy's practised pen gives vitality, we are told that the queen 'availed herself of the supposed necessity for bringing the session to a close in order to get rid of the immediate dispute and leave it to settle itself by the course of events' (i. 100). Two pages later we have a repetition of this, with but a slight change of words. A very interesting chapter on Wales is summed up in the words that 'the Wales we now know developed itself without much outside help throughout' the reign (ii. 326); again two pages later this information recurs. But when all such flaws have been noted there yet remains for the general reader a work written in a picturesque style, accompanied by a sympathetic analysis of the characters of the leading personages in a great historical drama.

I. S. LEADAM.

*The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford.* Chronologically arranged and edited, with Notes and Indices, by Mrs. PAGET TOYNBEE. Vols. I.-IV.: 1732-1760. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.)

THIS first instalment of the results of Mrs. Toynbee's work assures us that she is doing it thoroughly and well. The preface tells us that her edition will contain 407 letters not included in Cunningham's edition, of which 111 have not hitherto appeared in print. In these four volumes thirty-three letters are not given by Cunningham, and of these only six are new. Future volumes will, therefore, contain a far larger proportion of such letters. As Cunningham presents us with over 2,600 letters, a new edition must justify its appearance by the importance rather than the number of its additions. Mrs. Toynbee's will doubtless do so amply in later volumes, and even in these does so in some degree. The first letter, gathered from *Notes and Queries*, has a personal interest as the earliest of Walpole's letters at present known to be extant: it was written at the age of fifteen. The two letters from Rome to Thomas Ashton in 1740, taken from Tovey's *Gray and his Friends*, and one (no. 601) to the duke of Newcastle, from Lord Orford's *Works*, are also valuable for other reasons. The six printed for the first time will not, I think, be held to be of much value except by those who set store on mere completeness. To them this edition will be disappointing; for Lord Ilchester has not allowed the letters in his possession to be included in it, so that it cannot be called complete, and will, perhaps, some day be superseded. Careful collation has discovered some errors and omissions in Cunningham's work. Here and there Mrs. Toynbee has felt it necessary to follow his example in omitting certain words and sentences as not to be printed without

offence. Omissions in a classic are always hateful. If they must be made it would be better to make them, as he does, without notice than in a way which excites the imagination or suggests the offensive words. The editor's footnotes seem jejune after Cunningham's copious and often helpful comments, but they are accurate and are sufficient for the purpose of identification. Space has evidently been a controlling condition in her work, yet it is occasionally wasted, for when Walpole writes verses of his own composing to more than one of his correspondents they are repeated *in extenso*. The volumes are light in the hand, and the type is easy to read. It is pleasant to be able to read the letters in an arm-chair without fatigue. Yet it must be confessed that they do not appear here in nearly so delightful a form as in Cunningham's stielier edition. Each of the volumes contains four portraits, executed by photogravure, which, though good enough of their kind, are a poor substitute for Cunningham's engravings. Three of them, two in these volumes, of Walpole have not appeared before.

WILLIAM HUNT.

*The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., President of Yale College.*  
 Edited by F. B. DEXTER, M.A. 3 vols. (New York: Scribners. 1901.)

MR. CABOT LODGE in one of his essays speaks of Sewell as a New-England Pepsys. There might perhaps be better ground for describing Ezra Stiles as a New-England Evelyn. There are in both the same restless curiosity, the same diversified interest alike in human life and in the phenomena of the external world. The scholarly repose of the Englishman, the vigorous partisanship of the New-Englander were fully as much the result of circumstance and training as of natural temperament. Thus the interest of the book is in part historical and in part biographical. While free from any touch of marked or exaggerated egotism, Stiles has the self-revealing temper needed to make autobiography effective and interesting. From an historical point of view the book has a twofold value. It forms an important part of the literature of the war, and that not merely as a record of events but as showing us the working of men's minds during the struggle. It is hardly less valuable as showing how widely the New England of Otis and the Adamses differed from the New England of Bradstreet and Increase Mather. We see this in the width and diversity of Stiles's intellectual interests, just as we see it in those of a greater New-Englander, Franklin. No subject of study comes amiss to Stiles, and he approaches each with a mental fearlessness and absence of prejudice wholly alien to an earlier generation of New-Englanders. He does not believe in alchemy, but he investigates its literature with keenness. Judaism specially interests him. He converses 'much and freely' with a learned Jew and asks his opinion of the Septuagint. Two days later Stiles attends the synagogue, and records somewhat minutely the details of the ceremonial and the vestments worn by the rabbi. Between the two entries are notes upon the production of silk in Pennsylvania and on the population of France. Later on we find Stiles reading one day the life of Cagliostro and on the next the so-called *Blue Laws of Connecticut*. The catholicity of his literary taste is further illustrated by his study of

Apuleius. He is actively interested in any new mechanical invention of which he may hear, and not less in economical statistics. At the age of fifty-seven we find him corresponding with learned men in Sweden. Age does not bring any distaste to change any more than it does with Franklin. When Yale College is partially secularised by the addition of a lay element to the governing body, he not merely accepts but even welcomes the change. His liberality of view in educational matters is shown by his treatment of the suggestion to substitute a translation of the Psalms in Greek, executed by a French protestant, Suranus, for the classics. 'If,' says Stiles, 'a stranger was to learn English, he would not need an English book wrote by a German or Italian, but by a Pope or an Addison.' 'So that I rather incline to the antients, banishing the unchaste tribe.' It is a little painful to find Horace included in that condemnation, but puritanism was not to be exorcised bodily at a single effort. And no one can find fault with the choice of Homer, Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Tacitus, and Virgil, while the inclusion of Dionysius and Justin is an illustration of the unexpectedly wide range of Stiles's own studies.

The change of mental habits to which I have referred is strikingly illustrated by the subjects chosen for the approval and formal disputations between the students at Yale. It is startling to find such matters as the lawfulness of polygamy, the descent of mankind from Adam, and the existence of eternal punishment treated as open questions. An earlier generation of New-Englanders would have been hardly less shocked by the discussion 'whether theatres ought to be encouraged' and 'whether deists and Roman catholics ought to be admitted to a share in government.' We find the students also invited to discuss not merely those general questions which are the stock subjects of debate, such as the utility or otherwise of standing armies and the relative merits of monarchy and democracy, but also practical questions concerning politics and education. Ought the national securities to be redeemed at the nominal value? Ought the president to have independent military power? What was the best method of ratifying the new constitution? Ought medical and legal studies to be included in a college course? Is literature too much cultivated in Connecticut? The last question seems not wholly inappropriate when we read the following entry:—

I examined Miss Lucinda Foot, 12. æt., daughter of the Rev. Mr. Foot of Cheshire. She had learned the four orations against Cataline (*sic*), the first four books of the *Æneid*, and St. John's gospel in Greek. I examined her not only where she had learned, but indifferently elsewhere in Virgil, Tully, and the Greek Testament, and found her well fitted to be admitted into the freshman class.

It is a little surprising to learn from a footnote that this portentous creature married seven years later and lived to be fifty-six.

But the main value of the book lies in its contributions to our knowledge of the struggle between the colonies and the mother country. More than once Stiles has preserved important facts which have for the most part escaped the notice of historians. He records, for example, how in April 1771 a printed scheme found its way to New England, proposing that the Irish parliament should be dissolved and an imperial

parliament, as it would now be called, should be created, in which the American colonies should have fifty members. Two and a half years later Stiles tells us that he has seen the draft of an act for gradually extinguishing the Roman catholic religion by the substitution as vacancies came of an Anglican clergy for the existing priesthood. The Canadians are to be reconciled to this by a reduction of tithe. We need not believe that either of these schemes ever came within the range of practical politics. But it is of no small interest to know that the possibility of such changes was before men's minds. It is significant that almost from the outset of the struggle Stiles, sober and well-judging as he was by natural temper and training, was swept away in the current of vehement and unreasoning partisanship. Whatever might be the real merits or demerits of British administration, it is clear that those who were responsible for it had utterly failed to win the goodwill and confidence of men not naturally inclined to be incendiaries and revolutionists. Every act of the British government or its American supporters is seen by the diarist through a distorting medium of partisanship, and condemned. When Lord Dartmouth, at once the most moderate and conciliatory and the most honest of politicians, makes proposals for accommodation, they are stigmatised as 'insidious.' Carleton's wise generosity in releasing the prisoners taken in Canada is explained away on a series of more or less discreditable hypotheses. It may be to avoid giving up certain Indians who had been guilty of atrocities; or it might be to 'wipe off the disgrace with which their treatment of our prisoners has tarnished the glory of the British troops;' or it was a design to obtain a complete surrender of prisoners on both sides, in which case the balance would have been in favour of the British; or, despairing of conquest, the British 'wish so to mix generosity with rigour that they may tempt and captivate America and so heal the breach.' British statesmen might well despair in dealing with an enemy who could thus find equal matter for dissatisfaction in a policy of coercion and a policy of conciliation.

Again, Stiles is indignant with the ministry for insisting that remonstrances and petitions must come not from congress, but from various provincial assemblies. The reason is not far to seek, nor was the claim an unreasonable one. The assemblies were, what congress was not, bodies whose composition and forms of procedure were definitely known to the ministry. The same temper shows itself in the uncompromising bitterness with which Stiles denounces any approach to loyalist feeling among his countrymen and in the credulity with which he accepts stories to the discredit of the British troops. It is made a matter of reproach to the baptists and quakers that they turned to the British government for relief and redress under the undoubted hardships which they had suffered from the presbyterians of Massachusetts. Without the faintest note of disapproval Stiles describes the proceedings at the funeral of a leading loyalist, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver. Boys cheered over the grave, an unpopular custom-house officer was publicly insulted, and one patriot publicly expressed the hope that within a fortnight the public might be attending Hutchinson's funeral. 'Parricide' is the term applied by Stiles to a New-York official and to an episcopalian clergyman in the same colony who had in private letters expressed their

sympathy with the British government and approval of its policy. In the same spirit Stiles quotes without any question a letter published in the Pennsylvanian gazette. The writer, who dates from Hartford, states that the British troops during their advance to Concord searched a house for Hancock and Adams, and failing to find them deliberately killed the woman of the house and her children. Stiles also publishes a letter purporting to have been written by a British soldier and intercepted, in which it is said that during the same advance a number of women and children were burnt in their beds. We may, I think, safely say that the silence of American writers on what must have been matter of notoriety is an ample refutation of these stories.

Yet on three important points Stiles's evidence disposes of the case set up by American partisans. He describes the colonial army at Roxbury in May 1775. There is 'a general seriousness and sense of religion, and much singing of psalms and anthems through the army, especially morning and evening prayers.' Also there are present 'fourty Stockbridge Indians.' In the face of that, Chatham's rhetoric about the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage loses some of its force.

Another incident may also be given in Stiles's own words.

Gov. Hutchinson, now in England, has written a letter of 4 Nov. last to Rev. Dr. Pemberton of Boston. He says it was about being resolved by the king in council to moderate matters with the Americans by adopting a plan in which *taxation and legislation* should be left to the American assemblies, the parliament reserving a general power to regulate commerce. But upon receiving the news that the continental congress had adopted the resolves of the co. of Suffolk they had suspended any further consideration of matters.

The Suffolk resolutions, it may be remembered, were drafted by that reckless firebrand Joseph Warren; they declared that 'no obedience was due to the recent acts of parliament, the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America,' and they declared that political arrests should be met by retaliation.

Stiles also makes it clear that the dread of episcopacy being introduced into the colonies was a purely imaginary alarm. He relates a conversation in which Lord Hillsborough assured an English nonconformist, friendly to the colonies, that not only were ministers but also the English episcopate unfavourable to any such scheme. Stiles more than once notices the fact that whereas in the northern colonies the episcopalians were almost to a man loyalists there was not in the south any such connexion. The reason is not far to seek: from the very earliest days in New England episcopacy and dissent were sharply opposed forces, the one as naturally connected with the party of prerogative as the other with that of civil liberty. In the south episcopalianism was too dominant for its influence to be limited to a single party and too languid to assert itself as a principle of action.

Throughout the war Stiles kept an observant eye on all military operations, and in dealing with them he shows insight and prescience beyond what are ordinarily found in civilian critics. In many cases too he appends rough plans of the ground, which are not without value. After the war the interest of the diary of necessity falls off. It is noticeable that one of the principal contemporary incidents, Shay's rebellion, is fully recorded, yet



Stiles makes no sort of comment, condemnatory or otherwise, on the conduct of the actors. One cannot help suspecting that Stiles, like other New-Englanders, felt embarrassed by a certain incompatibility between the principles which they had been lately professing and the requirements of effective government. Stiles's references to the formation and ratification of the new constitution are not without historical value. And to the last there is no abatement in the diarist's keenness of observation, or in the diversity of his intellectual interests. It was in no spirit of self-deception that Stiles prefixed to one of the volumes of his diary the motto *Γηράσκω δὲ ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος*.

J. A. DOYLE.

*Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins.* Documents relating to the Suppression of the Jacobin Revolution at Naples, June 1799. Edited by H. C. GUTTERIDGE. (London: Navy Records Society. 1903.)

THERE are few incidents in English history that have caused such controversy as that dealt with in this volume. Its editor Mr. Gutteridge, Professor Laughton, Captain Mahan, Professor Hueffer, Baron Helfert, Professor Villari, Mr. Badham, and the Marchese Maresca are among those who, within the last few years, have added to our information or evolved new theories on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Even now further light is needed, for several obscure points afford ample scope for future discussion; yet the appearance of Mr. Gutteridge's wellnigh complete collection of the documentary evidence may be said to mark the time when the broad outlines of the question may be fairly and conclusively established.

On the facts it is far from remarkable that conflicting views and controversies should have arisen. Cardinal Ruffo, who was operating for Ferdinand against Naples by land, first received full powers (the *alter ego*) from the king, then had those powers somewhat ambiguously curtailed, so as to leave it doubtful whether he might or might not grant a capitulation to the republican rebels.<sup>2</sup> The letters he received from the king and Acton never specifically covered the case of a capitulation (that is, not until the business was over). But those of the queen, who in fact could give no orders—a very important point that Mr. Gutteridge fails to grasp—constantly urged him not to grant a capitulation to the rebels. In other words, Ruffo's powers were not well defined and give great scope for argument. But further to complicate matters, Naples may be attacked by sea as well as by land; and Nelson's powers might well be argued to have been superior, equal, or less than Ruffo's, while his instructions were as ill defined. The underlying and all-important fact was that he had the complete confidence of the king and queen, who were prepared

<sup>1</sup> See in this Review, vol. xiii. (1898), p. 261; vol. xiv. (1899), p. 471; vol. xv. (1900), p. 699.

<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand to Ruffo, 1 May. This must be the same dispatch as that dated 29 April in the proclamation of 10 June; at all events it covers precisely the same ground. Assuming that 1 May is correct, as that dispatch contains neither reference nor allusion to one two days earlier, the deduction is pretty clear that there was only one dispatch and that the date is two days out as given in the proclamation—a very possible error. On 1 May Ferdinand expresses himself partly as ordering, but also with such expressions as, 'I . . . lay my views . . . before you,' 'wishes [to be] executed . . . in whatever places it may be possible to do so.'

to let him take any and all steps that promised success. Nelson was burning with zeal for their service, especially for that of the queen, the friend of Emma Hamilton. If the court intended Ruffo to be subordinated to Nelson, the fact was at all events not mentioned to the cardinal, and it is very difficult to follow Mr. Gutteridge's argument that Nelson's authority was overriding and that he held the king's *alter ego*. Mary Caroline's dearest wish was that the rebels should be punished—unless the forts surrendered at discretion that wish would remain ungratified—and that there should be an unconditional surrender was what the Hamiltons and Nelson sailed for Naples firmly resolved upon. In that resolve Nelson never wavered. On arriving in the bay he found the white flag flying. Ruffo was in part possession of Naples, and had just granted the republicans a capitulation, in which Captain Foote, commander of two British frigates, had concurred. The capitulation may have been generous from a military point of view, yet the cardinal's dispatch stating his reasons for granting it is one that reflects great honour on his humanity, rectitude, and statesmanship; there are few pages of the sort in the record of this unpleasant episode.

At this point numerous and space-consuming controversial questions arise at every step; they cannot be dealt with adequately in a condensed form. But historically what stands out as the principal fact, not less important than the mass of documentary criticism behind which it so often disappears, is the extraordinary and intense personality of Nelson. Single-minded and determined, clinging firmly to his objective, as when he boarded the 'San Nicola' or wore out of the line at Cape St. Vincent, flaming with personal devotion to the queen and her fascinating emissary, burning with hatred for all Jacobins and republicans, he held tenaciously to his purpose. He promptly refused to adhere to the capitulation, protested against it, told Ruffo he had exceeded his powers, and anchored in line of battle opposite the forts. But Ruffo was firm. He had signed a capitulation, concurred in by Foote, entitling the republicans to the honours of war and to be embarked on board ships for passage to France, and he would not go back on it. Then Nelson, on 25 June, transmitted to the forts, through Ruffo, the following notification:—

Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson . . . acquaints the rebellious subjects of his Sicilian majesty in the castles of Uovo and Nuovo that he will not permit them to embark or quit those places. They must surrender themselves to his majesty's royal mercy.—NELSON.

This threat did not, as Nelson and perhaps also Ruffo hoped, bring the republicans to their knees. They expressed their determination to abide by the capitulation or fight to the last. Then Ruffo, as Nelson would not observe the capitulation, withdrew his troops from some advanced positions they had taken up during the negotiations. No sooner had he done so than he received a letter from Sir William Hamilton, and two officers from Nelson. The British admiral now professed entire willingness, not indeed to join in the capitulation, but to refrain from hostilities, and not to oppose the embarkation of the republicans if it should be arranged. Micheroux, Ruffo's second in command, accompanied by the British officers, then proceeded to Fort Nuovo, and

there Micheroux, after a long conference, arranged for the carrying out of the capitulation that very afternoon. When the time came Ruffo's troops and a body of marines from the British fleet were present at the embarkation of the republicans and took over the forts. The small ships on which the prisoners were placed were close under the guns of the British fleet. Nelson had not affixed his name to any capitulation, and, to use a convenient term, he appropriated the prisoners for himself. A few days later he handed them over to King Ferdinand, who eventually sent them to prison or the scaffold. Ruffo always protested against what he described as Nelson's violation of the capitulation, but the exact frame of mind in which the cardinal acted will probably always remain matter for doubt. As against Nelson the specific thing that can be alleged beyond any question of controversy is that the presence of his marines at the embarkation implied clearly that his hostile position of the day before, when he had declared that he would not permit the embarkation, had been rescinded; and the republicans without exception, whether rightly or wrongly, understood this to mean that he concurred in the capitulation.

The rough outline of facts just presented does not altogether agree with that of the Navy Records Society. Their editor may best be described as a fair-minded advocate who scans his evidence scientifically and conscientiously to save his client's reputation. Mr. Gutteridge has added a considerable amount of new documentary evidence to our knowledge, though nothing of a decisive character; but his interpretation of that evidence is not always satisfactory, especially at the three following points. First, in discussing Ruffo's relations with the court he does not bring out the fact that the queen's commands had no force officially. This tended to paralyse the action of all government officials; the history of Acton's fall five years later largely turns on this anomalous influence. Secondly, in dealing with Nelson's powers from Ferdinand, Mr. Gutteridge is far from proving his thesis that Nelson held the *alter ego* and that his overrode Ruffo's. Thirdly, in his account of the events of 26 June there is a serious omission of evidence: the quotation from Sacchinelli at p. 234 stops just short of the following important statement: '... at the end of some hours Micheroux reported to the cardinal that, thanks to God, all had been arranged by common accord.' The *Yauch* about whom Mr. Gutteridge is in doubt was Don Corrado Jauch, colonel of the line regiment *Alemagna*. On a minor matter Mr. Gutteridge makes an unfortunate remark. It was the count De la Ville-sur-Yllon who discovered the existence of the manuscripts in the Palazzo Reale, and who put Baron Lumbroso in the way of making a statement in his *Correspondance de Murat* that is certainly open to criticism; Mr. Gutteridge evidently would not wish to apply the epithet 'Neapolitan penny-a-liner' to the learned and courteous secretary of the Società Patria, whose discovery of these manuscripts is only one of his many services to historical research. The bibliography has not so wide a scope as that of Signora Giglioli; the latter remains the best on the subject as a whole.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

*The Diary of Sir John Moore.* Edited by Major-General Sir J. F. MAURICE, K.C.B. 2 vols. (London: Arnold. 1904.)

No man ever won more love and admiration from those who served under him than Sir John Moore; the letters lately published in this Review (vol. xviii. pp. 725-53) from William Napier and others to Sir John Colborne are an illustration of it. Those under whom he served were no less alive to his merits. Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom he spoke his mind very plainly at times, was always anxious to have his assistance, and Lord Cornwallis wrote to Dundas from Ireland in 1799—

You shall have all the troops you ask, and General Moore, who is a greater loss to me than the troops. But he will be of infinite service to Abercromby; and I likewise think it an object to the state that an officer of his talents and character should have every opportunity of acquiring knowledge and experience in his profession.

Hitherto the world has had to take Moore largely on trust, for the life written by his brother, James Carrick Moore, was a disappointing performance. Thanks to Sir Frederick Maurice, every one has now the opportunity of making his personal acquaintance. His diary throws light on the operations in which he was engaged, the men with whom he was associated, and the character of the British army of that day, but it is valuable above all as a disclosure of his own personality. The duke of York's military secretary declared it to be the universal opinion (in 1799) that he was the most amiable man and the best general in the British service. The diary develops this description of him. It shows us a man most amiable and generous, but of high spirit and warm temper, who considered 'truth and plain dealing as most fit for public business.' He was devoted heart and soul to his profession. His one ambition was to perfect himself in it, 'to serve under the best masters and where there is most business.' But he was free from the vulgar craving for prominence. At St. Lucia he suggested that a senior officer should be sent to help him, and when Abercromby demurred to superseding him he assured him 'that I had none of the jealousy he suspected; that my sole wish was to forward the service and see it terminated successfully.' It was because he was convinced that it would not 'forward the service' that he resented being placed under two inexperienced generals in 1808. With politics he concerned himself little, though he had a seat in parliament for six years as a supporter of Pitt. But he had ready sympathy for all people who suffered ill-usage, for blacks in the West Indies, Roman Catholics in Ireland, and subjects of the Neapolitan Bourbons. He would not overlook drunkenness in officers when soldiers were flogged for it.

Moore had been fortunate in his bringing up. He spent four years of his boyhood on the continent, travelling with his father and the young duke of Hamilton; and though he joined his regiment soon after he was fifteen he writes as a cultivated gentleman and not merely a capable soldier. His diary was written with no thought of publication, and often under adverse conditions; but while it has all the freshness of first impressions and the freedom of unrestrained speech the language is so well chosen, the style so crisp and forcible, that it is delightful to read. The simplicity and directness of the description of the storming of Morne Chabot reminds one of Caesar. Such literary art is the outcome of

character. The writer was not a man who suffered from self-consciousness, indecision, and fear of responsibility. At the same time he was not without defects as a general in chief command. His blunt veracity and contempt for compromise often caused friction, with sailors like Hood and Nelson as well as with diplomatists like Elliot and Drummond; with foreign sovereigns, such as the queen of Naples and the king of Sweden, as well as with ministers at home. He had not the buoyant temperament of Wellington, nor perhaps his resourcefulness. He was more apt to blame ministers for their ill-considered schemes than to provide better ones. They were not wrong in wishing to entrust the task of co-operating with Spanish patriots in the Peninsula to Wellesley rather than to Moore, though they were very wrong, when the king overruled them on that point, to place Moore under men so inferior to him as Dalrymple and Burrard.

It is to the Corunna campaign that most readers will turn first, and unfortunately the diary is rather meagre here. Moore was too busily engaged to keep it up regularly, and it breaks off at Sahagun. Sir Frederick Maurice has been content as a rule to let the diary speak for itself, though he fills up a gap in it by an excellent chapter on the camp at Shorncliffe and the work done there by Moore. He has rightly thought it well to supplement the Peninsular entries by a long review of the campaign. Many parts of it are valuable, and we have reason to be grateful to him for it; but one cannot help regretting a certain want of measure and judgment in his handling of the subject. He begins by saying that he has no thought of 'defending Moore:' his intention is to show that Moore's march into Spain was 'the boldest, the most successful, and the most brilliant stroke of war of all time.' With this object it would have been best to go straight forward, showing what Moore did, why, and with what result. But General Maurice wanders off into controversy, and deals with criticisms that have been made, especially those of Professor Oman, at much length and with needless warmth. One may agree with every step of his argument in vindication of Moore and yet stop short of his conclusion. That seems, indeed, to be as wide of the mark as the verdict of the latest French historian, Commandant Balagny, who sees in Moore's enterprise a mere reckless leap in the dark. Moore himself has well described it in the last entry in his diary. In consequence of the news that reached him at Sahagun on 23 Dec., he says—

I gave up the march on Carrion, which had never been undertaken with any other view but that of attracting the enemy's attention from the armies assembling in the south, and in the hope of being able to strike a blow at a weak corps whilst it was still thought the British army was retreating into Portugal. For this I was aware that I risked infinitely too much; but something, I thought, was to be risked for the honour of the service, and to make it apparent that we stuck to the Spaniards long after they themselves had given up their cause as lost.

Circumstances eventually gave Moore's diversion an importance which no one could have foreseen. It kept open the 'Spanish ulcer,' which proved Napoleon's ruin, but it was only one among many causes of that result.

In connexion with this, General Maurice makes some remarks about the incident at Benavente which can only be described as extravagant. Napoleon had failed to intercept Moore.

When not only had he failed in this, but when, on arriving before Benevente (*sic*), he had, on 29 Dec., personally ordered forward all the force which the position taken up by Moore permitted him to employ; when that force had been utterly routed, and the general commanding it captured under his eyes, the personal failure was manifest to the whole army, and the news would soon be spread by a hundred channels over Europe. It was the effect of this triumphant escape of Moore's, after treading on the giant's tail, that Napoleon dared not face in Paris or Vienna. This was what had to be washed out in Austrian blood. Because of this he brought on the war of 1809 . . . .

Who would suppose that the action here referred to was one in which a few hundred cavalry were engaged on each side? It was mortifying to Napoleon to see the chasseurs of his guard so roughly handled, but it does not appear that he personally ordered them forward. General Maurice supports the statement by a footnote: *Lefebvre . . . s'est fait prendre. Je l'avais envoyé.* But in the letter to Joseph from which this is taken Napoleon says that he had sent him with a detachment of chasseurs to reconnoitre, desiring him to run no risks, and Lefebvre-Desnouettes seems to have crossed the Esla of his own motion. From Benavente Napoleon went on to Astorga, and on his way thither he received letters which (according to Meneval) informed him among other things of the armaments of Austria, her efforts to stir up a rising in Germany, and the imminence of hostilities. What we know of events at Vienna, and especially of Metternich's memoir of 8 Dec. 1808, goes to corroborate Meneval's statement. There seems no reason to doubt that the attitude of Austria and the intrigues at Paris were the main cause of Napoleon's leaving Spain. That he was irritated at his failure, and wished to have no further personal share in an inglorious stern chase, may be taken for granted; but to suggest that he brought on war with Austria to cover his shame, thereby imperilling his whole scheme of Spanish conquest, is fantastic.

Stapleton, in his life of Canning, says that after Moore had had his final interview with Castlereagh, had taken his leave, and actually closed the door,

he reopened it, and said to Lord Castlereagh, 'Remember, my lord, I protest against the expedition and foretell its failure.' Having thus disburdened his mind, he instantly withdrew, left the office, and proceeded to Portsmouth to take the command of the expedition. When Lord Castlereagh mentioned this circumstance to the cabinet, Mr. Canning could not help exclaiming, 'Good God! and do you really mean to say that you allowed a man entertaining such feelings with regard to the expedition to go and assume the command of it?' It was in consequence of what passed in the cabinet respecting this interview that an official letter which is described as equivalent to one demanding his resignation was sent after him; but Sir John did not take the hint, sent a dignified reply, and sailed with the expedition.

General Maurice points out that Stapleton must have confused what Canning had said to him, as Moore did not go out in command of the expedition. He accepts the words attributed to Moore, but interprets

them as referring to the selection of Dalrymple and Burrard for the command. Whatever interpretation be put on them, they are words which Moore's admirers must regret. But not only does Moore himself make no mention of them in his diary, they are not alluded to by Castlereagh in the official letter which Stapleton speaks of, and which Moore thought was written 'with a view to irritate me, in the hope that I would answer it intemperately and give them an excuse to recall me from this service.' That letter dwells only on Moore's complaint of 'unhandsome and unworthy treatment,' though if the ministers wanted to get rid of him nothing could have been more to the point than such a forecast of failure. On the whole we seem justified in dismissing this story. It comes to us at third hand with palpable blunders; it is improbable and uncorroborated; and the foundation of fact for it cannot now be determined.

One could wish that General Maurice had printed fuller extracts from the correspondence placed at his disposal, letters from Castlereagh, Lord W. Bentinck, and others, with copies of Moore's replies, which 'ought to be before any historian who pretends to judge of the campaign.' What he has given us in these two volumes is so acceptable that we have perhaps no right to complain that he has not given us something more; but at any rate every one will agree with him that 'the whole body of them ought to be published together in a readable form as very valuable historical documents.' There are two or three mistakes worth noting. Lord Camden, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was not Castlereagh's grandfather (ii. 234), but the uncle of his half-brother. General Mackenzie Fraser is made into two generals (ii. 120, 204) and one of the two is mixed up in the index with Colonel Kenneth Mackenzie. The name of General Köhler is printed Kochler, and 'I' should apparently be 'and' in the ninth line of vol. ii. p. 42.

E. M. LLOYD.

*Contemporary France.* By GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Translated by JOHN CHARLES TARVER. Vol. I. 1870-1873. (Westminster: Constable. 1903.)

THIS book, the first volume of a history of France during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, is worthy of the reputation of M. Hanotaux as a statesman and a man of letters. The author could scarcely be better qualified for the difficult task he has undertaken. He has had access to the best sources of information. He has been initiated into the mysteries of contemporary diplomacy—arcana perhaps less august and important than we, the profane, are apt to suppose, yet of which a knowledge at first hand must be invaluable to an historian. M. Hanotaux, who has taken an active and important part in the warfare of political factions, is able to understand, and, up to a certain point, to sympathise with, the views and opinions of his opponents. That he does nothing extenuate would perhaps be an over-bold assertion, but there is in these pages nothing set down in malice. It may not be remarkable that a republican should appreciate the inflexible honesty of the count of Chambord and his determination not to accept the revolutionary flag, the symbol of popular sovereignty, because to have done so would have been to abandon the principle of indefeasible hereditary right, to sink to the level of other pretenders, who courted the popular suffrage to satisfy

their personal ambition, and to sacrifice the hope of conferring on his country that rest from the feverish disquiet of a century of revolution which might be hers under the orderly succession of a legitimate and hereditary monarchy. For the honourable obstinacy of the head of the house of Bourbon prevented a monarchical restoration. But it is less easy for a Frenchman and a liberal, when reviving the memories of the catastrophe in which the second empire involved his country, to write, as does M. Hanotaux, without bitterness of Napoleon III and to extend the mercy of silence to the empress Eugénie. Equally generous is the reticence he observes when relating the acceptance at the time of their country's financial distress of so large a pecuniary indemnity by the house of Orleans—a theme most tempting to a political opponent. In what he tells us of the foreign enemies of his country, in his estimate of their motives and of their conduct, if not absolutely impartial, he is as nearly so as we can wish him to be.

He declines to pass judgment on the arch-enemy, on Bismarck, but while he does full justice to his robust common sense, to his penetrating insight, and to his masterful personality, he points out or suggests limitations to the prince's genius and defects in the morality or wisdom of his policy which may not be quite so obvious to an unbiassed observer. It is, no doubt, true that Bismarck's cold reason held in check the more generous sentiments and impulses to which he was personally not inaccessible. But is he to be blamed because he subordinated pity and consideration for a conquered enemy to what he believed to be the interests of his country? M. Hanotaux, the historian of Richelieu, objects to the parallel which has been drawn between the great cardinal and Bismarck. The former, he says, directed the development of France in accordance with her natural genius; the latter diverted his country from her natural bent, from 'the lofty and ideal aspirations of the noble German race.' But was it not necessary for the consolidation of German unity, for the unimpeded expansion of the newly formed nation, for security from the jealous interference of eastern and western rivals, that the Germans should lay aside those sentimental aspirations, which had been a source of political weakness, and that they should return to the self-regarding and practical policy of Frederick II? The 'bent' of Germany, so at least we have been often told, was too cosmopolitan and humanitarian. If Bismarck erred in the other direction, it may have been that he allowed for the resistance and the probable recoil of natural temperament and acquired habit. It would perhaps have been wiser as well as more generous not to have insisted upon the cession of Metz. The annexation of an alien and most unwilling population was a violation of that principle of national unity and independence on which the new empire was founded, and by which it was possible to justify the acquisition of Alsatia. But this was a clause in the treaty of peace which, as M. Hanotaux admits, was not suggested and never altogether liked by the chancellor, and it is not improbable that had Thiers been better able to conceal his desire for peace Metz might have been saved. But the crucial question is whether any generosity on the part of Germany would have led to the abandonment by France of all intention of again appealing to arms to wipe out the disgrace of defeat, to recover



her supremacy in Europe, and to acquire the object of her secular ambition, her 'natural frontier,' the left bank of the Rhine. If, as we believe, it would not have done so, then the German statesmen and generals rightly judged that it was their duty to neglect no precaution which might compel her to begin the conflict under the most unfavourable conditions, and the retention of this or that fortress or strip of territory became a question of military expediency.

M. Hanotaux also suggests that Bismarck insisted on the entrance of the German army into Paris mainly because he foresaw that it would provoke disorder. It surely is easy to account on other grounds for his insistence on this point, which to M. Hanotaux appears so singular. The troops expected this outward and visible sign of victory as the reward of the toils and sufferings of the siege. Bismarck certainly was not over-scrupulous, but to warn the French government to be on their guard, to urge them to disarm the populace, while he fomented and counted upon an insurrection, was not the kind of Machiavellianism he practised. Besides it was to his interest that there should be a settled government in France to carry out the terms of peace.

M. Hanotaux's first volume is complete in itself. It has unity and a hero—M. Thiers. It begins with his accession to power and his negotiations in the first months of 1871, and it closes with his defeat in the May of 1873. The character of the hero was far from perfect, nor is the author blind to his faults, to his want of moral principles and political convictions, to his overweening confidence in his own infallibility and omniscience. But even his faults were useful to his country. Had Thiers not been buoyed up by a never-failing reliance on the resources of his genius and by an almost unreasonable optimism, he would have been overwhelmed by the complicated and multifarious problems for which he had to find a solution. Nor could a man more hampered by prejudices and principles have played so dexterously on the fears and hopes of the royalist majority, so skilfully have used the opposition of the left to any exercise of 'constituent' authority by the assembly, as to induce the right to declare him 'President of the French Republic,' and thus formally to recognise a constitution they were determined not to establish. So great were the services of Thiers to his country in restoring order to the administration and the finances, in reorganising the army, and in laying the foundations of the republic, that common gratitude requires a Frenchman to deal gently, as does M. Hanotaux, with his failings.

M. Hanotaux sometimes affects an emphatic and rather spasmodic sententiousness, which in the original would perhaps remind us of Victor Hugo, but in this translation recalls Mr. Punch's irreverent parody of 'Quatre-vingt treize.' It is indeed a pity that so interesting and important a work should be so carelessly translated. It is scarcely possible to turn to any page without being annoyed by some slipshod, ungrammatical sentence, or by one which can only be understood when turned back into French, or by some word used in a sense which is not English; and this is the more to be regretted because the type, illustrations, and general appearance of the volume are decidedly attractive.

P. F. WILLERT.

The Bampton Lectures for 1903 on *The English Saints*, by the Rev. W. H. Hutton (London: Wells Gardner, *s.a.*) are an interesting attempt to illustrate from the lives and legends of English saints the influence of Christianity upon national character. A good deal of the book lies naturally beyond criticism here: a Bampton lecturer, like a medieval hagiologist, must be allowed scope for edification. But the notes contain a large amount of matter and a still larger number of references of historic interest. The appendix to lecture iv., 'Passio et Miracula Edwardi Regis et Martiris,' from a twelfth-century manuscript in the library of St. John's, Oxford, is printed here for the first time. The idea of adding it to the lecture on royal saints was an admirable one. The short notes on canonisation (pp. 22-3), on the inclusion of English saints in Celtic lists (p. 110), and many others embody much research and information. Interesting too is the remark of the late bishop of Oxford (p. 328) that, 'while all the stories of boys murdered by Jews were too numerous to be true, they were too numerous to be all void of credit' (an opinion hard to accept); still more so the letter of the late Dr. Bright (p. 183 *n.*, also p. 116 *n.*) comparing the work of the Roman and Celtic missionaries, and rejecting Lightfoot's 'uncritical antitheses.' The discussion of Celtic saintship, bristling with points of obscurity and dispute, raises too many points to be fully dealt with; many of them will be quite new to the ordinary reader. Fortunately Mr. Hutton does not hesitate to express his own opinions even where his space is limited, but one would have been glad of a fuller discussion. The treatment of medieval miracles in an appendix to lecture vi. (p. 277 *seqq.*) brings out many interesting results; the comparison with faith-healing (p. 294) is explanatory of much. (This notice happens to be written not far from a shrine abounding in modern illustrations.) The short remark (p. 297) that the subject really belongs to the study of medieval thought and the medieval notion of proof admits of many applications, and might, for the ordinary reader, be expanded. It would be found that many medieval marvels and miracles belong to cases where the evidence (say, of travellers or stories from distant lands) could not be sifted: an age accustomed to compurgation accepted it more readily than would our own age. There are many suggestive observations upon the power of Christianity on character; the lectures rightly keep in view modern missions and modern psychology (such as Mr. James's work on religious experiences). The book embodies material for more than one book and for many essays. W.

In *Die Belehnungen der deutschen geistlichen Fürsten* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1901) Dr. Robert Boerger gives a mass of information in an amorphous form; but some interesting things emerge in the course of the narrative, which begins with the concordat of Worms and ends in 1806. The author's main points are, first, that the distinction between a spiritual or sceptre fief and a lay or banner fief disappears from the fifteenth century onwards; and secondly, that the ceremony of investiture, constituting a personal bond between the emperor and his vassals, gradually loses its importance as imperial power declines. By the seventeenth century the distinction between sceptre and banner fiefs had yielded to a distinction between *Kammerlehen* and *Reichshofratslehen*, the

former fiefs of princes, with which they were invested in the imperial chamber, the latter fiefs of immediate feudatories who were not princes, investiture with which took place in the aulic council. Spiritual and lay princes, that is to say, were classed together, and invested together, as princes, in contrast with non-princely feudatories. But whereas investiture had once been a ceremony at which the vassal must present himself to receive the banners of his various fiefs, each distinguished with its appropriate arms, at the hands of the Kaiser, it became a ceremony in which the vassal's proxy took an oath on the gospels and kissed the Kaiser's sword-hilt. The change was partly due to the expense of the old ceremony, partly and still more to the emperor's failure personally to attend the diets. The last change took place in the latter half of the eighteenth century, partly owing to a dispute as to whether investiture with certain fiefs should take place before the emperor, which arose in 1741, partly owing to another dispute, which arose about the same time, in regard to the ceremonies of investiture. A large literature arose on the former subject; the whole matter illustrates the extreme punctilio of eighteenth-century Germany. One serious result seems to have accrued: the empire really ended before the official dissolution in 1806, for the conclusion of the dispute was that practically no investiture took place in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In the early part of his subject Dr. Boerger follows Ficker's view, that the regalia with which bishops were invested before the concordat of Worms were not held feudally, but enjoyed subject to the state's superiority, this enjoyment being conferred by investiture. He disagrees with Ficker and Schröder in thinking that the date when this enjoyment was turned into feudal tenure was not 1150 but about 1200, and that the change, therefore, was not part of the new policy of Frederick I nor due to his strong sense of legal obligation. At the same time he agrees with Ficker that investiture of spiritual princes, before and after 1122, if it only meant a conveyance of a usufruct by the state, was really much the same as a feudal investiture in the stricter sense of the word.

E. B.

In his *Compendium of the Canon Law* (Oxford: Mowbray, 1903) Dr. P. A. Lempriere has had specially in view, as his title-page shows, the instruction of the clergy and theological students of the Scottish episcopal church. He has accordingly combined with information drawn from manuals on the general canon law an account of the provisions of the local code; and the two elements occasionally produce a rather curious blend. The sources to which he seems (except in matters relating to the local code) to be most indebted are the manuals of Devoti and Bonal. It is perhaps significant that his list of authorities contains no mention of the works of Van Espen, while on the other hand his acquaintance with the recent researches of Professor Maitland appears to have been made too late to modify in any way his own statement as to the position of the Decretals in the history of English ecclesiastical law. In details his accuracy leaves something to be desired. It is probably by a mere slip that the great work of Joseph Bingham is attributed to that author's grandson Richard; but the same excuse can hardly be admitted, for instance, in the case of a statement made (p. 143) as to an enactment

cited from Robertson's *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*. The inference which may fairly be drawn from the statute in question as to the ritual practice of the time is really opposite to that which Dr. Lempriere suggests. On the whole, while the book is likely to be useful to those for whose benefit it is primarily intended, if only by arousing interest in its subject, it is hardly one to which they would be wise to trust implicitly, and certainly one which they will occasionally find somewhat perplexing. H. A. W.

In the preface to the second volume of *The Dawn of the Reformation*, 'The Age of Hus' (London: C. H. Kelly, 1902), Mr. Herbert B. Workman is to be commended for rebuking writers who obtain their references, like their hats, ready made, and often misleading, and also those who produce books without references. Books without references (so often, as writers say to us, 'forbidden by the rules of the series to which this work belongs') cannot lead inexperienced readers to fuller works, and do not enable expert readers to judge whether the author's conclusions are well founded or not. Mr. Workman also notes the 'deplorable condition of our public libraries from the standpoint of a student of history.' Here again he is undoubtedly right. But he is, perhaps, not quite justified in his dark outlook upon the study of church history; thirty years have seen a great improvement in toleration of view, critical use of authorities, and depth of interest. Books such as Mr. Workman's will help on the improvement; for it may be said at once the book is fresh in its use of authorities, and depends upon them even too conscientiously for style. Still the literary dependence of Hus upon Wyclif—literal and slavish to the last degree—will always prevent many people from admitting his claim to have an age called after him; his importance was surely only secondary. The religious history of Bohemia, however, and the national character of the Hussite movement are well put in chapter iii. In chap. iv., upon the point of 'the coming of Wyclif,' reference might be made to Wyclif's *De Civili Dominio* (ed. R. L. Poole), pp. viii-ix, and his *De Eucharistia*, pp. xlv-v (the former preface is referred to later on). The sketch of Constance and that of its council are both very good and freshly written pieces of work, where the general spirit is excellent and conscientious use of primary authorities cannot but lead to good results. The demands he makes upon others (*e.g.* p. 285 *n.*, 'the grasp of the medieval law system is absolutely needful for all serious students') Mr. Workman does not neglect for himself. But while the detail is satisfactory the leading title, *The Dawn of the Reformation*, rather begs a question of importance as to the historical setting of Hus and his effect. It is the same problem so often discussed with regard to Wyclif; it does not follow that a resemblance in opinions implies historic sequence of cause and effect. But it is a better way to start, as the writer does, with the examination of the minute details and then let the larger problems come up in turn, and, if possible, be solved. J. P. W.

The economic system of medieval Italy has been the subject of so much study that an account of the transition from it to industry under modern conditions cannot fail to present many points of interest. In

Signor Ettore Verga's monograph entitled *Le Corporazioni delle Industrie tessili in Milano; loro Rapporti e Conflitti nei Secoli XVI-XVIII*, reprinted from the Archivio Storico Lombardo (Anno xxx. Milan: Cogliati, 1903), are described the struggles of the individual for freedom from the old corporate organisations of industry. In Milan the difficulties were complicated by the fact that the *estimo* was levied on the guilds, so that an independent trader, not a member of a guild, escaped paying his share. The first efforts for liberty are found in the attempts of the craftsmen to set up small workshops in their own houses, especially when trade was slack and employment scarce. Then there were the strivings of the country districts to trade free from the control of the town. They had the advantage of escaping the *estimo*, but were handicapped by the heavy duties which the towns kept up against them. Finally, foreign capitalists, one of the first of whom was an English stocking-weaver, succeeded in establishing large factories of the modern type. The Austrian government permitted them to escape the control of the guilds on condition that they introduced new processes or materials; it favoured them with bounties and privileges, which in one case took the curiously medieval form of dowries for their workgirls. These manufactures introduced machinery, but at the same time employed labour on a large scale, and at the time of the French Revolution, when this monograph closes, they were on the way to absorb all the industries of the city.

K. D. V.

Mr. Harold Child has published a very cheap and well-edited reprint of the *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, by Mrs. Hutchinson (London: Kegan Paul, 1904). It gives the original text of the book, and is, therefore, much superior to the badly modernised edition in Bohn's Library, which is published at the same price, and it is also better printed. The editor supplies a good introduction, containing a brief criticism of the *Memoirs*, and adds twenty-four pages of useful notes. In both introduction and notes he has utilised the information contained in the edition of the *Memoirs* published in 1885 by Mr. C. H. Firth, to which he duly expresses his indebtedness.

X.

In *Old Quebec* (London: Macmillan, 1903) Sir Gilbert Parker and Mr. C. G. Bryan have given a very readable and vivid presentment of Canadian history. The volume, of course, makes no claim to originality, and the number of its illustrations shows its popular character. The picturesque style of writing has, no doubt, its own dangers. Among the many adjectives appropriate to Charles I 'mercenary' should scarcely find a place. It is surprising to read that 'devout catholics like Cabot had conceived the idea of requiting the church for her losses in the old world by religious conquests in the new;' the sympathy between Frontenac and La Salle was surely not 'inexplicable,' nor is La Salle well described as 'debonair.' The volume, however, serves as an excellent introduction to a more detailed study of the subject, and the portraits and illustrations are excellent.

H. E. E.

Dr. Emil Reich's title-pages require almost as close a scrutiny as the statements in his text. His lectures, entitled *The Foundations of*

*Modern Europe* (London: Bell, 1904), are said to have been 'delivered in the University of London.' They were delivered in the university buildings, but they are only 'extension' lectures; Dr. Reich holds no position in the university and is not even a 'recognised' teacher. As for the text, it may be judged by the statements that 'after 1763 . . . England had no more colonies to take from France, and no continental possession (Hanover) to dread from either Prussia or France' (p. 13); that 'Chatham had a greater share in the loss of the colonies than either George III or Lord North' (p. 11); that neither the 'works of Taine, Tocqueville, Sybel, Buckle, Sorel . . . have in reality advanced our insight into the causes of the French Revolution' (pp 27-8)); and that 'we cannot, unless we yield to unthinking patriotism, contribute [?] attribute] to Wellington any decisive action or any great generalship in the Peninsular war' (p. 90); and by the fact that in four lectures on Napoleon there is no mention of either the Berlin or the Milan decrees. Y.

Dr. Hermann Bock's monograph on *Jacob Wegelin als Geschichtstheoriker*, which appears in the series of *Leipziger Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), deals with a person of whom little is known and whose works are for us almost inaccessible. The object of the author is not to assert for him any claims to a higher reputation, nor to stimulate a desire to go back to his works, but rather to vindicate for him the position of mediocrity from which a few admirers have lately tried to elevate him, and to show that the principles he applied to the interpretation of history were all borrowed from greater thinkers than himself, and generally expounded without lucidity and with little discrimination. This would seem to be a thankless task were it not that Wegelin lived at a time and in an atmosphere teeming with new ideas, scientific, historical, and philosophic, and during a period of transition, the character of which can be well illustrated by the works of an industrious and dull eclectic. Wegelin (1721-1791) was a Swiss pastor, a native of St. Gall, who became in 1766 the archive-keeper of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, then flourishing under the somewhat overpowering patronage of Frederick the Great. He was influenced in his youth by Rousseau, but in later years more evidently by Leibnitz, and he was also indebted for his main principles to Montesquieu and to Hume, to say nothing of many lesser lights. He must have possessed considerable receptivity of mind and a substratum of solid sense. He recognised the importance of psychology in the interpretation of history; he saw that the object of historical study consists of particular, not general results; he grasped the principle that universal history must be the history of culture; and he could write very reasonably on the nature of historical evidence and the degrees of certainty or probability to which the historian can attain. But he was not superior to the tendency of his time to subordinate historical study to the demands of practical morals; he became quite wild in his deductions from crudely stated general principles when he applied them to political origins, and he proved practically incapable of writing any history that could live or could stimulate further research. Dr. Bock's work suggests two problems not unlike those which used to test the ingenuity of the Berlin Academy:—

how history was enabled, in the eighteenth century, to weather the storms raised by the various claims of metaphysics, practical ethics, pseudo-statecraft, scepticism, and physical science; and how far it is possible for great formative ideas to be assimilated and set forth by the average man. Those interested both in the particular and in the general question will find subject for consideration in Dr. Bock's thoughtful and comprehensive study.

A. G.

Francesco Nava, from whose unpublished memoirs Signori G. Gallavresi and F. Lurani have compiled a volume entitled *L' Invasione francese in Milano, 1796* (Milan: Cogliati, 1903), was the eldest son of a captain in the imperial army, and was educated at Pavia; he became an advocate and attained to some distinction in various positions in the Milanese under the Austrian rule. In 1796, at the time of Bonaparte's entry into Milan, he was a member of the 'Capitolo dei nobb. Signori Deputati dell' Ammiranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano,' and received a stipend of 10,000 Milanese lire. In a short time he was exiled to Nice, but under the Austrian régime in 1799 he again held municipal office. On the restoration of French supremacy he went into exile to Udine, and thence to Venice; but, returning to his country, he died in 1807. His memoirs, therefore, give a patrician's view of the memorable events of the year 1796; and, as there are none too many contemporary journals of men of his way of thinking, MM. Gallavresi and Lurani are to be thanked for publishing their work. Its chief value, however, lies, after all, in the full and valuable notes which they have appended, wherein they cite all the important writers on this period—Botta, Beccatini, Tivaroni, &c., as well as the French writers MM. Bouvier, Gachot, and Gaffarel, who have also described the beginnings of the Lombard, later the Cisalpine, republic. Incidentally the editors correct M. Bouvier at one or two points. The memoirs give us an interesting survey of events, though they are annoyingly brief in parts—for instance, in the account of Bonaparte's triumphal entry. We catch, however, a glimpse of several men who were to be prominent in later events; e.g. *un certo Salvadori, uomo torbido e diffamato, e che dopo alcuni giorni fu per ordine del generale Despinoy tradotto nelle carceri come sospetto di aver truffato (sic) una somma di 20 luigi.* This was the Salvadori who later on trumped up the Venetian proclamation, ostensibly signed by Battaglia, urging the Venetians of the mainland to rise against the French. The conduct of the conquerors in Milan and its neighbourhood comes in for severe censure; and in a note on pp. 75-6 the editors show how little foundation there was for the boast of Prince Napoleon, when writing of the campaign of 1796, that *Napoléon était d'une intégrité inflexible et ne tolérât pas qu'on y manquât.* Z.

Though much has already been written upon the subject, M. E. Driault's volume on *La Politique Orientale de Napoléon* (Paris: Alcan, 1903) comes as a useful addition to its literature. It is very largely based upon unpublished correspondence lying in the archives of the French Foreign Office, which, although it does not alter the main features of a familiar story, adds a good deal of interesting detail. The information

gleaned from this source, however, throws a good deal more light upon the condition of the East than upon the policy of Napoleon, and it is as giving a picture of the political situation in Turkey and Persia, rather than as furnishing new clues to imperial policy, that M. Driault's book is chiefly valuable. It is, however, to be regretted that the author has made no use of English sources of information, such as the *Paget Correspondence*, the *Annual Register*, and the papers at our Record Office; and his account of the French work in Dalmatia might have been improved by some reference to the papers in the Archives Nationales, A. F. iv. 1713.

H. A. L. F.

In *The American Advance* (London: Lane, 1903) Mr. E. J. Carpenter retells the story of the Louisiana purchase, the cession of the Floridas, the annexation of Texas, &c., along with the recent development of imperialism in the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It is obvious that, if the subject of Cuba and the Philippines was to be included, it deserved fuller treatment than could be given in fourteen pages. Moreover it is doubtful how far the treatment of isolated overt acts, apart from the tendencies of which they were the outcome, conduces to the understanding of history; e.g. the story of the annexation of Texas is really an episode in the long struggle concerning slavery. Mr. Carpenter displays a laudable distrust of the British lion. It was, we believe, the French ministers and not the guileless Oswald whom the Americans had to fear lest the boundaries of the new nation should be fixed at the Ohio and the Mississippi. It is very doubtful whether the English generally were concerned, in 1802, in 'preventing the acquisition of the mouth of the river and the control of the Mississippi valley by the French.' Probably the prevailing opinion was that of Lord Hawkesbury, one of the secretaries of state, who, according to the *Annual Register*, 1802, said, with reference to the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, 'that it was sound policy to place the French in such a manner with respect to America as would keep the latter in a perpetual state of jealousy with respect to the former, and of consequence unite them in bonds of closer amity with Great Britain.' Canadians will hardly agree that 'the diplomacy of Lord Ashburton . . . deprived the United States, on the north-east, of defensive stations, which were promptly occupied and fortified by Great Britain,' or that, with regard to Oregon, 'the keen diplomat (Pakenham) over-matched the timid Buchanan.' These things are, of course, matters of controversy, but it is difficult to grasp Mr. Carpenter's meaning when he writes: 'The careful student of history cannot fail to perceive that, save the region occupied by the English and Dutch settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, the French colonies in Canada, and the Russian possessions in Alaska, the entire continent of North America was once dominated by Spain. By its sale to France of the province of Louisiana the claim of that nation to the great Mississippi valley was extinguished.' 'The careful student' would hardly gather from this that, from its settlement till its cession to Spain after the coming into existence of the United States, Louisiana had remained exclusively French. The conquest of Mexico by Cortez is stated to have been in 1514. 'The absurd bull of Rodrigo Borgia' has found of late years competent



defenders. The strongest side of the book consists in its references to the debates in congress and to the records of the United States senate.

H. E. E.

The life of a fashionable lady with a marriageable daughter does not seem to have differed materially in 1803 from that of modern times. Balls, dinners, suppers, and similar entertainments fill a large space in the *Journal de Madame de Cazenove d'Arlens, Février-Avril 1803* (Paris: Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, 1903), edited by M. de Cazenove from the manuscript in his possession. Though the accounts of these parties give us glimpses of the great men of the time, such as Talleyrand, and of lesser lights, like Narbonne, we learn very little of them beyond the fact of their presence. To English readers the most interesting page is that which describes Maria Edgeworth and her father: no hint is given of the literary talent of the former, while of the latter we learn that the writer of the diary disagreed with him on the subject of the education of children. This is scarcely to be wondered at, as Mr. Edgeworth educated his own children on the lines laid down in Rousseau's *Emile*. In the introduction the editor writes a sketch of Madame de Cazenove's life, and in an appendix adds a bibliography of her works.

L. G. W. L.

The volume of Dr. Prothero's excellent *Cambridge Historical Series* which deals with *The Expansion of Russia* (Cambridge: University Press, 1903) has made its appearance at a timely moment, when there is general interest in Russian affairs. Its author, Mr. F. H. Skrine, narrates in a concise but agreeable manner the chief events of external and internal Russian history from 1815 to 1900, and gives some clever character sketches of the five tsars who directed the fortunes of the Russian empire during that period. He forms a high estimate of Alexander I, and does justice to the quixotic temperament of Nicholas I. The tone of the book is statesmanlike and judicial, especially in the treatment of questions where British and Russian interests have been in conflict; Mr. Skrine advocates a *modus vivendi* between the two great empires, and he points out the mistakes of the Crimean war. A few errors in points of detail require correction. Thus Adrianople is not 'the second city of the Ottoman empire' (p. 108); 1870 is the proper date of the creation of the Bulgarian exarchate (p. 245); that of Prince George's appointment as high commissioner of the powers in Crete is December 1898 (p. 330); the insurrection of 1875 began not in Bulgaria, but in the Herzegovina; the Austro-Russian agreement of 1897 is not confined to Servia; and Austria-Hungary does not occupy the whole '*vilayet* of Novi-bazar' (which, by the way, is only a *sandjak*), but only three military points in it, and even there a Turkish military occupation co-exists, as at Plevlje, for example, with the Austro-Hungarian. The three maps at the end of the volume are clear, but in that which represents the Balkan Peninsula why is that typically Greek mountain Ossa included within the Turkish frontier? The full list of authorities is one of the best features both of the volume and of the series to which it belongs.

W. M.

Sir Robert Giffen's *Essays in Finance*, which have for some years past been out of print, were at one time almost the only writings in the

language to which English students could resort for instruction in statistical technique. They could learn from their example how statistical inquiry might be safely and advantageously conducted. Within the last few years the publication of Mr. Bowley's treatise on the *Elements of Statistics* has filled this gap, but Sir Robert's *Essays* remain conspicuous as models for imitation. We are glad that he has preserved in the two volumes which he has entitled *Economic Inquiries and Studies* (London: Bell, 1904) some of his older essays, and that he has added later work of a similar description. Most of the matter, indeed, contained in them is not new, for in one shape or another it has appeared in print before. But it is brought together, and the final essay on the 'present economic conditions and outlook for the United Kingdom' is now published for the first time. It is unnecessary to emphasise Sir Robert Giffen's qualifications for the task fulfilled in these pages. The instinct of a practised journalist for clear, attractive exposition is united with the capacity of a trained expert for appreciating with exactitude the relative values of quantities. Nor does it detract from his power of interesting that he combines unwavering confidence in the accuracy of his conclusions with assured belief in his ability to win assent. We are, however, inclined to quarrel with such a dexterous and persuasive writer when he disowns the rôle of controversialist. We are also disposed to question the appropriateness of the epithet 'economic' to papers which contain little economic reasoning generally so called, and do not see why they should not have been described as 'statistical.' Nor, lastly, will the possessors of the earlier *Essays in Finance* be ready to forgive the publishers for failing to arrange that the essays reprinted from that older issue should have been confined to the first of the two new volumes, to the exclusion of others, and that it should have been made possible for them to purchase the second of these without being compelled to buy the first. Yet the statistical student will pardon these shortcomings in consideration of the great advantage of viewing Sir Robert Giffen's performance as a whole; and the historian will feel that, if the inquiries contained in the two volumes do not bear immediately upon his own work, in some instances at least (as, for example, in the essays on the cost of the Franco-German war, on the economic aspects of the South African war, on the progress of the working classes during the last half-century, and on the relative growth of the component parts of the empire) they furnish material which may prove of use in historical investigations. L. L. P.

*The Statesman's Year Book*, of which we have received the volume for 1904 (London: Macmillan), maintains its position as an indispensable work of reference. How useful it will be to historians of the future we can testify from the constant advantage we derive from consulting its earlier issues. The present volume, besides being adequately revised, includes some special features in its diagrams, showing the movement of British trade in recent years, and in a map of the Alaska boundary as settled by arbitration. A.

## *Notices of Periodical Publications*

- The Acta Archelai*: by L. TRAUBE [who prints from a manuscript in his own possession (written c. 1200) the concluding portion of the work which has hitherto been wanting].—SB. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch. (phil.-hist. Cl.), 1903-4.
- St. John Chrysostom and his relation to Hellenism*: by A. NÆGELE. I. [an essay on the literary history and the Latin versions of Chrysostom, and on the influence of his works on subsequent ages].—Byz. Zft. xiii. 1, 2. Febr.
- The Roman sources of the Salmasian text of John of Antioch*: by E. PATZIG [who proves that John used Ammian as a main source and that Zonaras used John. In a final note the writer maintains the authenticity of the sections of the *Scriptores Hist. Aug.* given in the edition of 1489, but excluded by later editors as being absent from their manuscripts].—Byz. Zft. xiii. 1, 2. Febr.
- The Vita Abbatum Acaunensium*: by M. BESSON [who defends its genuineness and sixth-century date against B. Krusch's argument for its being a forgery of the ninth century].—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1904, 2.
- The anonymous life of S. Gerasimus*: by H. GRÉGOIRE [who maintains that the *Vita Gerasimi* is not a work of Cyril of Scythopolis, as supposed by Papadopoulos Kerameus, but a forgery of the second half of the sixth century imitating Cyril].—Byz. Zft. xiii. 1, 2. Febr.
- Manegold of Lautenbach*: by J. A. ENDRES [who, in opposition to Giesebrecht, identifies the author of the *Liber ad Gebehardum* with the famous *modernorum magister magistrorum*, the supposed teacher of William of Champeaux, who is commemorated by the Anonymus Mellicensis].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* [1165-7]; the Hebrew text with a collation of five manuscripts, and a translation: by M. N. ADLER. I.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 63. April.
- The origin of the Rule of St. Francis*: by M. CARMICHAEL.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 50. April.
- A short narrative of the siege of Damietta* [by an eye-witness from (probably) 23 Sept. to 5 Nov. 1219]: by C. CPOLLA [from a Bobbio MS. in the Ambrosian library at Milan].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 4th ser., 1.
- The bull of Gregory IX for the see of Naumburg* [8 Nov. 1228]: by H. KRABBO [who illustrates the methods adopted by Innocent III for testing the genuineness of documents and for indicating lacunae by means of *litterae tonsae*. It is argued that the papal registers of the twelfth century which were in existence during the pontificate of Honorius III must have been lost very soon after his death].—Mith. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 2.
- Glosses and ancient commentaries on the Divina Commedia*: by F. P. LUISO, continued.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 1.
- Two unpublished sermons by Jean de Fayt on the flagellants and on the great schism*: by P. FREDERICQ. [The one was preached in 1349 before Clement VI at Avignon; the other in 1378 before Louis de Male.].—Bull. Acad. roy. Belg. (Cl. des Lettres), 1903. 9, 10.
- Unedited documents of the Frank dukes of the Aegean Sea* [1433-1564]: by P. G. ZERLENTÈS. [The documents are in the Venetian dialect or in Latin, and extracted from a 17th-century codex of Philôtius].—Byz. Zft. xiii. 1, 2. Febr.

- The confidential correspondence of cardinal Carlo Pio with the emperor Leopold I* [1676-1689]: by M. DUBRUEL.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. April.
- A letter of count Giuseppe Garampi, nuncio at Vienna, to cardinal Zelada* [1780] in the administration of the Vatican library: printed, with an introduction, by I. P. DENGEL [who adds a list of the library officials in 1780, with their allowances].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 2.
- The letters of Ernst Curtius* [1814-1896].—Edinb. Rev. 408. April.
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- The Khabiri in the letters of Tell el-Amarna*: by A. J. DELATRE [who takes them to be Canaanite troglodytes of south-west Palestine].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. April.
- Homeric kingship and the origins of the state in Greece*: by L. BRÉHIER.—Rev. hist. lxxxiv. 1, lxxxv. 1. Jan., May.
- Pictorial relics of third-century Christianity, I.* [on the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome]: by Miss A. C. TAYLOR.—Monthly Rev. 44. May.
- The evidence for the papal authority over Rome in coins and documents down to the middle of the eleventh century*: by J. VON PFLUGK-HARTUNG.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- St. Gregory the Great and England*: by abbat GASQUET.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 50. April.
- Juristic construction and historical research*: by G. SEELIGER [who estimates the precise value of Sohm's theory of *Rechtsdualismus* (*Volksrecht* and *Königsrecht*) in the period of the Franks].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 2.
- Recent literature on the Carolingian age*: by A. WERMINGHOFF [on works by S. Hellmann, H. Lilienfein, A. Kleinclausz, J. Calmette, and F. Lot].—Hist. Zft. xcii. 3.
- Nicolas I and the pseudo-Isidorian decretals*: by H. SCHRÖRS [who denies that the pope was influenced by that collection in the assertion of his claims, or that he ever relied upon it or cited it for the establishment of any principle. It is certain that some documents from it were laid before him by Frankish bishops, but of any knowledge of the whole collection the writer thinks there is no trace].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- The medieval town*: by H. SIEVERING ['a contribution to the theory of economic history'].—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 2.
- Three unpublished documents of Rudolf of Habsburg* [1264-1277]: printed by O. REDLICH.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 2.
- Nicolas III's plan for the partition of the empire* [1277]: by F. J. VÖLLER.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- Marco Polo and his followers in Central Asia* [with a map].—Quart. Rev. 398. April.
- Pilgrimages to the Holy Land in the middle ages* [with special reference to the visit to Jerusalem of James of Verona in 1335 and of others in the fourteenth century]: by L. LE GRAND.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. April.
- The women of the Renaissance*.—Edinb. Rev. 408. April.
- Friuli in the time of the League of Cambrai* [with especial reference to the revolt of Antonio Savorgnano and the peasantry]: by V. MARCHESI.—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 12.
- Erasmus's policy of mediation, and his share in the early Reformation pamphlets*: by P. KALKOFF.—Arch. Reformationsgesch. i. 1.
- The emperor Charles V and his court*: by A. R. VILLA, continued [Dec. 1529-Dec. 1533].—Bol. R. Acad. Hist. xlv. 4, 5.
- The policy of pope Paul III*: by L. STAFETTI [a study in connexion with Capasso's *La politica di papa Paolo III e l'Italia*, I., taking a somewhat favourable view of the pope's objects].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 1.
- On the history of the Jesuit order, from materials at Munich*: by B. DUHR.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- John of Austria and the Christian fleet at Messina* [after the battle of Lepanto] by G. ARENAPRIMO, with documents.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxviii. 1, 2.

- The embassy of Girolamo Lippomano at the Porte and its tragic end*: by A. TORMENE [Lippomano's distinguished diplomatic career; the office of *bailo* at the Porte; his appointment in 1590; his despatches relating to an armada against Spain; suspicions of treason, and measures taken by the inquisitors, the Ten, and the senate; the mission of Lorenzo Bernardo to send him under arrest to Venice; probable suicide of Lippomano on the voyage; illustrative despatches from other embassies].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 12, 13.
- Christian IV of Denmark and the cities of Lower Germany* [1618-1625]: by V. SCHWEITZER.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- Frederick the Great and the American revolution*: by P. L. HAWORTH [who regards Frederick's policy as extremely cautious: he hated England, but had no interest in the colonies for their own sake. Sentiment had no influence in guiding his policy, and he was chiefly concerned in the effect of the war on European politics].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 3. *April*.
- Guichen and the last French-Spanish cruisers in the American war of independence*: by count M. LE GERMINEY, from unpublished materials.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. *April*.
- General Wilkinson and the beginnings of the Spanish conspiracy*: by W. R. SHEPHERD [with documents concerning his intrigue with Spain, 1787, 1788].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 3. *April*.
- Bonaparte in Jaffa*: by C. WAAS. II.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 1.
- Bourrienne's mission at Hamburg* [1805-1810]: by G. SERVIÈRES. II.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. i. *May*.
- The embassy of prince Menshikov to Persia in 1816*, from the diary of T. BARTOLOMEI.—Russk. Star. *May*.
- Nicholas I and European revolutions*.—Russk. Star. *March-May*.
- Georg Ludwig von Maurer* [1790-1872]: by K. T. VON HEIGEL [with particular reference to his work in connexion with the establishment of the Greek kingdom]. SB. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch. (phil.-hist. Cl.), 1903-4.
- The Eastern Question, 1856-1859*.—Russk. Star. *March-May*.
- The teaching of sir Henry Maine*: by P. VINOGRADOFF.—Law Qu. Rev. 78. *April*.

### France

- St. Servatius, bishop of Tongres, patron of Saint-Servan*: by L. CAMPION [maintaining against dom Lobineau and A. de la Borderie, by a full examination of the lives and legends of both saints, that Saint-Servan, near Saint-Malo, has always been under the patronage of Servatius, bishop of Tongres in the fourth century, and not under that of Servanus, bishop in Alban and apostle of the Orkneys].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 3.
- Saint Yves*: by L. CAMPION [who prints an inedited *prosa* to St. Yves from a manuscript missal of the fifteenth century].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 3.
- Jehan Boine Broke, burgess and draper of Douai*: by G. ESPINAS. II.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 2.
- On the ancient corporations of artisans and traders in the town of Rennes*: by A. RÉBILLON.—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 3 (continued from xix. 1).
- Jean du Bellay, the protestants, and the Sorbonne* [1529-1535]: by L. BOURRILLY and N. WEISS.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 2. *March*.
- Notes on the reformation in the islands of Saintonge* [1546-1751]: by H. PATRY and N. WEISS.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 2. *March*.
- A gift of escheated property by Henry II to the nunnery of St. Peter at Lyons* [1554] and the legal proceedings which followed it; by A. COVILLE.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 1. *May*.
- The administration of two lordships of Lower Brittany in the eighteenth century*: by H. SÉE [illustrating from documents in the departmental archives of Ile-et-Vilaine the economic condition of the lordships of Toulgouet and Le Treff, with special reference to the *domaine congéable*].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 3.
- The population of France in 1789*: by A. BRÉTTE [who thinks that the figure 26 millions is quite arbitrary, and there are no exact means of arriving at the truth].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 12. *June*.

- The cahiers of the Breton parishes in 1789*: by H. SÉE [showing that while some cahiers were framed after common forms, or drawn up by local lawyers, others were written by the peasants themselves].—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 12. *June*.
- The debt of the clergy in 1789*: by A. BRETTE.—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 11. *May*.
- The first battalion of national volunteers of the Morbihan*: by Dr. DE CLOSMADÉUC [tracing the history of the corps especially in San Domingo and giving original letters of the commander].—Ann. de Bretagne, xix. 3.
- The early life of Gobel, constitutional bishop of Paris*: by G. GAUTHEROT.—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 10. *April*.
- Father Loriquet and his history*: by J. CLARETIE. [There is no evidence to the effect that Loriquet wrote of *Le Marquis de Bonaparte, lieutenant-général des armées de Louis XVIII*, but a history of France published for the college of Tours in 1819 did speak of Bonaparte as administering the republic under the rule of Louis XVIII.]—Révol. Franç. xxiii. 10. *April*.
- The ordinances of 1828 and the church question*: by P. FÉRET.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. *April*.

### Germany and Austria-Hungary

- Gleanings from the Clementine manuscripts at Prague*, by J. TRUHLÁR, continued.—Český Čas. Hist. *April*.
- On the chronology of some writings of Seuse [Henricus Suso]*: by K. BIHLMEYER.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- The curia and the church administration of Bohemian lands in the pre-Hussite period*: by K. KROFTA. Český Čas. Hist. *April*.
- The first quarrel between Germans and Czechs in the university of Prague [1384]*: by A. BACHMANN.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 1.
- Gobelinus Persona's Vita Meinulphi*: by K. LÖFFLER [who defends its genuineness].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1, 2.
- Statistics of the trades of Breslau, 1470-1790*: by F. EULENBURG.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 2.
- The texts of the twelve articles of 1525*: by A. GÖTZE.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 1.
- An unprinted account, by Antonius Corvinus, of the conference at Ratisbon in 1541 [between the catholics, Pflug, Gropper, and Eck, and the evangelicals, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius]*: by P. TSCHACKERT. Arch. f. Reformationsgesch. i. 1.
- Three letters of Valentin Preuenhuber to Seraphin Kirchmayr, prior of Garsten [1630-1637], on points in Austrian history*: printed by K. SCHIFFMANN.—Mith. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 2.
- The reform movement in Judaism*: by the rev. D. PHILIPSON. III.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 63. *April*.
- Austria and Prussia in 1848, V.*: by F. RACHFAHL [dealing with the removal of the congress from Dresden to Potsdam].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 2.
- The peace discussions in the Prussian head-quarters at Nikolsburg in July 1866*: by W. BUSCH [who shows that Bismarck's account of his disagreement with the king on 23 July (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, ii. 43-48) cannot refer to that day but must be dated several days earlier, almost certainly the 19th].—Hist. Zft. xcii. 3.

### Great Britain and Ireland

- The West Saxon regnal periods in the Cottonian MS. Tiberius A. III.* [the fragment known as  $\beta$ ]: by A. ANSCOMBE.—Athenaeum 4000. *June 25*.
- The Austin canons in England in the twelfth century*: by the rev. T. S. HOLMES [who examines their importance in par hial work].—Journ. Theol. Stud. 19. *April*.
- The succession of the bishops of Dunkeld*: by bishop J. DOWDEN. II.: 1251-2-1390.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 3. *April*.
- The moulding of the Scottish nation*: by P. HUME BROWN.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 3. *April*.

- The early history of burghs in Scotland*: by sir J. D. MARWICK. II.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 3. April (concluded from 2).
- The mortuary roll of the abbess of Lillechurch, Kent* [preserved at St. John's College, Cambridge]: by C. E. SAYLE.—Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc. x. 4.
- The heralds' college and the right to bear arms by prescription*: by W. P. BAILDON, continued.—The Ancestor, 9. April.
- A fifteenth-century roll of arms*.—The Ancestor, 9. April. (continued from 7.)
- A register of deaths [1467-1475] in Salisbury cathedral*: by A. R. MALDEN.—The Ancestor, 9. April.
- Illustrations of fifteenth-century costume* [from an unnamed manuscript]: by O. BARRON.—The Ancestor, 9. April.
- The people and the puritan movement* [in connexion with A. GIBBONS'S *Ely Episcopal Records*. It is inferred that the amount of popular support professed by the puritan ministers before 1620 has been greatly exaggerated].—Church Qu. Rev. 115. April.
- The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland*: by the rev. E. A. D'ALTON.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 50. April.
- The popish plot*.—Church Qu. Rev. 115. April.
- Queen Anne's defence committee*: by J. CORBETT [an examination of the minutes, 26 May 1702-26 Jan. 1703, found among the Hatton-Finch papers in the British Museum].—Monthly Rev. 44. May.
- The family of Sheridan*: by W. SHERIDAN, with many portraits.—The Ancestor, 9. April.
- The letters of Horace Walpole* [on Mrs. P. Toynbee's edition, Walpole's letters to lady Ossory, and the unpublished letters edited by sir S. Walpole].—Edinb. Rev. 408. April.
- The church and dissent in Wales during the nineteenth century*.—Church Qu. Rev. 115. April.
- William Ewart Gladstone* [with special reference to his ecclesiastical position].—Church Qu. Rev. 115. April.
- Frederick York Powell*: by T. A. COOK.—Monthly Rev. 45. June.
- The place-names of Huntingdonshire*: by the rev. W. W. SKEAT.—Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc. x. 4.

### Italy

- Bibliography of publications on medieval Italian history*: by C. CIPOLLA, continued.—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 12, 13.
- Bibliographical notices of recent works on the Venetian territory*: by A. SEGARIZZI, continued.—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 12, 13.
- Ancient and modern farming in the Roman Campagna*: by R. LANCIANI.—Monthly Rev. 43. April.
- The rural counties of the Milanese* [from the ninth century to the peace of Constance, with a few later notices: by E. RIBOLDI. The Martesana, the Bayana, the county of Seprio].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 4th ser., 1.
- The duchy of Gaeta at the beginning of the Norman conquest*: by P. FEDELE.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxix. 1.
- The capitular archives of Girgenti*; the documents of the Norman-Swabian period and the thirteenth-century chartulary: by C. A. GARUFI, with documents.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxviii. 1, 2.
- The rise of a democracy to supreme power*: by M. BROSCHE [on the history of Florence].—Hist. Zft. xcii. 3.
- The national English institutions in Rome during the fourteenth century*: by W. J. W. CROKE [on the English colony of traders, chiefly of rosary merchants (*Pater-nostrarii*), having its centre in the Parione and Arenula quarters; the guild of English at Rome which gave assistance to the 'poor, infirm, needy, and wretched persons coming from England to the city;' and numerous other English institutions, such as hospitals, churches, and chapels].—Dublin Rev., N.S., 50. April.

- The itinerary of Virgilio Bornato of Brescia* [1450-1460]: by L. RIVETTI. [It ends with the council of Mantua, and was probably connected with a secret papal mission to European powers for the crusade].—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 1.
- The festa del Paradiso*: by E. SOLMI [a contemporary account, fixing the date and occasion of this joint work of Leonardo da Vinci and Bernardo Bellincione, which have been much disputed. The feast was given by Ludovico il Moro in honour of Isabella d'Aragona on 13 Jan. 1490].—Arch. stor. Lomb., 4th ser., 1.
- Tomaso Diplovataccio and his work*: by E. BESTA [on his career at Pesaro under the Storza, Caesar Borgia, and the Della Rovere princes; his life at Venice; his legal and historical works, especially the *Tractatus de Venete Urbis Libertate*, &c., and the *De potentissima Venetiarum Urbe*, &c., with their sources].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 12.
- The Venetian history of Pietro Bembo*: by C. LAGOMAGGIORE [on his appointment as state historian by the Ten, and his acceptance, 1529-1530].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 13.
- The treasury, library, and archives of the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Monreale*: by G. MILLUNZI [who describes the books preserved in the library in the sixteenth century, now dispersed among several local collections].—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S. xxviii. 1, 2.
- Unpublished letters of Bernardo Tanucci to Ferdinando Galiani* [17 Mar.-4 Aug. 1764]: printed by F. NICOLINI.—Arch. stor. Napol. xxix. 1.
- Four political sonnets of Melchior Cesarotti* [1797-1799, illustrating the political opportunism of the Paduan poet in connexion with the Virgilian monument erected at Mantua by General Miollis]: by P. PAPA.—Arch. stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 1.
- On the career of the patriot poet Giovanni Torti* [1774-1852]: by E. BELLORINI.—Arch. stor. Lomb., 4th ser., 1.

### Netherlands and Belgium

- An alleged plot for the sale of Mons to the French* [June 1467]: by L. DEVILLERS [on a contemporary memoir].—Ann. du Cercle archéol. de Mons, xxxiii.
- The Walloon churches of the Netherlands* considered as a link between the reformed church of the country and the sister churches abroad: by P. J. J. MOUNIER [an address delivered in 1852].—Bull. Comm. Hist. Églises Wallonnes, viii. 1.
- Sunday observances in the Walloon churches*: by E. BOURLIER.—Bull. Comm. Hist. Églises Wallonnes, viii. 1.
- The reformation at Deventer*: by J. DE HULLU. II. [The suppression of public protestant worship in 1567.—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 4 (continued from 1)].
- The reformed church in its contest about civil marriage*: by L. KNAPPERT. II.—Nederl. Arch. Kerkgesch., N.S., ii. 4 (continued from 3).
- Contributions to the history of the separation of the northern and southern Netherlands*: by P. L. MULLER. II.: The intervention of the duke of Anjou [1583].—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch., 4th ser., iv. 1 (continued from 3rd ser. ii.)
- The general instructions given to the nuncios in the Spanish Netherlands* [1596-1635]: by A. CAUCHIE and R. MAERE [who examine their diplomatic character and historical value].—Rev. Hist. ecclés. 1904, 1.
- A conspiracy for the liberation of Ghent and Flanders from Spanish rule in 1631*: by V. VAN DER HAEGHEN [who prints from the town archives at Ghent the documents relative to the trial and execution of de Pyn, a dyer, who was the instigator of the plot].—Ann. Acad. archéol. Belg., 5th ser., v. 3.
- Reiges et loix du college des eglises Wallonnes estably a Lézyde* [1606].—Bull. Comm. Hist. Églises Wallonnes, viii. 1.
- The journal of father Reginbald Moehner* [chaplain to Leopold William of Baden who commanded the army] during the expedition in the Spanish Netherlands in 1651: by M. SCHWEISTHAL.—Ann. Soc. Arch. de Bruxelles, xvi. 3, 4.
- Buat as a diplomatist* [1660-1666]: by N. JAPIKSE.—Bijdr. vaderl. Gesch., 4th ser. iv. 1.
- Minutes of the council of Nimeguen* touching religious refugees [1685-1688].—Bull. Comm. Hist. Églises Wallonnes, viii. 1.



*The French church at Amersfoort*: by P. Q. BRONGEEST.—Bull. Comm. Hist. Églises Wallonnes, viii. 1.

*The marquis de Courtebourne at Saint-Nicolas*: by G. WILLEMSSEN [who gives a gloomy picture of the occupation of the Pays de Waes by the French troops in 1701-1702].—Ann. du Cercle archéol. du Pays de Waes, xxii. 1.

### Russia

*The Polish constitution of 1791 in its relation to Russia*.—Russk. Star. May.  
*Extracts from the memoirs of the Dekabrist Bestuzhev* [implicated in the outbreak on the accession of Nicholas].—Istorich. Viestnik. April.

*Recollections of the siege of Sebastopol*: by I. LIKHACHEV.—Russk. Star. May.  
*Warsaw after the suppression of the resurrection of 1863*: by N. AVENARIUS.—Istorich. Viestnik. May.

*The storming of Kars in 1877*: by A. ANOYEV [who was one of the combatants].—Istorich. Viestnik. April.

### Scandinavia

*Halöre market*: by P. LUNDBYE [who discusses the locality of the market of this name mentioned in various sagas, and identifies it with Skanör, at the south-east extremity of Sweden].—Hist. Tidsskr. iv. 6.

*The financial side of the acquisition of the duchies* [of Slesvig and Holstein] in 1460-87: by E. ARUP.—Hist. Tidsskr. iv. 4, 5.

### Spain

*The French clergy in Spain from 1791 to 1802*: by V. PIERRE.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxv. 2. April.

*The action of Bruch in 1808*: by A. CARRASCO.—Bol. R. Acad. Hist. xlv. 4.

*The Peninsular war; Baylen and Corunna* [mainly a discussion of that part of the narrative in C. Oman's history affected by the fresh matter to be found in the diary of Sir John Moore].—Quart. Rev. 398. April.

### Switzerland

*The Acta Murensia and the earliest documents in the monastery of Muri* in Aargau: by H. HIRSCH [who agrees with M. Kiem that the original part of the *Acta* was compiled about the middle of the twelfth century, the subsequent additions being about a century later. The writer further examines the sources of the collection and the early history of the monastery].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 2.

*List of abbesses of St. John Baptist* in the Münsterthal [1211-1810]: by R. DÜRER.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1904, 2.

*On the history of the Schams war of 1450*: by F. JECKLIN, with a document.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1904, 2.

*The Swiss coinage in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century*: by J. STRICKLER. II. The period of the Helvetian Republic.—Vierteljahrschr. für Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 2.

### America and Colonies

*The manuscript sources for American history*: by H. PUTNAM.—N. Amer. Rev. clxxviii. 4. April.

*The chroniclers of De Soto's expedition*: by T. H. LEWIS.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 379.

*Jean Ribaut and queen Elizabeth*: by W. LOWERY [who argues that Elizabeth seriously designed to get hold of Florida, and employed Thomas Stukeley as her instrument: Ribaut's sincerity in the matter is doubtful].—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 3. April.

*Contributions to the early history of the Danish West Indian trade*: by N. ABRAHAMS [giving an account of the early operations (1671-80) of the West India company on St. Thomas, and its relations with the French island of St. Croix].—Hist. Tidsskr. iv. 4.

- The French rights in Newfoundland*: by J. C. BRACQ.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 1. *May*.
- British West Florida*: by P. J. HAMILTON.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 399.
- The rank and file at Vicksburg*: by colonel J. H. JONES.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 17.
- A Mississippi brigade in the last days of the confederacy*: by J. S. McNEILLY.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 33.
- Yazoo county in the civil war*: by judge R. BOWMAN.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 57.
- Johnson's division in the battle of Franklin*: by general S. D. LEE.—Mississippi Hist. Soc. Public. vii. 75.
- The innovations of time on the American constitution*: by GOLDWIN SMITH.—Monthly Rev. 45. *June*.

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*Errata in the April Number.*

- P. 284, ll. 24-25, delete *in alio loco mediam partem unius*.
- P. 285, l. 5 from foot, for larger read smaller.

# THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## *The Last Days of Silchester*

IN the Roman period the corner of North Hampshire which we now call Silchester was a Romano-British town, Calleva Atrebatum. At the end of that period, early in the fifth century, this town was still occupied and inhabited, as the coins discovered in it sufficiently prove.<sup>1</sup> Then we lose sight of it in the general gloom. Somewhere in that dark age in which the whole Romano-British civilisation passed away Calleva also met its end. When next its site is mentioned, in Domesday and in the literature of the twelfth century, its Romano-British name has been utterly forgotten and it has ceased to be a dwelling-place of men.<sup>2</sup> Only its city walls must have stood then, as they stand to-day, the enduring monument of a vanished world.

Historians have endeavoured by conjecture to pierce the obscurity which thus surrounds the last days of Calleva. Generally and very naturally they have imagined that the town was stormed and burnt by invading English, and various dates have been suggested for the catastrophe. In particular Mr. J. R. Green, arguing partly from the general course of the English

<sup>1</sup> The coins found at Silchester have not yet been adequately recorded in print. I have, however, been able to look through the Reading Museum collection, and its curator, Mr. Colyer, has supplied me with useful details. Coins of the late fourth century, of Honorius (gold, silver, and bronze) and of Arcadius (gold, bronze), seem fairly common at Silchester, but no later emperor is represented and no items occur (except, perhaps, minims) which can be attributed with any special probability to post-Roman British minting.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey of Monmouth, vi. 5, ix. 1 and 15; Henry of Huntingdon, i. 3 (following Geoffrey); Alfred of Beverley, i. (following Henry). Compare *Eulogium Historiarum*, iv. 170 (vol. ii. p. 148, ed. F. S. Haydon): *Caersegent, Silceestre nominata, modo fere devastata*.

conquest (as he conceived it) and partly from supposed archaeological evidence, placed the destruction of Calleva about the middle of the sixth century, probably between 552 and 568. It resisted longer (he thought) than any other British town of the Hampshire area, and its fall opened the way for a West-Saxon invasion of Surrey about 568 and of Bedfordshire in 571.<sup>3</sup> But the facts on which he relied are neither chronologically nor archaeologically sound, and his theory must be rejected as in part wrong and in part unproved. I propose here to summarise the evidence available for the solution of the problem and to suggest a different answer. This answer may illustrate a new feature in the process by which Romano-British gave way to English.

Literary evidence is naturally wanting. Calleva is mentioned in no Roman or Romano-British literature, except in one or two itineraries and topographical lists; Silchester is mentioned in no English treatise earlier than 1066. Nor can we fill the gap by *a priori* theory. The history of the English conquest of Britain in its initial stages is imperfectly known. The dates and facts assigned by the Chronicle to the fifth and sixth centuries are few; they are also much less certain than Mr. Green assumed. We possess no general evidence which is minute enough to justify an assertion that Silchester 'must have' fallen at such and such a time or under such and such circumstances.

But it may be desirable in passing to notice one medieval author. Geoffrey of Monmouth, the first writer in the twelfth century who mentions the site, makes it the scene of the coronation of Constantine, Uther's father, and of the consecration of Arthur; he also enriches it with an Arthurian bishop, Mauganius.<sup>4</sup> Had he any warrant for this? Historians much more recent than Aaron Thompson have thought so. He may (in their opinion) have used some authority now lost, who preserved in one fashion or another a direct record, British and not English, of Roman and of post-Roman British history. It is not likely. Any such older authority would have called Calleva by its ancient name, and Geoffrey, true to his custom, would have adopted it. But he calls it by its English name of Silchester and by nothing else. Moreover his references to the place are very meagre; he does not include it among the chief cities of Britain, and he plainly knew next to nothing about it beyond its English name. Perhaps another suggestion may explain better how he came to mention it. He wrote in an antiquarian age, when Roman remains were eagerly noted and recognised as Roman in many parts of England—at Bath, for example, and Caerleon and Castor, and Carlisle and Pevensey. Silchester seems to have been noted with the rest as an ancient and therefore presumably a Roman site. It is men-

<sup>3</sup> *Making of England*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey, *loc. cit.*

tioned not only by Geoffrey, but also by his contemporary Henry of Huntingdon. Henry was influenced by Geoffrey to include it in his list of British cities,<sup>5</sup> but he knows a little more about the spot than Geoffrey actually mentions, and he had probably heard of it independently. Here, perhaps, we touch the region of unrecorded current knowledge, and we may well believe that Geoffrey thus learnt of the ruined city walls and picked up the item as convenient to his purpose. That is why he both mentions it and yet calls it only by its English name and shows such ignorance about it. He goes on to invent a bishop for it, but that need surprise no one. Mauganius, prelate of Silchester, is kin to Boso, consul of Oxford, and Micipsa, king of Babylon, and Lucius Tiberius, procurator of the commonwealth, and several score others. They form the natural garniture of the medieval tale. We need pay no further attention to Geoffrey in our present quest.

Historical evidence often fails the historian; there remains archaeology. This, for Silchester, is a recently acquired assistance. The first serious excavation of the spot was started by Mr. Joyce in 1864. The systematic exploration began in 1890. The work is now five-sixths done: we may ask its results.

First, it appears certain that the Romano-British town came actually and completely to an end. The area within the walls is waste and uninhabited to-day, save for a little church and farmhouse close to the eastern gate, and the excavations show that it has always remained uninhabited since the close of the Romano-British period. No trace of English dwellings or graves or other occupation has been found within it, or even in its neighbourhood. The church itself is not especially ancient, and it is natural to conclude that the site for many centuries lay practically desert.

Secondly, it appears certain that the end of Calleva did not come by fire and sword. It was not cut off and burnt by English enemies. Had it thus ended, the excavators would have discovered frequent traces of general conflagration and skeletons of townsfolk slain in fight or flight. Such have been found at Wroxeter, which we have reason to believe was stormed and destroyed; such also in numerous villas. At Silchester we meet with none of this; its end came otherwise.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This I pointed out in the *Athenaeum*, 6 April 1901. Henry, however, adds a vague indication of where Silchester is, which is not given by Geoffrey. I may add here that, so far as I can at present judge, Geoffrey's book contains nothing to suggest that he had anywhere before him any direct British record of Roman Britain which could be called historical.

<sup>6</sup> This was dimly recognised by Mr. Joyce (*Archaeologia*, xlv. 362-3) and abundantly confirmed by the recent excavations (*Victoria Hist. of Hampshire*, i. 371). Green, misreading Joyce, quotes 'a legionary eagle found beneath a charred wreck.' But this, according to Joyce, is *débris* dating from a fire long anterior to the time when the town ceased to be inhabited. For the Wroxeter evidence see J. C. Anderson,

Thirdly, we have some slight evidence that the town passed through a period of decay before it ceased to exist. Some, if not all, of its gates were partly walled up—presumably because they could thus be more easily defended—and the material employed for the purpose includes worked stones from large buildings in Calleva. Such blocking of gateways has been found in other places—in the town of Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), for example, and in the forts on Hadrian's Wall—and everywhere it seems to signify increasing danger or decreasing strength. The employment of worked stones from earlier buildings does not, however, necessarily imply that the town was decayed within as well as threatened from without. The Roman walls of places like Arlon and Sens are largely built with carved or worked stone torn from large and handsome structures, but it does not appear that these structures were in ruins when the walls were built. They were more probably dismantled in the hour of bitter need.<sup>7</sup> And at Silchester, so far as our present evidence goes, the amount of dismantlement need not have been very great.

Lastly, a strange object has been found which must be ascribed to the interval between the end of the Roman period (strictly so called) and the end of Calleva. In 1893 the excavators came upon a well or pit sunk rudely through the floor and outer wall of a corridor in a dwelling-house. In this pit, at a depth of five or six feet, lay a broken pillar bearing an ogam inscription, and below it a pewter vessel flattened out by its weight. The pit must have been dug after the corridor and its wall had fallen into ruin; the mouldings on the base of the pillar seem to be very late Roman; the occurrence of pewter harmonises with, if it does not demand, a late date. The ogam itself, according to Professor Rhys, might belong to the fifth or sixth century. It is imperfect, but in formula Celtic and sepulchral, and it might be translated 'the (grave) of Ebicatu-s . . . son of the kin of . . .,' though it seems uncertain whether it is actually an epitaph. In any case it is a Celtic and indeed Goidelic monument, with no Latin associations, since even the name *Ebicatu-s* is taken to be Celtic and not the Latin *Evocatus*. It is the only ogam yet found in England east of Severn and Exe. It is the only important object found in the Romano-British town which can be attributed with probability to the post-Roman British period.<sup>8</sup>

*Uriconium*, pp. 21-2; Thomas Wright, *Uriconium*, pp. 68, 114; Guest, *Origines Celticae*, i. 290 foll.

<sup>7</sup> Fox (*Silchester Report*, 1895, p. 29) adduces another item which he thinks significant of decay—a fine gallery in a house (xiv. 2) where masons had mixed their mortar as in a workshop and some one had lighted a fire on a costly mosaic floor. But this *might* occur without the town as a whole being in a state of decay.

<sup>8</sup> For the ogam see the *Silchester Report* for 1893 (*Archaeologia*, vol. liv.), the *Victoria Hist. of Hampshire*, i. 279, and Rhys and Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*,

Such is the evidence yielded by Calleva—slight but noteworthy. It is not perhaps discordant with the general history of the age in question. We know, generally, that the barbarians began seriously to menace the prosperity of Britain about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>9</sup> The assaults continued for a hundred years, until here, as elsewhere, the plunderers were superseded by immigrants invited or invading. Meanwhile Roman rule in northern Gaul had ceased, and Britain had been isolated from the empire. A Celtic revival followed. The native language, which had probably never wholly died out in the country districts, began again to spread, aided no doubt by the influences of Celtic Ireland; and with the language must have come a growth of native customs.<sup>10</sup> How fast the change progressed we cannot tell. It must have begun before the year 450, if a Vortigern then ruled Kent. It can be traced distinctly a century later in the pages of Gildas, though it had not then advanced so far as to obliterate in the minds of the British the notion that they belonged to the Roman empire. Later on the process was completed. Latin became merely the learned language of a Celtic-speaking people.

With these facts we can harmonise the details supplied by Calleva. The ogam falls into its place as a bit of Celtic revival. Some one in the fifth or sixth century set up this Celtic pillar at Calleva; then in the last days of the town it was thrown aside—or perhaps rather hidden out of sight and safe from insult, just like the Roman altars found in pits and wells in many Roman forts in northern Britain. The final extinction of town life also becomes intelligible, though it is not due to fire and fighting. It came rather by simple evacuation. As the English advanced, first as rough allies and then as rougher enemies, life became less and less attractive, not only in the forest region round Calleva,<sup>11</sup> but even within the shelter of its massive walls. At some moment or moments which we cannot fix the gateways were narrowed. At last the whole population arose and departed to some western land where the English had not yet appeared. The British at

pp. 55-65. The curious Colchester tablet, which I published in the *Archaeological Journal*, xlix. 215, with its concluding phrase, *nepos Vepogeni Caledo*, may show that the formula used on the Silchester ogam ('son of the kin of') was not unknown to Latin-speaking Britons as early as *circa* A.D. 235. But this may obviously be due to a stray Caledonian. In any case it is difficult to put the Silchester stone into the third century, though M. d'Arbois de Jubainville does seem to date ogams to the third century.

<sup>9</sup> Hence the expedition of Constans (Ammian. xx. 1), the first of many. In not a few Roman villas the latest coin finds date from about 350 A.D.

<sup>10</sup> Precisely the same revival can be seen still progressing in many parts of Austria, where German used to be the language of the towns and Ruthene or Slovene or the like the language of the peasants. Perhaps I may refer in this context to what I wrote in the *Edinburgh Review*, April 1899, pp. 387-8.

<sup>11</sup> The name Calleva means 'the town in the forest.' The country round it was very thinly populated in Roman times, and is heavily wooded to this day.

Silchester were literally exterminated: they fled 'beyond the border.'

We can parallel this 'extermination' from another part of the western empire, where the Roman civilisation perished as completely as in England. The province of Noricum Ripense, the land between Passau and Vienna, was a well-romanised district. The population was still Roman and still considered itself part of the empire in the middle of the fifth century. Its frontier forts and some of its towns had been destroyed in the course of the barbarian invasions, but it still held on in its walled settlements, and, as the empire could not help, it accepted the protection of the Rugi, on the opposite bank of the Danube. This availed little. The Rugi, like Hengist's people, were dangerous friends: other barbarians were as dangerous enemies. Life was hardly safe inside the towns, and those who ventured outside were liable to be caught up by marauders. The burden became intolerable. One town after another was abandoned. The inhabitants of Quintana retired in a body to Batava, the inhabitants of Batava soon after to Lauriacum, and in turn the occupants of Lauriacum retired to Faviana. They left their old homes desolate and uninhabited; no man dwelt in them, no trader found there any one with whom to traffic. A very few here and there declined to leave their native soil and attempted to occupy still the deserted towns: their immediate fate was death or slavery at the hands of the barbarians. At last in 488 Odoacer, who ruled Italy in the name of the eastern emperor, came to the aid of the survivors and, as the only remedy, transported them in a body from Noricum to Italy. From that day the north of Noricum ceased to be Roman in civilisation as in government.<sup>12</sup>

A kindly biographer has told us how and when the romanised town-life ended on the Danube. We have no such written evidence for Britain. But the process was plainly similar. It remains only to ask the date. It were easy to accept Mr. Green's theory of the conquest and simply substitute evacuation for destruction by fire and sword. But that theory is not, in itself, very probable. The early dates of Saxon history are untrustworthy. Geographically it is more likely that an attack on Silchester would come from the Thames valley than from the Itchen. The known facts of early English history suggest an earlier period than 560. Gildas, for instance, wrote somewhere about A.D. 540-550,<sup>13</sup> and no reader of Gildas would suppose that in his time the Britons held parts of Surrey and Hampshire within forty-five miles of London.

<sup>12</sup> *Eugippii Vita Severini* (ed. Mommsen, 1898). Eugippius distinctly implies that the evacuation was general and not confined to the rich. The south of Noricum, of course, retained a form of the Roman language, and was no doubt not evacuated.

<sup>13</sup> So Mommsen and Zimmer. Compare W. H. Stevenson, *Academy*, 26 Oct. 1895



Mr. Green, I think, has overrated 'the ring of fortresses' (as he calls them) 'which enclosed the Gwent.'<sup>14</sup> Calleva may have ranked as a fortified place. The other two, Sorbiodunum (Sarum) and Cunetio (near Marlborough), are to the student of Roman Britain mere villages or post-stations. We cannot, with our present evidence, decide the time when the Callevan Britons lost heart and fled; now we can only perceive that at some date or other the town thus ceased to exist. To complete the tale we need other evidence, not yet discovered. It may be that when archæologists have at last scientifically studied the chronology of English fibulae and burials the historian may learn from their conclusions another fragment of history.

F. HAVERFIELD.

<sup>14</sup> It should be added that the term Gwent, as used by Mr. Green, has no proper authority. It seems to have been invented in recent times out of the place-name Venta, which was used of three little towns in Roman Britain. The etymology and meaning of this name Venta seem quite unknown.

## *The Canon Law of the Divorce*

THE history of the divorce of Henry VIII has by this time been investigated with quite extraordinary thoroughness. The Record Office and the British Museum have been repeatedly ransacked; nearly all the chief private collections have been reached through the Historical Manuscripts Commission; the diplomatic correspondence of the envoys of foreign courts has been printed or summarised, and more recently Dr. Ehses has edited a valuable collection of Roman documents from the archives of the Vatican.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps not the least service which this last publication has rendered was to call forth the three masterly articles by Dr. James Gairdner which appeared in the *English Historical Review* for 1896 and 1897. These for the first time brought all the confusing details into focus, and must be regarded as by far the best and most authoritative presentment of the subject which has hitherto been published. But there is one point with regard to which even Dr. Gairdner's clear exposition leaves the reader unsatisfied—a point which, as I venture to think, he has himself somewhat misconceived. The question is one rather of canon law than of history, but it has an important bearing on other facts. As I do not believe that the matter has ever been put in its true light by any of the many writers on the divorce, I am tempted to ask for space to discuss the difficulty here.

Cardinal Campeggio reached London on 8 Oct. 1528. During all the later stages of his journey he had suffered a martyrdom from repeated attacks of gout, and he was unable to take part in the public reception which had been organised in his honour. The king was in a fever of impatience to have the divorce question settled offhand. Not only had every means been tried to accelerate Campeggio's slow progress through France, but now that the Italian cardinal had reached his destination he was not allowed a day to repose himself, all ill and weary as he was, before the business he had come upon was mooted. During more than a week

<sup>1</sup> *Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII. von England* (Paderborn, 1893). Another letter of Campeggio's, which Dr. Ehses has since discovered at Naples, has been published by him in the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 1900.

he lay in bed unable to set foot to the ground, but Wolsey came to visit him repeatedly, and for three or four hours at a stretch sought to persuade him that all idea of a reconciliation between the king and queen must be abandoned, and that the only possible solution was to be found in a divorce. The king's people here, Campeggio reported, are quite past listening to reason, and 'they not only want to have it all their own way, but require that everything should be done with the utmost despatch.' So impatient was the king that he moved to another palace which was near Campeggio's lodging; and though the latter, as he complained piteously to Salviati, could still neither ride nor stand, and hardly even sit, he was compelled to wait upon his majesty and to go through all the weary formalities of a first audience. Every letter of Campeggio's at this period shows that the pressure put upon him to expedite matters was tremendous. To any one who considers these letters and at the same time remembers the extraordinarily ample terms in which the papal commission was granted, it would appear quite incredible that eight months should have been allowed to elapse before the process of the divorce had advanced a single stage. None the less, though Campeggio had landed on English soil before the last day of September 1528, it was not until 31 May 1529 that the legatine court was opened.

With regard to the immediate cause of this delay there can be no serious difference of opinion. The diplomatic correspondence of the period makes it abundantly clear that the production of a second and hitherto unknown dispensation, granted by Julius II in the form of a brief, had for some reason or other brought the divorce proceedings to a standstill. Nothing, the two legates declared in a joint letter to the pope, could be done until the question of the brief was disposed of. Either they must have powers to require the production of the original and to pronounce upon its authenticity, or else Clement himself must intervene and take the matter into his own hands. They suggest—or rather Wolsey suggests; for Campeggio in a private despatch to Rome makes it clear that he only signed the letter to avoid a rupture with his colleague—that the pope might revoke the cause and himself deliver sentence in favour of Henry, or else that he might issue a new decretal and declare the brief a forgery. Without some such drastic remedy it seemed impossible to go on. At the same time immense efforts were made in England to obtain possession of the original brief. Both Mr. Brewer and Dr. Gairdner have told the story of the oath so disgracefully extorted from Catherine, by which she pledged herself to entreat the emperor to surrender the document. Both have also dwelt upon the negotiations continued for weary months with the object of inducing the pope to interfere or require Charles at least to show the brief in Rome.

The puzzle is that when we come to inspect the text of the document which brought about this deadlock and caused all the disturbance, it seems to be substantially identical with the bull, the authenticity of which was undisputed. Only in one particular have modern critics noted any significant divergence. The brief takes the consummation of the marriage between Arthur and Catherine absolutely for granted, *cum matrimonium per verba legitime de praesenti contraxeritis illudque carnali copula consummaveritis*; whereas the bull, while granting the dispensation in the fullest terms, at the same time suggests a doubt as to the consummation, *cum matrimonium per verba legitime de praesenti contraxissetis illudque carnali copula forsán consummavissetis*. It was, we are told, the presence of this word *forsán* which did all the mischief. Mr. Pocock in his edition of Burnet calls attention to the change by printing the significant words in italics. And from the following passage in his *History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century* Dr. Gairdner seems evidently to agree that the vital feature of the brief is to be sought for in its reference to the fact of consummation:—

But the king's desire to hasten the trial was soon checked when Catherine showed Campeggio a copy of the brief of Julius II for her marriage with Henry—the brief which, as we have seen, was issued before the bull. The brief really cut away the ground on which the king rested his case, because it was granted on information that Prince Arthur had actually consummated his marriage with her. This statement the king himself knew perfectly well to be false, but he had relied on the fact that the presumption was in its favour and that the testimony of Catherine to the contrary could not be admitted as evidence. What was to be said now, when, even supposing it to be true, there was actually a dispensation which met the case exactly? <sup>2</sup>

Now, although I feel that it is somewhat presumptuous to disagree with so high an authority, still I find it very hard to accept the suggestion made, or at least implied, in Dr. Gairdner's explanation. There is no evidence, I think, to show that at this stage, or indeed at any stage, Henry maintained the dispensation to be invalid because Julius had granted it on the supposition that the previous marriage with Arthur had not been consummated. If it could have been proved that Julius issued the bull in this belief, there would no doubt have been serious ground to contest its validity, always of course assuming that the first marriage had really been consummated, as Henry pretended. The dispensation would in that case have been 'obreptitious,' in the phraseology of the canonists—that is, obtained by false representations. But, as Dr. Ehses has pointed out, the very terms in which the dispensation bull was

<sup>2</sup> *A History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 93. Cf. *English Historical Review*, 1897, pp. 237–8.

couched proved conclusively that this was not the case. The bull was issued to remove the impediment of *affinity*, and it was the unanimous teaching of that age, as it is in the Roman church still, that from a marriage that was merely *ratum* and not *consummatum* the impediment of affinity did not result.<sup>3</sup> There would indeed have been an impediment to prevent the marriage of Henry and Catherine, even though Arthur and his bride had parted at the church door and Arthur had died without ever seeing her again. But this was the impediment known as *publicae honestatis iusticia*, not *affinitas*. It was undoubtedly a weak point in the dispensation bull that it made no formal mention of the *publica honestas*; and this Wolsey perceived when the king first opened the matter to him.<sup>4</sup> But when the dispensation bull did away with the impediment of *affinity* it undoubtedly assumed thereby that the marriage had been consummated; and the introduction of the word *forsan* constituted in fact an inconsistency which in some measure justifies Wolsey's stringent criticism on the drafting of that instrument.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> According to the definition common at this period, 'Affinitas est personarum proximitas omni carens parentela, proveniens ex coitu maritali vel fornicaria.' See, for instance, the treatise *De Consanguinitate et Affinitate* of Stephanus Costa, printed in the great Venetian collection of 1584, vol. ix. fol. 134 *seq.*, or the *Rosella Casuum*, ed. Venice, 1495, s.v. *Impedimentum*, fol. 275. It would be easy to pile up references on the point from Sanchez and other authorities who have studied the canonists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; see Sanchez, *De Matrimonio*, lib. vii. disp. 64. No doubt some earlier writers, e.g. St. Thomas Aquinas, had held that *affinitas* might result from *matrimonium ratum* without consummation (see Sanchez, *ib.* n. 24); but the terminology of the thirteenth century was somewhat confused, and, as Freisen in his very useful *Geschichte des canonischen Eherechts*, p. 502 *seq.*, has noted, the impediment which was afterwards known as *publicae honestatis iusticia*, was often at this early period described as *quasi-affinitas*. In the civil law affinity was apparently held to follow from any *matrimonium ratum*; but Baptista a S. Blasio in his list of *Contradictiones Iuris Canonici cum Iure Civili*, n. 42, notes expressly that in the canon law no impediment of affinity arose unless there had been consummation in the full and unequivocal sense.

<sup>4</sup> See Brewer, *Calendar*, 1527, 3217; *State Papers*, i. 194. The Spanish advisers saw this point as well as Wolsey, and they dissuaded Catherine from basing her case on the non-consummation of the previous marriage (Gayangos, *Spanish Calendar*, vol. iii. pt. 2, pp. 819 and 843).

It may be worth while to explain that, according to the canon law, whenever two parties have been formally contracted to one another, whether by betrothal in the strict sense (*sponsalia de futuro*) or by the marriage ceremony (*matrimonium ratum* or *sponsalia de presenti*), a diriment impediment is thereby created, which would invalidate the marriage of either with any one of the other's near relatives. This impediment is now called *publica honestas*, but its true character appears best from the name which it bears in the old canonists, i.e. *quasi-affinitas* (see Freisen, *Geschichte des canonischen Eherechts*, p. 503, and Schulte, *Lehrbuch*, p. 412). If the marriage between Arthur and Catherine was never more than *ratum*, she was still prevented from marrying Henry by the impediment of *publica honestas*.

<sup>5</sup> See the joint letter of Wolsey and Campeggio in Burnet (ed. Pocock), iv. 102. The man who drafted the bull, they argue, must have been half asleep (*dormitaverit*): the framer of the brief, on the other hand, was only too suspiciously wide awake to every point.

In the face of this clear dispensation from affinity it would have been very ill-advised to contend that Pope Julius had been led to believe that there was no consummation—in other words, that there was no affinity at all. And as a matter of fact I cannot find the slightest indication that Wolsey or any of the king's agents ever maintained that the dispensation was obreptitious because the pope had been persuaded that Catherine and Arthur had never cohabited. We have a number of documents explaining fully the objections raised against the dispensing bull, objections in virtue of which the bull was alleged to be surreptitious and obreptitious, and therefore invalid. There exist no fewer than three drafts of commissions which it was hoped that the pope might be induced to sign and in which the grounds for setting aside the dispensation are recited at length. There are also Wolsey's elaborate instructions to Sir Gregory Casale, and various other notes and memoranda. What is more, we possess at least two summaries of the same objections as taken down by the Roman canonists with a view to their discussion and refutation. But in none of these papers is the suggestion made that the dispensation was invalid because it expressed a doubt as to the consummation of the marriage between Arthur and Catherine. Not only is this difficulty not raised as the principal objection to the bull of Julius, but it is not in the slightest way alluded to. Dr. Gairdner himself gives the following summary of objections in one of these Roman documents printed by Ehses :—

In fact the five grounds now (December 1527) and for some time after insisted on were these :

First, it was alleged in the bull that Henry desired the marriage, which was not true, for he never asked for it or knew of the obtaining of the dispensation.

Second, it was stated that the marriage was contracted for the sake of preserving peace and alliance—an insufficient reason, especially as there had been no war, and there was no danger of one at that time.

Third, because Henry was only twelve years old when the dispensation was obtained, and therefore not of lawful age.

Fourth, because some of the persons named in the bull were dead before it was put into force, and therefore the document must have been surreptitious.

Fifth, that Henry, on reaching the age of fourteen, had made a protestation that he would not marry Catherine, by which the previous dispensation was rendered null and a subsequent marriage was not valid without a new one.<sup>6</sup>

I am not for the moment concerned to appraise the value of these difficulties as technical points in canon law. I wish only to

<sup>6</sup> *English Historical Review*, 1896, p. 689; Ehses, *Römische Dokumente*, p. 21. The order given in the Roman summary is not that of the English documents. In these latter the question of the peace (no. 2) always stands in the first place.

point out that they contain no reference to the *forsan* clause or the question of consummation. How then can it be said that when suddenly a dispensation was produced, identical in substance with the former but omitting the word *forsan*, the king's agents were paralysed for six months because the 'brief cut away the ground on which the king rested his case'? The striking point is that no less a person than Wolsey himself, when writing to his agents abroad at this period, speaks of the omission of the word *forsan* by the supposed forger of the brief as a quite unnecessary change. In the memorial sent to the English ambassadors instructing them as to the replies to be made to the allegations of the emperor they are directed to draw attention to the suspicious features of the brief, and more particularly to note that 'it corrects the errors (*vitia*) in the bull which have lately been brought to light, and that to a quite unnecessary extent, as in omitting the word *forsan* lest it should suggest a doubt.'<sup>7</sup>

For all this there seems no need to deny that the brief did really 'cut away the ground upon which the king rested his case,' though it was not, I think, the word *forsan* which had anything to say to it. But to explain my point fully it is necessary to go back some little way.

No one who has ever read the original despatches of the English envoys printed by Burnet and Pocock can easily forget the dramatic story of the fight for the decretal commission in the spring of 1528. The diplomatic badgering and browbeating which the unfortunate pontiff underwent at the hands of Gardiner and his colleagues, the effrontery with which the envoys declared that justice was on their side, and the persistence with which they threatened the pope with the defection of the whole English nation if he refused compliance, might well have shaken the constancy of a more resolute man than Clement VII. He did not give way to the extent that the ambassadors hoped he would. He did not commit himself to any step that was really irretrievable. But he certainly made an unwise and weak concession, a concession which, as he afterwards said, he would have chopped off one of his fingers to recall. Though the public decretal commission which had been so persistently asked for was withheld, Clement did ultimately under extreme pressure consent to issue a secret document of the same nature which might inform the consciences of the legates and might be shown to the king, but of which otherwise no use was to be made. It is only of late years that English historians have come to perceive what was meant by this 'decretal commission,' of which we hear so much in the divorce proceedings, and to understand in what it differed from the 'general commis-

<sup>7</sup> Brewer, p. 2267, n. 4. I assume that these instructions must have emanated directly or indirectly from Wolsey.

sion' in virtue of which the legatine court of Wolsey and Campeggio was actually constituted. Even in the time of Henry VIII such instruments, modelled, as the name suggested, upon the *litterae decretales*, the written decisions of cases, issued by the popes, especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, had gone out of fashion. When Clement was pressed to adopt the draft commission prepared by the English agents in this form he declared repeatedly that such documents were quite foreign to the existing usage of the chancery. In itself the conception of a decretal commission contains nothing difficult or intricate. It was, as Dr. Gairdner quite correctly says, merely a commission setting forth the law by which the legates were to be guided, leaving to them the examination of the facts.<sup>8</sup> Simple as the idea may be, Stephen Gardiner seemed to expect that the pope would not be familiar with it, and in one of his audiences, as he tells us, he recited to the pontiff by heart the whole of the chapter *Veniens* from the title *De Sponsalibus* in the decretals of Gregory IX, apparently to give Clement an idea of what was meant by this kind of commission. Perhaps it may help to the understanding of the present difficulty if we also recall here the contents of this same chapter *Veniens*.

A certain man, E., had lived with a woman, had had children by her, and had formally promised her marriage in the presence of witnesses. It chanced, however, that he was found under compromising circumstances with another man's daughter, and the father of this second girl compelled him then and there to take her for his wife *per verba de praesenti*. Under these circumstances E. applied to the pope to know which of the two women he was bound to regard as lawfully married to him. Hereupon the pope, after reciting these facts and declaring that he had been unable to ascertain whether E. had had intercourse with the first woman *after* pledging his troth to her (*post fidem praestitam*), commits the case to the decision of a delegate, probably the local ordinary, and proceeds thus :—

Therefore we ordain that thou (the delegate) diligently inquire into the facts, and if thou findest that he had carnal knowledge of the first woman after pledging her his troth, that then thou compel him to live with her ; otherwise thou must make him take the second for his wife ; unless indeed at the time of contracting with her he was under the influence of such terror as would have overpowered a man of average constancy.

Here we have the essence of the decretal commission. The law is decided beforehand. The only question left to the delegate to determine is one of fact. If it be found that there was carnal intercourse between E. and the first woman subsequently to the troth-pledging, then they are man and wife. If otherwise, a

<sup>8</sup> *English Historical Review*, xii. 8, 1897.



second issue has to be decided, namely, whether E. at the moment of contracting with the other woman was under the influence of incapacitating terror; if not, he is bound to live with her.

Now a sentence pronounced in accordance with such instructions may be said to have been confirmed beforehand, and offered much less excuse for appeals and delays. Moreover when we examine in the various drafts of the proposed decretal commission what the issues of fact were, upon the answer to which Henry desired to make the whole question of the validity of the marriage turn, we begin to appreciate to what an indefensible piece of legal trickery Clement was asked to commit himself.<sup>9</sup> With regard to the secret decretal which actually was accepted by the pope, though under such severe restrictions as rendered it innocuous in the safe hands of Campeggio, we really are much in the dark both as to the provisions of the document itself and as to the importance which the legates were prepared to attach to it in their conduct of the case. The course of subsequent events seems to me to be best explained if we suppose first that the secret decretal did not differ materially from the drafts which are preserved to us, and secondly

<sup>9</sup> It is strange that a modern writer (I refer to Father Taunton in his *Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer*) should maintain that in resisting the demands of the English envoys Clement was refusing not only what was just in itself but what the pope saw to be just. 'He knew,' we are told, 'that if he inquired into the case, as put by Wolsey, justice based on his own laws would probably demand a verdict for the king' (p. 188). In italicising the words '*as put by Wolsey*' Father Taunton no doubt wishes to recall Wolsey's first suggestion, on which this writer much insists, that the dispensation was defective because it made no reference to the impediment of *publica honestas*. But, first, this objection was only put forward by Wolsey on the supposition that the marriage with Arthur was not consummated, a position which the king throughout refused to recognise. And secondly, what is still more to the point, we can see by the instructions sent by Wolsey to Casale, from the draft bulls prepared in England, from the summaries of the English objections, and from the reports of the envoys themselves, that in the negotiations at the papal court during the first half of 1528 this question of *publica honestas* was either never raised or, if raised, was certainly not insisted on. The five points of objection which were urged against the dispensation bull have been already given above. These still remained the foundation on which the king based his case until the cause was revoked to Rome in July 1529. Then Henry, becoming careless whether he offended the pope or not, fell back on the fundamental position, which had been in his mind all along, that the pope had no power to dispense for marriage with a deceased brother's widow. Throughout the remainder of the proceedings the whole brunt of the controversy turned upon this contention, as is shown by the various printed 'Consultations' on the subject, e.g. by Fisher, Previdelli, Raphael Comensis, Vives, and many others. (There is an excellent collection of some of the rarest of these tracts in the Grenville Library at the British Museum, which I have carefully examined.) With this central difficulty various subordinate objections were combined, notably by Cramer (printed in Pocock's *Records*, i. 334 seq.), and amongst the rest the absence of any mention of *publica honestas* in the dispensation was duly noted. If the non-consummation of the marriage with Arthur had been admitted, then perhaps the error concerning the nature of the impediment which existed between Henry and Catherine might have been considered a real technical difficulty, which called for fuller investigation. But where consummation was assumed, and the relation of the parties fully described, no solid ground existed for requiring a mention of *publica honestas* as well as *affinitas*.

that the legates, notably Wolsey, were anxious to base their procedure upon the issues therein suggested. What would actually have happened with regard to appeals and papal confirmation if the legatine court had come to a decision it is impossible even to conjecture. The pope's idea at any rate seemed to be that the decretal was to be treated as absolutely non-existent, and the document was in fact destroyed by Campeggio long before the trial, in accordance with the instructions he had received. On the whole Dr. Gairdner seems to be thoroughly justified in his belief that the pope never intended it to be any more than a dead letter granted for appearance sake to save Wolsey's credit with the king and in answer to his desperate appeals.

But the more the pope was satisfied that the decretal was to remain inoperative the more likely he was to pass it substantially in the form in which it had been submitted to him. If we want to know what its provisions really were, we shall probably be quite safe in believing that it followed closely the general arrangement of the three drafts of such a decretal commission which are still preserved to us. One of these is in the Record Office, and has been printed entire by Mr. Pocock; another in the Cotton MS., Vitellius, B, xii., was published long ago by Burnet. The third, which is in the same volume as the last-named, has never, I think, been printed, though from the fact that it is made out to Wolsey and Campeggio together it is likely to be of more recent date than either of the others. Indeed, there seems every probability that it is a copy of the document actually taken to Rome by Gardiner. Now the first thing we notice in examining any one of these drafts—the variations between them are in substance comparatively slight—is that in the course of the preliminary statement formal reference is made to the bull of dispensation in virtue of which the marriage between Henry and Catherine took place: *cuius quidem dispensationis tenor sequitur, et est talis*. Whereupon is set down the complete text of the bull of Julius II, duly recited at length. Now a moment's reflexion at once shows the important bearing of this fact upon the problem of the brief and upon the consternation which it excited. If the brief was authentic its existence practically nullified the secret decretal. The whole commission is directed to testing the validity of a certain definite instrument imbedded in its context. When, therefore, the queen replies by producing another instrument altogether, to which no reference is made, and declares that this was the dispensation acted upon, it is obvious that the pains hitherto spent have been thrown away. The bull, indeed, may be declared void and of no effect, but the validity of the marriage no longer depends upon that. If the brief is to be pronounced upon also, an entirely new decretal commission will have to be obtained and all the tedious Roman negotiations must begin

afresh. This fact only becomes more patent when we consider the wording of the significant portion of the draft decretals. I quote from the unprinted one, made out in the names of Wolsey and Campeggio jointly.

Vobis (committimus vices nostras) coniunctim et ut prefertur divisim ad cognoscendum et procedendum summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii in causa predicta, necnon de et super viribus sive validitate dicte bulle sive dispensacionis inquirendum, bullam sive dispensacionem, si vicia predicta aut eorum aliqua vera esse constiterit, et vel pacem que in bulla pretenditur sine matrimonio predicto continuari potuisse et permanere, vel dictum charissimum filium nostrum ut allegabatur non cupiisse contrahere matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis federa conservarentur, aut denique reges in bulla nominatos aut aliquem eorum ante mandatam executioni bullam fatis concessisse apparuerit, ipsam bullam nullam, minus validam, ex subreptione et obreptione inefficacem, irritam et inanem fuisse semper et esse pronunciandum et declarandum, matrimonium autem predictum, quod eiusdem virtute consistere videretur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse ac pro nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere decernendum, ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu matrimoniali huiusmodi liberos et consortio coniugali quod hactenus observarunt separari debere sentenciandos et auctoritate nostra separandos ; denique utrique ad contrahendum etc.<sup>10</sup>

It will be noticed that reference is made throughout to the terms of the 'aforesaid bull or dispensation,' i.e. that which is cited at length towards the beginning of the document. If the legates after investigation of the facts should find either that the peace with Spain could have been maintained without the said marriage, or that 'our dear son' Henry did not desire to contract the marriage to cement the peace as alleged, or that the royal personages named

<sup>10</sup> MS. Vitellius, B. xii., fol. 133. It is curious that, whether by accident or design, all reference to the so-called 'renunciation' (i.e. Prince Henry's protest in 1505) is omitted here, though it is alluded to earlier in the document. The reply made in Rome to this plea was that even though Henry, through the protest referred to should be held to have renounced the dispensation, Catherine, to whom it was equally addressed, certainly had not, and hence the validity of the concession remained untouched. The English canonists may well have felt that this answer was unassailable. Sanchez quotes many authorities for the opinion, now generally received, that a dispensation once obtained remains good, even though the person in whose favour it is obtained renounces it, always supposing that the renunciation is not formally accepted by the authority which granted the dispensation (*De Matrimonio*, lib. viii. disp. 32, n. 5). But Bartholomaeus de Spina (*De Potestate Papae*, nn. 117-118), writing at an earlier period, seems to show that there was some difference of opinion on the point. It is certain in any case that Prince Henry's protest, made at his father's instance, was never intended seriously to stand in the way of his marriage with Catherine. Moreover Dr. Ehses has printed a brief addressed to Henry (though by a blunder Arthur's name appears in the draft) four months after the protest, granting a request made in his name to release 'Catherine his wife' (i.e. espoused to him *per verba de futuro*) from certain vows of devotion; and again, in a letter addressed by the young Prince Henry to King Ferdinand, 9 April 1506, he refers to Catherine as 'la princesse ma femme' (Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Richard III and Henry VII*, i. 285).

therein, or any one of them, died before the bull was carried into effect, in all or any of these cases they are to pronounce the dispensation bull itself null and void, as having been obtained by subreption and obreption, while the marriage, 'which would seem to stand only in virtue of this bull,' is to be declared unlawful and invalid from the beginning, the parties contracting it being absolutely free. Here plainly the law is declared and the investigation narrowed to certain issues of fact, but the whole procedure has reference to a particular form of dispensation of which the text is cited in the commission itself, and can apply to no other.

Of course we do not know how far the secret decretal adhered to these lines, nor again how far Wolsey and Campeggio considered themselves bound to conform to the procedure it indicated. Seeing, however, that the latter had instructions to gain all the time he could, he may well have insisted, when it suited his purpose, on adhering rigidly to the path traced out. After all, the king and his agents had fallen into the pit which they themselves had dug, and it was not for Campeggio to help them out of the difficulty. After the researches of Bergenroth, Friedmann, Busch, and Ehse there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt of the authenticity of the brief, but even had it been a forgery one might feel a certain admiration for the smartness of the trick by which the king's carefully planned decretal commission was so simply rendered operative.

But let me come finally to the most important point I have to make. Even independently of the decretal commission there is one noteworthy difference between the wording of the bull and the brief which would alone be sufficient to account for the dead-lock occasioned by the production of the latter. The resemblance of the two instruments in their general purport, and even in their details, is at first sight so complete that one is at a loss to understand the language in which Wolsey in the joint letter of the legates and in sundry instructions sent to the English envoys persistently contrasts the two. The brief, he declares, is on the very surface of it a suspicious document, because it remedies so aptly the shortcomings in the drafting of the bull, and because it foresees objections which at the time it was issued would have occurred to no one. None the less the writer is not thinking of the omission of the word *forsan*, because, as we have seen, this is described as a change that was even over-cautious and unnecessary. What then was this vital modification which remedied the weak points of the bull and brought the king's great matter to a standstill? The solution of the difficulty is contained, if I mistake not, in a very short passage of the brief, which may be conveniently set side by side with the corresponding expressions in the bull.

*The Bull.*

Cum autem . . . sicut eadem petitio subiungebat ad hoc ut huiusmodi vinculum pacis et amicitiae inter praefatos reges et reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos . . . contrahere . . . supplicari nobis fecistis . . . Nos . . . huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati . . . vobiscum . . . dispensamus.

*The Brief.*

Quia tamen . . . huiusmodi vinculum pacis et connexitatis inter praefatos reges et reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confirmaretur, ex his *et certis aliis causis* desideratis matrimonium . . . contrahere . . . supplicari nobis fecistis. . . . Nos . . . his *et aliis causis animam nostrum moventibus*, huiusmodi supplicationibus inclinati . . . vobiscum. . . dispensamus.

To appreciate the full significance of this change it is necessary to have some idea of the importance always attached in the canon law to the *motive* alleged in the granting of any dispensation. The king's technical objections against the validity of the dispensation bull (summarised above on p. 636) may appear to us now to be quibbling and trivial in the extreme, but they would have seemed of more serious weight to the canonist of that period, for he would have admitted that they were presented in due form, and that they attacked what was likely to be the weak point in any such concession. Despite Henry's later efforts to establish the contrary, it was the almost universally received opinion in that day (and in the Roman church at present the point is disputed by no one) that the pope had power to dispense for a marriage with a deceased wife's sister or a deceased husband's brother. But while all or nearly all held that the impediment could be removed by dispensation, not a few regarded the impediment itself as existing *iure divino*. If, therefore, the pope had power to dispense at all, he was not in the position of a lawgiver who was free even arbitrarily and without reason assigned to permit exceptions to his own laws, but he was rather in the position of one administering the laws of his superior. Such a delegate may, indeed, dispense in certain cases, but he is only free to do so for a good and valid reason.<sup>11</sup> If the cause assigned is fictitious or inadequate, then the dispensation is null and void. It was therefore Henry's main object to show that the motive alleged for this, as all then admitted, extreme exercise of the dispensing power, was a mere pretext and in itself quite disproportionate to the gravity of the case.

It would not, I think, serve any useful purpose to heap up references to the canonists by way of showing the important part which the *causa practensa* plays in all questions of the validity of a

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Virvesius, *De Matrimonio Regis Angliae*, Q. 3a, fo. 62 (Salamanca, 1530, October), and Loazes, *Tractatus super Matrimonio*, D. 3a (Oriolae, 1531, June). Cf. the document printed by Burnet (ed. Pocock), iv. 77.

dispensation ;<sup>12</sup> I will only point to the fact that the insufficiency of the motive, namely, the cementing of the peace between the royal families of England and Spain, is everywhere put in the forefront of the king's objections against the dispensation bull of Julius. But now when we study the wording of the brief we notice that this motive no longer stands alone. The dispensation is solicited for the sake of peace 'and for certain other reasons,' and this clause 'and for other reasons which weigh with us' is also repeated in that passage of the brief in which the formal concession of the dispensation is made. Moreover, secondly, the motive of the cementing of the peace is much less absolutely stated in the brief. We might say that according to the wording of the *bull* the dispensation is granted because the pope was informed that such a marriage was necessary to maintain peace between the two countries. To which the obvious retort could be made that the marriage was not necessary for his purpose ; for the two countries were already at peace and at that period nothing threatened the good understanding between them. Pope Julius, it might be argued, was therefore misinformed and his dispensation was obreptitious. In the *brief*, on the other hand, it is only said that the existing friendly relations 'would probably not last so firmly' (*ita firmiter verisimiliter non perduraret*) unless a new marriage contract were entered upon. This was a proposition which could hardly be disputed, and there was consequently no ground to pretend that the brief was vitiated by subreption or obreption. Furthermore it will be noted that the *de certis aliis causis* clause cut at the root of some of the other objections. Although Henry may have been too young to understand fully the political need of peace with Spain,<sup>13</sup> he was not too young to wish to marry his brother's widow for 'certain other reasons'—for instance, from obedience to the express desire of his

<sup>12</sup> As a specimen of many similar utterances I may refer to an *obiter dictum* of Previdelli, *Consilium pro Rege Angliæ* (Bologna, 1531), who remarks : 'Ioannes Andreas in dicto capite *Per venerabilem*, in fine, voluit quod papa potest in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare *ex causa* ; et abbas [i.e. N. de Tudeschis] in dicto capite *Per venerabilem*, quod audivit dici agitatum fuisse in curia an papa posset dispensare quod patruus ducat in uxorem neptem, et subicit quod putat dispensationem talem fieri non posse nisi ex maxima et ardua causa : quam arduam et maximam causam cum Christiano dico non posse reperiri.' This very point is touched upon in the decrees of the council of Trent in this form : 'In secundo gradu nunquam dispensatur nisi inter magnos principes et ob publicam causam' (Sess. 24, 'De Mat.' c. 5). So again, speaking of another class of papal dispensation, the famous medieval canonist Archidiaconus (Guido de Baysio) lays down (in cap. *Sunt quidam*, xxv. q. 1) that 'pro magna guerra sopienda, aut pro cultu Dei ampliando, aut pro vitanda strage animarum,' the pope may allow a nun to marry, dispensing her from her solemn vow of chastity. But he holds that a less momentous reason would not suffice.

<sup>13</sup> See the argument as urged on the king's side, Burnet (ed. Pocock), iv. 77 : 'Cupere quidem affectus est, ceterum cupere contrahere matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis federa continuarentur, iudicii est et discretionis.'

father. Similarly, though the motive of maintaining peace between Henry VII and Isabella should be held to be technically vitiated by the death of either or both of the parties named, the 'certain other reasons' might still hold good and afford valid ground for a dispensation. At any rate here was an addition which necessitated an entire change of front on the part of the king's legal advisers, if the brief was to be contested and set aside to the satisfaction of an expert jurist like Campeggio. Even Wolsey, if I judge him rightly, had too much respect for the forms of law not to appreciate the fact that the production of the brief had completely altered the situation. It probably seemed to him that the more expeditious course was to attack the authenticity of the document, rather than to attempt to prove it legally ineffective. But the brief being in Spain, and Charles refusing to surrender it, nothing was gained in the end by the bullying policy which the king and his minister adopted.

The conclusions regarding the real significance of the brief, which I have here attempted to expound, had already been arrived at, and in part written down, when I noticed a passage in one of the documents printed by Dr. Ehses, which seems to me to set the question practically at rest. The piece referred to is a sort of summary of the divorce negotiations and justification of the pope, apparently addressed to Clement by one of his consultors on the occasion of Henry VIII's last letter, dated 13 July, 1530. After describing the various appeals made by the English ambassadors in Rome, and the eventual sending of Campeggio to England at Henry's own request, the writer continues—

Successive, cum in Anglia regina ostenderet copiam brevis obtentae dispensationis, cum dicta, *et ex aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus* . . . quae non est in autentico penes regem existenti, missi sunt a rege ad Sanctitatem Vestram oratores Dr. Stephanus (Gardiner) et Petrus Vanni et Dr. Brianus, ut Sanctitas Vestra breve illud falsum pronuntiaret; quod negatum fuit, quia iustum non erat, quod illud, de quo non apparebat nisi per copiam, ac parte non citata nec audita, falsum pronuntiaretur.<sup>14</sup>

It is evident, I think, that the writer of this memorial considered that the significant part of the brief, as contrasted with the bull, consisted in the words *et ex aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus*. It was the insertion of this clause and not the omission of the word *forsan* which was associated in his memory with the discussions of that time. Is it too much to infer that it was this same short but pregnant phrase which had disconcerted the carefully prepared plans of Wolsey and brought the whole progress of the divorce to a temporary standstill?

HERBERT THURSTON.

<sup>14</sup> Ehses, *Römische Dokumente*, p. 157.

*Greece under the Turks, 1571-1684*

ONE result of the battle of Lepanto was to turn the attention of civilised Europe to Greece. Four years after the victory we find Athens 'rediscovered' by the curiosity of Martin Kraus—or Crusius, as he styled himself—a professor at Tübingen, who wrote for information about the celebrated city to Theodósios Zygomalás, a Greek born at Nauplia but living at Constantinople. Zygomalás had often visited Athens, which the frequent wars in the Levant, the depredations of corsairs, and the fact that the usual pilgrims' route to Palestine lay far to the south had so completely isolated from Europe that the densest ignorance prevailed about it in the west. He mentions in his reply the melody of the Athenian songs, which 'charmed those who heard them, as though they were the music of sirens,' the salubrity of the air, the excellence of the water, the good memories and euphonious voices of the inhabitants, among whom, as he states elsewhere, there then were 'about 160 bishops and priests.' At the same time he remarks of the language then spoken at Athens that 'if you heard the Athenians talk your eyes would fill with tears.' Another Greek, Simeon Kabásilas of Arta, informed Kraus that of all the seventy odd dialects of Greece the Attic of that day was the worst. The Greek and 'Ishmaelite,' or Turkish, populations lived, he wrote, in separate quarters of the town, which contained '12,000 male inhabitants.'<sup>1</sup> We learn too, from a short account of Athens discovered in the National Library at Paris in 1862, and composed in Greek in the sixteenth century,<sup>2</sup> that the Tower of the Winds was then a *tekkeh* of dervishes, and the mosque in the Parthenon was called Ismaïdi.

In spite of the depreciatory remarks on the culture of the sixteenth-century Athenians which Kraus permitted himself to make on the strength of his second-hand investigations, learning was even in that age not quite extinct in its ancient home. It was then that there flourished at Athens an accomplished nun, Philothée

<sup>1</sup> Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, vii. 10, 19; Laborde, *Athènes aux XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup>, XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, i. 55-60.

<sup>2</sup> It is headed *Περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς* and has last been published and annotated by my friend K. Philadelphéus, in his excellent *Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*, i. 189-92. He assigns to it the date 1628.



Benizélou, afterwards included, for her piety and charitable foundations, among those whom the Greek church calls 'blessed,' and buried in the beautiful little Gorgoepékoos church. But, though she founded the Convent of St. Andrew on the site of what is now the chapel of the metropolitan of Athens, within whose walls she established the first girls' school of Turkish Athens, she has left a most uncomplimentary description of the Athenians of her day, with whom she had some pecuniary difficulties and upon whom she showers a string of abusive epithets in the best classical style.<sup>3</sup> Two other religious foundations also mark this period—that of the Church of the Archangels in 1577 in the Stoa of Hadrian, where an inscription still commemorates it, and that of the Monastery of Pentéle, built in the following year by Timótheos, archbishop of Euboea, whose skull, set in jewels, may still be seen there. The monks of Pentéle had to send 3,000 *okes* of honey every year to the great mosques of Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> We may infer from these facts that the Turkish authority sat lightly upon a town which was allowed the rare privilege of erecting new places of worship. The idea too then current in the west that Athens had been entirely destroyed, and that its site was occupied by a few huts, was obviously as absurd as the sketches of the city in the form of a Flemish or German town which were made in the fifteenth century. A place of '12,000 men' was not to be despised; and, if we may accept the statement of Kabásilas,<sup>5</sup> the male population of the Athens of 1578 was twice as large as the whole population of the Athens which Otho made his capital in 1834. It has sometimes been supposed, in accordance with the local tradition, that the city was placed, immediately after the Turkish conquest, under the authority of the chief eunuch at Constantinople; but it has now been shown that that arrangement was introduced much later. From the Turkish conquest to the capture of Euboea from the Venetians in 1470 Athens was the seat of a pasha, and capital of the first of the five *sandjaks*, or provinces, into which the conqueror divided continental Greece. In that year the seat of the pasha was transferred to Chalkis, which then became the capital of the *sandjak* of the Eúripos, of which Athens sank to be a district, or *caza*. In this position of dependence the once famous city continued till about the year 1610, being administered by a subordinate of the Euboean pasha,<sup>6</sup> who

<sup>3</sup> Philadelphéus, i. 202-8; Konstantinides, 'Ιστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων (ed. 2), pp. 447-450.

<sup>4</sup> Kampouróglos, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Ἱστορίας τῶν Ἀθηναίων* (ed. 2), i. 191, 336.

<sup>5</sup> Konstantinides thinks his figures much too high (*op. cit.* 442-7).

<sup>6</sup> Kampouróglos, 'Ιστορία τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ii. 77-83. Konstantinides (pp. 421-2) relying on a statement of Sanuto that the governor of Athens, even before 1470, was styled only *σουμπάσης*, thinks that all the time down to 1610 Athens was merely a district of a *sandjak*. Philadelphéus (i. 287-90) agrees with the latter view, but extends the duration of this arrangement to 1621 or even later.

every year paid it a much-dreaded visit of inspection, which, like most Turkish official visits, was very expensive to the hosts.

From the conclusion of the war of Cyprus in 1573 to the outbreak of the Cretan war in 1645 there was peace between Venice and the Turks, so that Greece ceased for over seventy years to be the battle-ground of those ancient foes. But spasmodic risings still occurred even during that comparatively quiet period. Thus, in 1585, a famous *armatolós*, Theodore Búa Grívas, raised the standard of revolt in the mountainous districts of Akarnania and Epiros, at the instigation of the Venetians. His example was followed by two other *armatoloí*, Drákos and Malámos, who took Arta and marched on Joánnina. But this insurrection was speedily suppressed by the superior forces of the Turks, and Grívas, badly wounded, was fain to escape to the Venetian island of Itháke, where he died of his injuries.<sup>7</sup> Somewhat later, in 1611, Dionýsios, archbishop of Trikala, made a further attempt on Joánnina; but he was betrayed by the Jews, then, as ever, on the Turkish side, and flayed alive. His skin, stuffed with straw, was sent to Constantinople. Another Thesalian archbishop, accused of complicity with him, was offered the choice of apostasy or death, and manfully chose the latter, a choice which has given him a place in the martyrology of modern Greece.<sup>8</sup>

The greatest disturbance to the pacific development of the country arose, however, from the corsairs, who descended upon its coasts almost without intermission from the date of the Turkish conquest to the latter part of the seventeenth century. The damage inflicted by these pirates, who belonged to the Christian no less than to the Mussulman religion, and who made no distinction between the creeds of their victims, led the Greeks to dwell at a distance from the seaboard, in places that were not easily accessible; and thus the coast acquired that deserted look which it has not wholly lost even now.<sup>9</sup> The worst of these wretches were the Uscocs of Dalmatia, whose inhuman cruelties have rarely been surpassed. Sometimes they would eat the hearts of their victims; sometimes they would chain the crew below the deck, and then leave the captured vessel adrift, and its inmates to die of starvation, on the blue Ionian or the stormy Adriatic sea. In addition to the common pirates there were organised freebooters of higher rank, such as the Knights of Santo Stefano, founded by Cosmo de' Medici in 1560, and the Knights of Malta. The former were convenient auxiliaries of the Florentine fleet, because their exploits could be disowned by the government if unsuccessful. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the Florentines were able to occupy Chios for a moment; but

<sup>7</sup> Sáthas, *Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ἑλλάς*, pp. 178-9.

<sup>8</sup> See the Greek history of Epiros given in Pouqueville, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, v. 82-90.

<sup>9</sup> Finlay, *History of Greece*, v. 57, 90-1, 94, 96, 101, 108.

the Turks soon regained possession of that rich island, and visited the sins of the Tuscans upon the inhabitants whom they had come to deliver. Years afterwards a traveller saw a row of grim skulls on the battlements of the fort, and the descendants of the Genoese settlers, who had hitherto received specially favourable treatment from the sultan, were so badly treated that they mostly emigrated.<sup>10</sup> In emulation of the Knights of Santo Stefano those of Malta in 1603 sacked Patras, which had been burned by a Spanish squadron only eight years before, and occupied Naúpaktos, which in the seventeenth century bore the ominous nickname of 'Little Algiers,' from the pirates of Algiers and Tripoli who made it their headquarters. When, in 1676, the traveller Spon visited it, he found a number of Moors settled down there with their coal-black progeny.<sup>11</sup> A few years later the Maltese, baffled in an attempt on Navarino, retaliated on Corinth, whence they carried off 500 captives. Finally in 1620 they assailed the famous Frankish castle of Glárentza, in the strong walls of which their bombs opened a breach; but the approach of a considerable Turkish force compelled them to return to their ships, after having attained no other result than that of having injured one of the most interesting mediæval monuments in Greece. Another Frankish stronghold, that of Passavâ, was surprised by the Spaniards when they ravaged Maina in 1601. The co-operation of that restive population with the invaders, whose predatory tastes they shared, led the Porte to adopt strong measures against the Mainates, who in 1614 were, in name at least, reduced to submission and compelled to pay tribute.<sup>12</sup> But though the capitan pasha was thus able to starve Maina into submission he could not protect the Greeks against the pirates, who so long preyed upon their commerce, burnt their villages, debauched their women, and desolated their land. Had Turkey been a strong maritime power, able to sweep piracy from the seas, Greece would have been spared much suffering and would have had less damage to repair.

It was at this time too that the classic land of the arts began to suffer from another form of depredation, that of the cultured collector. To a British nobleman belongs the discredit of this revival of the work of Nero. About 1613 the earl of Arundel was seized with the idea of 'transplanting old Greece into England.' With this object he commissioned political agents, merchants, and others, chief among them William Petty, uncle of the well-known political economist, to scour the Levant in quest of statues. His example speedily found imitators, such as the duke of Buckingham and King Charles I, who charged the English admiral in the Levant, Sir Kenelm Digby, with the duty of collecting works of art for the

<sup>10</sup> Dapper, *Description des Iles de l'Archipel*, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> Spon, *Voyage*, ii. 23 (ed. 1679).

<sup>12</sup> Finlay, v. 108, 114.

royal palace. Needless to say the rude sailors who were ordered to remove the precious pieces of marble often mutilated what they could not remove intact. They sawed in two a statue of Apollo at Délos, and they might have anticipated the achievements of Lord Elgin at Athens had not its distance from the sea and the suspicions of the Turkish garrison on the Akropolis saved it from the fate to which the Cyclades were exposed.<sup>13</sup>

While the corsairs were devastating Greece a picturesque adventurer, who recalls the abortive scheme of Charles VIII of France, was engaged in planning her deliverance. Charles Gonzaga, duc de Nevers, boasted of his connexion with the imperial house of the Palaiológoi through his grandmother, Margaret of Montferrat, a descendant of the emperor Andrónikos Palaiológos the Elder.<sup>14</sup> After having fought against the Turks in Hungary he conceived the romantic idea of claiming the throne of Constantinople, with which object he visited various European courts, and about 1612 entered into negotiations with the Greeks. His schemes received a willing hearing from the restless Mainates, who sent three high ecclesiastics to assure him of their readiness to recognise him as their liege lord if he would send them a body of experienced officers to organise a force of 10,000 Greeks. They even promised to become Roman catholics, and arranged, on paper, for the division of the Turkish lands among themselves, and for the confiscation of all Jewish property in order to defray the expenses of the expedition. The pretender, on his part, sent three trusty agents to spy out the land and make plans of the Turkish positions; they came back with most hopeful accounts of the enthusiasm of the Mainates, who were only waiting for the favourable moment to raise the two-headed eagle on the walls of Mistrá. Neóphytos, the bishop of Maina, and Chrýsanthos Láskaris, the metropolitan of Lakedaimon, whose tomb may still be seen in one of the churches at Mistrá, addressed him as Constantine Palaiológos, and told him to hasten his coming among his faithful people, who in proof of their submission sent him some falcons.

But the duc de Nevers wasted in diplomacy time which should have been devoted to prompt action. He appealed to Pope Paul V, the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of Spain, and the emperor, who were all profuse in promises and some of whom furnished him with ships and money. An attempt was also made to stir up the other Christian nationalities of the East, and a meeting of Albanian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Servian leaders was held for the purpose of concerted action, while the two *hospodars* of

<sup>13</sup> Laborde, i. 67-70. An Austrian archæologist has suggested that the recently discovered Hermes, Paris, or Perseus, of Antikýthera, now at Athens, was part of the spoil of a vessel bound for England which foundered in 1640 off that island.

<sup>14</sup> His genealogy is given in Sáthas, *Τουρκοκρατούμένη Ἑλλάς*, p. 197, n. 2.

Moldavia and Wallachia promised their aid. Another adventurer, who styled himself Sultan Zachiás and gave out that he was a brother of the sultan Ahmed I, was admitted as an ally. Finally, in order to give a religious character to the movement, the duke founded and became chief of a body calling itself the 'Christian army,' commissions in which were offered to the conspirators, among whom we find the name of a learned Athenian, Leonárdos Philarás,<sup>15</sup> who was patronised by Richelieu and to whom Milton addressed two letters. A date was fixed for the rising, and four memoranda were addressed to the duke, with full particulars of his future realm of Greece. From these we learn that in 1619 the Peloponnesos could furnish him with 15,000 fighting men, while it contained 8,000 Turks capable of bearing arms, of whom 800 formed the scanty garrisons of Koróne, Methóne, Navarino, and Nauplia. At that time, we are told, there were 800 Turkish military fiefs in the Morea, and the population of Maina was estimated at 4,913 families, spread over 125 villages and hamlets. These statistics are the most valuable result of the agitation.

After several years of correspondence and negotiation the pretender at last managed to equip five vessels for the transport of his crusaders; but a sudden fire, perhaps the work of an incendiary, laid them in ashes, and the jealousy of Spain and Venice prevented any effective political action. The 'Christian army' still went on meeting and discussing its plan of campaign, and two more strange adventurers—a Moor who had become a Christian and styled himself 'infant of Fez,' and a Greek who, with even greater ambition, had adopted the title of 'prince of Macedonia'—became the principal agents of the duke. At last, however, every one grew weary of his absurd pretensions, and the secession of the pope from his side finally destroyed his hopes.<sup>16</sup>

During the Cretan war between Venice and the Turks two risings were promoted by the Venetians in Greece for the purpose of diverting the attention of their enemies. In 1647 the Venetian admiral Grimani, after chasing the Turkish fleet to Euboea and Volo, blockaded it within the harbour of Nauplia. At this the Albanians of the Peloponnesos, who were very favourable to the republic, rose against the Turks, and after having done a considerable amount of damage to Turkish property escaped punishment by fleeing on board the Venetian squadron. A Greek, more daring but less fortunate, conceived the idea of setting fire to the Turkish vessels as they lay in harbour, but paid for his audacity with his life.<sup>17</sup> In 1659 the Mainates, who had availed themselves of the war to throw off every shadow of subjection to the sultan, but who plundered Venetian and Turkish ships with equal impar-

<sup>15</sup> Sáthas, p. 209.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 197-210.

<sup>17</sup> Nani, *Istoria della R. Veneta*, pt. ii. p. 134.

tiality, were induced by the great Francesco Morosini to devote their abilities to the plunder of the Morea. At that time piracy was the principal profession of the Mainate population, who sold Christians to Turks and Turks to Christians. Priests and monks, we are told, joined in the business, and the fact that they lived in caves overlooking the sea made them valuable auxiliaries of the pirates, whom they informed of the approach of passing vessels. Some of them even embarked on board the pirate schooners, for the purpose of levying the tithes which was allotted by the pious freebooters to the church.<sup>18</sup> These schooners sometimes sailed out among the Cyclades, and just as Naúpaktos was nicknamed 'Little Algiers' so Oitylos in Maina was called 'Great Algiers.' Well acquainted with the influence of the church in eastern politics, Morosini worked upon the feelings of the Mainates by taking with him the deposed oecumenical patriarch, then living on the island of Siphnos. The pirates of Maina humbly kissed the hand of the eminent ecclesiastic, and 10,000 of them, with 3,000 Greeks and Albanians, assisted the Venetian commander in an attack upon Kalamata, which was abandoned by its Mussulman and Christian inhabitants alike to its rapacious assailants. The Cretan poet Bounialès has left a graphic account of their proceedings in his poem on the Cretan war.

But no strategic result accrued from the sack of Kalamata; Morosini sailed off to the Aegean, advising the Mainates to reserve their energies for a more favourable opportunity of conquering the Peloponnesos. The auxiliaries of the Venetian commander, pending that event, continued to prey upon Turkish vessels, and even attacked the fleet of the grand vizier, Achmet Kiupruli, which was then engaged in the siege of Candia. The offer of double the pay of his own soldiers could not bribe the Mainates to desist from their at once patriotic and profitable piracies. Baffled by their refusal, the grand vizier ordered Hasân-Babâ, a pirate of renown and accounted the best seaman in the Turkish fleet, to reduce Maina to submission. But the women of Maina sufficed to strike terror into the heart of the bold Hasân. 'Tell my husband,' said one of them, 'to mind the goat and hold the child, and I will go and find his weapons and use them better than he.' At the head of the population the women marched down to the shore, and the Turkish captain thought it wiser to remain on board. But in the evening experienced swimmers cut the cables of his ships, two of which were driven upon the rocks of that iron

<sup>18</sup> Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea*, p. 9; Guillet, *Athènes Ancienne et Nouvelle*, pp. 28-38. It must be added, however, that the Capuchins of Athens, upon whose notes this book was based, may from theological bias have exaggerated the misdeeds of the orthodox clergy. On this ground the local historian, Alexandrâkos, in his *Ἱστορία τῆς Μάκρης*, p. 18, indignantly rejects these accusations. But in 1894 I heard in Athens a similar story about a Thessalian priest, implicated in a celebrated case of brigandage.

coast and became the prey of the wreckers, while Hasân was glad to escape on his sole surviving vessel.

Unable to subdue the Mainates by force, the grand vizier now had recourse to diplomacy. The hereditary blood feud had long been the curse of Maina, and its inhabitants were divided into the hostile factions of the Stephanópouloi and the Iatraíoi—the Montagues and Capulets of that rugged land. At that time there was in Maina a certain Liberákes Gerakáres, who, after an apprenticeship in the Venetian fleet, had turned his nautical experience to practical use as a pirate. In an interval of his profession he had become engaged to a daughter of the clan of Iatraíoi, who boasted of their descent from one of the Florentine Medici, formerly shipwrecked there; but, before the wedding had taken place, a rival, belonging to the opposite clan, eloped with the lady. Smarting under his loss and burning for revenge upon the whole race of the Stephanópouloi, the disappointed lover was accidentally captured by the Turks at sea and carried off to prison. The crafty Kiupruli saw at once that Liberákes was the very man for his purpose. He not only released him, but provided him with money, and sent him back to Maina in the capacity of his secret agent. Liberákes at once distributed the pasha's gold among his clansmen and proclaimed civil war against the Stephanópouloi. At the same time the Mainates were told of favours which the grand vizier had in store for them—the use of bells and crosses outside their churches, the abolition of the tribute of children, and the remission of half the capitation tax. No Turk, it was added, should live among them.

As soon as Crete had fallen Kiupruli devoted his attention to the accomplishment of his plan. He peremptorily summoned the Mainates, under penalty of extermination, to submit to his authority, promising them an amnesty and the remission of all arrears of tribute in case of prompt submission. At the same time he despatched 6,000 men to Maina, with orders to treat the people well, but to build, under the pretext of protecting trade, three forts in strong positions. As soon, however, as the forts were finished, Liberákes and his men seized some of their most prominent foes, while the Turks preserved an air of complete indifference. After a mock trial the unfortunate Stephanópouloi were sentenced to death as disturbers of the public peace. Those of them who escaped emigrated to Corsica, where their descendants may still be found at Cargèse. More than a century later they furnished to Bonaparte agents for the dissemination of his plans of conquest in Greece. Other Mainates went into exile in Tuscany, where their descendants soon became fused with the Italian population, and in Apulia, while those who remained behind were for the second time placed under Turkish authority. Liberákes, as

soon as his deluded countrymen had realised the device of which they had been the victims, became so unpopular that he took to piracy again. A second time captured by the Turks, he was again imprisoned till his captors once more found need for his services.<sup>19</sup>

While Candia was the scene of the great struggle between Venice and 'the Ottomite,' Athens was once more coming within the ken of Europe. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the French showed much activity in the Levant, where they established consuls about that time. In 1630 the French ambassador at Constantinople, Louis des Hayes, had visited Athens,<sup>20</sup> of which a brief mention is made in his travels, and in 1645 a very important step towards the 'rediscovery' of the famous city was taken. In that year a body of Jesuit missionaries were sent thither, and though they subsequently removed to Negroponte, because that place contained more Franks, they were followed at Athens in 1658 by the Capuchins, whose name will ever be remembered in connexion with the topography of that city. In 1669 they bought the choragic monument of Lysikrates, then colloquially known as 'the Lantern of Demosthenes,' which henceforth formed part of their convent.<sup>21</sup> Over the entrance they placed the lilies of France, to which the monument still belongs, and by whose care it has twice been restored; but their hospitality was extended to strangers of all races and religions, and it is curious to hear that the Turkish *cadi* would only sanction this purchase of a national monument on condition that the Capuchins promised not to injure it and to show it to all who wished to see it. The monument itself was converted into a study, where Lord Byron passed many an hour during his visit to Athens in 1811, and where he wrote his famous indictment of Lord Elgin's vandalism. The chapel of the convent was, till the capture of the city by Morosini, the only Frankish place of worship. But the worthy Capuchins did not confine themselves to religious exercises. About the same time that they purchased the choragic monument they drew up a plan of Athens, which was a great advance on the imaginary representations of that place, which had hitherto been devised to gratify the curiosity of Europe, and which had depicted Athens now as a Flemish and now as a German town. Nor did they keep their information to themselves. They communicated their plan and a quantity of notes to a French literary man, Guillet, who published them in the form of an imaginary journey, supposed to have been undertaken by his brother, La Guilletière. The sources of Guillet's information render his narrative far more valuable than if he had

<sup>19</sup> Finlay, v. 116-7; Spon, i. 123; Sáthas, pp. 308-10; Paparregópoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, v. 493; Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. 450.

<sup>20</sup> Laborde, i. 63; Philadelphéus (i. 184, 187) puts his visit in 1621. The passage about Athens is in his *Voyage de Levant* (ed. 1645), pp. 473-5.

<sup>21</sup> Laborde, i. 75, 201; Guillet, p. 223.



merely paid a flying visit to Athens; and though he never saw the place about which he wrote he had at his command the best available materials, compiled by men who had lived there. About the same time Babin, a Jesuit who had also lived at Athens, drew up an account of it, which was published by Dr. Spon,<sup>22</sup> a physician and antiquary of Lyons, who visited Greece in 1675 and 1676 in the company of an Englishman, Sir George Wheeler, and subsequently issued a detailed account of his travels, upon which his travelling companion afterwards based an English version. Two other Englishmen, Randolph and Vernon, also travelled in Greece at different times between 1671 and 1679, and have left behind records of their impressions. Besides these unofficial travellers Lord Winchelsea, the British ambassador at Constantinople, paid a visit, of which, however, he published no record, to Athens in 1675, while the previous year had witnessed the tour of his French colleague, the marquis de Nointel, through the Cyclades and Attica, in the company of the painter Jacques Carrey, who drew for him the sculptures of the Parthenon, and of an Italian, Cornelio Magni, who wrote an account of the great man's journey.<sup>23</sup> Thus we have ample opportunities for judging what was the condition of Athens between the years 1669 and 1676, or shortly before the Venetian siege, while recent researches have greatly elucidated the statements of the travellers.

The population of Athens at that time is estimated by Guillet at between 15,000 and 16,000, of whom only 1,000 or 1,200 were Mussulmans, and by Spon at between 8,000 and 9,000, of whom three-quarters were Greeks and the rest Turks. A modern Greek scholar,<sup>24</sup> while accepting Spon's estimate of the proportion between the Greeks and the Mussulmans, puts the total population at the time of the Venetian siege at 20,000, which would better tally with the expression of a Hessian officer, Hombergk, who was among the besiegers, and who wrote home that Athens was 'a very big and populous town.' Another German officer, a Hanoverian, named Zehn, even went so far in his journal as to state that Athens had '14,000 houses,'<sup>25</sup> which must be an exaggeration. It is clear, however, from all these estimates that Athens was in 1687 a considerable place. Besides the Greeks and Turks there were also a few Franks, some gipsies, and a body of negroes. The negroes were the slaves of the Turks, living in winter at the foot of the Akropolis, in the holes of the rock, in huts, or among the ruins of old houses, and in summer, like the modern Athenians, spending

<sup>22</sup> His *Relation de l'Etat présent de la ville d'Athènes* is reprinted in full in Laborde's book.

<sup>23</sup> Laborde, i. 176; Finlay, v. 104, n. 2; Ray's *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, vol. ii.; Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea*; Magni, *Relazione della città d'Atene*.

<sup>24</sup> Kampoúroglos, *Ἱστορία*, iii. 135.

<sup>25</sup> Laborde, ii. 358, 363.

their spare time on the beach at Pháleron. The gipsies were particularly odious to the Greeks as the tools of any Turk who wished to torture them. Among the Franks were the consuls, of whom there were two. At the time of Spon's visit they were both Frenchmen and both deadly enemies, M. Châtaignier, the representative of France, and M. Giraud, a resident in Athens for the last eighteen years, who acted for England and was the *cicerone* of all travellers. A little later, in the reign of James II, we were represented by one of our own countrymen, Launcelot Hobson, one of whose servants, a native of Limehouse, together with two other Englishmen, was buried at that time in the Church of St. Mary's-on-the-Rock beneath a tombstone, now in the north wall of the English church, commemorating his great linguistic attainments. Besides the two consuls Spon found no other Franks at Athens, except one Capuchin monk, one soldier, and some servants; a little earlier we hear of a German adventurer as living there.<sup>26</sup>

Our authorities differ as to the feelings with which at that period the Athenians regarded the Franks. Guillet, indeed, alludes to the excellent relations between the Greeks and Latins, and points, as a proof of it, to the remarkable fact that young Athenians were sent by their parents to be educated by the Capuchins. The consul Giraud's wife was also a Greek. Spon, however, speaks of the great aversion of the Greeks to the Franks,<sup>27</sup> and this is confirmed by an incident which followed the visit of the marquis de Nointel to Athens in 1674. During his stay the pious ambassador had had mass recited in the ancient temple of Triptólemos, beyond the Ilissós, which, under the title of St. Mary's-on-the-Rock, had served as a chapel of the Frank dukes.<sup>28</sup> After their time it had been converted into a Greek church, but had been allowed to fall into disuse. None the less it was considered by the orthodox to have been profaned by the masses of the French ambassador.<sup>29</sup> A great number of satirical verses have been also preserved,<sup>30</sup> which show that the Frank residents were the butt of every sharp-witted Athenian street boy, and their cleanly habits were especially suspicious to the orthodox. Besides, as many of the pirates were Franks, the popular logic readily confounded the two, and visited upon the harmless Latin the sins of some of his co-religionists. It was manifest, however, at the time of the Venetian siege that the Athenians preferred the Franks to the Turks, and every traveller from the west praised the hospitality

<sup>26</sup> Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, ii. 417 n.

<sup>27</sup> *Ubi supra*, ii. 187.

<sup>28</sup> There is a picture, taken from Stuart, of this Παναγία στήν πέτρα in Kampóúroglos, *Ἱστορία*, ii. 280. See his *Μνημεία*, i. 93. It was destroyed by Hadji Ali, to provide materials for the defences of Athens against the Albanians in 1778.

<sup>29</sup> Laborde, i. 126 n.

<sup>30</sup> In the third volume of Kampóúroglos, *Ἱστορία*.

which the Greeks of Athens showed to the foreigner. Spon tells us that there was not a single Jew to be found in the city. Quite apart from the national hatred which they inspired, and still inspire, in the Hellenic breast, how could they outwit the Athenians? <sup>31</sup> Would they not have fared like their fellow countrymen who landed one day on Lesbos, but, on observing the astuteness of the Lesbian hucksters in the market-place, went off by the next ship, saying that this was no place for them? On the other hand a few Wallachs wandered about Athens, some Albanian Mussulmans were employed in guarding the entrances to the town, and in all the villages of Attica the inhabitants were of the Albanian race, as is still largely the case.<sup>32</sup> In Athens itself all the non-Turkish and non-Hellenic population did not amount at that time to more than 500.

A great change had taken place in the government of the city since the early years of the seventeenth century. We last saw Athens forming a district of the *sandjak* of Eúripos, and dependent on the pasha of Euboea, who was represented there by a lower official. A document in the Bodleian Library,<sup>33</sup> dated 1617, gives us, from the pen of a Greek exile in England, an account of the exactions of a rapacious Turkish governor of Athens somewhat earlier. In consequence of this bad treatment the Athenians sent several deputations to Constantinople, and about the year 1610 the efforts of their delegates received strong support from one of those Athenian beauties who have from time to time exercised sway over the rulers of Constantinople. A young girl, named Basiliké, who had become the favourite wife of Sultan Ahmed I, had been requested by him to ask some favour for herself. The patriotic Athenian, who had heard in her childhood complaints of the exactions of the pasha of Eúripos and his deputy, and perhaps primed by one of the Athenian deputations which may then have been at Constantinople, begged that her native city might be transferred to the *kislar-aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs in the seraglio. The request was granted, and thenceforth Athens, greatly to its material benefit, depended upon that powerful official. <sup>34</sup> A *firman*, renewable on the accession of a new sultan, spared the citizens the annual visitation of the pasha of Eúripos, who could only descend upon them when the issue of the precious document was delayed. The *kislar-aga* was represented at Athens by a *voivode*, or governor, and the other Turkish officials were the *disdar-aga*, or commander of the garrison

<sup>31</sup> Spon, ii. 180. Even now there is no synagogue in Athens.

<sup>32</sup> *E.g.* the thief who pillaged the king's study at Tatoi in 1902 was an Albanian from Markópoulo, between Athens and Lávrion. Many of the names of the Attic villages—*e.g.* Tatoi, Liósia, and Liópesi—are Albanian.

<sup>33</sup> Printed by Kampouróglos, *Μνημεία*, ii. 238-43.

<sup>34</sup> Guillet, who tells the story, upon which Spon casts doubt, places this under Ahmed I. Spon says the boon was granted about 1645.

in the Akropolis, which shortly before the Venetian war amounted to 300 soldiers; the *sardar* and the *spakilar-aga*, who directed the janissaries and the cavalry; the *cadi*; and the *mufti*.

The Athenians enjoyed, however, under this Turkish administration an almost complete system of local self-government. Unlike the democratic Greece of to-day, where there is no aristocracy and where every man considers himself the equal of his fellows, Turkish Athens exhibited sharp class distinctions, which had at least the advantage of furnishing a set of rulers who had the respect of the ruled. Under the Turks the Greek population of the town was divided into four classes—the *árchontes*; the householders, who lived on their property; the shopkeepers, organised, as now, in different guilds; and the cultivators of the lands or gardens in the immediate suburbs, who also included in their ranks those engaged in the important business of bee-keeping.<sup>35</sup> The first of these four classes, into which members of the other three never rose, had originally consisted of twelve families, representing—so the tradition stated—the twelve ancient tribes of the fourth century before Christ. Their number subsequently varied, but about this period amounted to rather more than sixty. Among their names it is interesting to find, though no longer in the very first rank, the family (which still exists at Athens) of the Athenian historian Chalkokondýles, slightly disguised under the form Char-kondýles. More important were the Benizéloi, whose name is still prominent alike in Greek and Cretan politics, and the Palaiológoi, who boasted, without much genealogical proof, of their connexion with the famous imperial family. Some of the *árchontes* went so far as to use the Byzantine double eagle on their tombs, of which a specimen may still be seen in the monastery of Kaisariané, and all wore a peculiar costume, of which a fur cap was in later Turkish times a distinctive mark. Their flowing locks and long beards gave them the majestic appearance of Greek ecclesiastics, and the great name of Alexander was allowed to be borne by them alone. This Athenian aristocracy is now all but extinct; yet the names of localities round Athens still preserve the memory of these once important families, and in Mount Skaramangá, near Salamis, and in Pikérmí, on the road to Marathon, we may trace the property of *árchontes*, who once owned those places, while in modern Athens the names of streets commemorate the three great families of Chalkokondýles, Benizélos, and Límponas.

From this class of some sixty families the Christian administrators of Athens were selected. Once a year, on the last Sunday in February, all the citizens who paid taxes assembled outside St. Panteleémon, which was in Turkish times the metropolitan church, after a solemn service inside; the principal householders and

<sup>35</sup> Ἄρχοντες, νοικοκυραῖοι, παζαρίται, ζωτόηδες

tradesmen and the heads of the guilds then exchanged their views, and elected from the whole body of *árchontes* the chief officials for the ensuing year, the so-called *δημογέροντες*, or 'elders of the people.' There is some difference of opinion as to their numbers, which have been variously estimated at two, three, four, eight, and twenty-four. A recent Greek scholar has, however, shown from the evidence of documents that they were three.<sup>36</sup> After their election had been ratified by the *cadí* they entered upon the duties of their office, which practically constituted an *imperium in imperio*. They represented the Greek population before the Turkish authorities, watched over the privileges of the city, looked after the schools and the poor, cared for the widows and the orphans, and decided every Monday, under the presidency of the metropolitan, such differences between the Greeks as the litigants did not prefer to submit to the *cadí*. Their decision was almost always sought by their fellow Christians; and even in mixed cases, which came before the Turkish judge, they acted as the counsel of the Greek party. They had the first seats everywhere; they were allotted a special place in the churches, and when they passed the people rose to their feet. Each of them received for his trouble 1,000 piastres during his year of office, and they were entitled to levy a tax upon salt for the expenses of the community. They sometimes combined the usual vices of slaves with those of tyrants, fawning on the Turkish officials and frowning on the Greek populace. But they often had the courage to impeach the administration of some harsh governor at Constantinople, and, like the rest of the class from which they sprang, they sometimes made sacrifices of blood and treasure for their native city. In addition to these 'elders' there were eight other officials of less age and dignity, called 'agents,' or *ἐπίτροποι*, and elected from each of the eight parishes into which Athens was then divided. These persons, who were chosen exclusively from the class of *árchontes*, acted as go-betweens between the latter and the Turkish authorities.

Thus the English traveller Randolph was justified in asserting that 'the Greeks live much better here than in any other part of Turkey, with the exception of Scio, being a small commonwealth among themselves;' <sup>37</sup> or, as a modern writer has said of his countrymen, 'the Athenians did not always feel the yoke of slavery heavy.' <sup>38</sup> The taxes were not oppressive, consisting of the *haratch*, or capitation tax, which in Spon's time was at the rate of five instead of four and a half piastres a head, and of a tithe, both of which went to the *voivode*, who in turn had to pay 30,000 crowns to the chief eunuch. There was also the terrible tribute of children,

<sup>36</sup> Kampoúroglos, *Ἱστορία*, ii. 102.

<sup>37</sup> *The Present State of the Morea*, p. 22.

<sup>38</sup> Kampoúroglos, *Ἱστορία*, iii. 120.

from which Athens was not exempt, as has sometimes been supposed, for the Lincoln College manuscript, which had belonged to Sir George Wheler and was first published by Professor Lámpros, expressly mentions the arrival of the men to take them.<sup>39</sup> But on the whole the condition of the Athenians, owing to the influence of their powerful protector at Constantinople, was very tolerable. When some of the principal Turkish officials of Athens meditated the imposition of a new duty on Athenian merchandise, two local merchants were sent to the then chief eunuch, with the result that they obtained from him the punishment of their oppressors.<sup>40</sup> When the oecumenical patriarch ordered the deposition of their metropolitan, the Athenians persuaded the *Kislar-Aga* to get the order quashed.<sup>41</sup> We do not know whether they felt with Gibbon that this august patronage 'aggravated their shame,' but it certainly 'alleviated their servitude.' At times, however, even the long arm of the chief eunuch could not protect them from the vengeance of the enemies whom they had denounced to him. Thus in 1678 the local Turks murdered Michael Límponas, the most prominent citizen of Athens, who had just returned from a successful mission, in which he had complained of their misdeeds at Constantinople. A Cretan poet celebrated his death for his country, and this *árchon* of the seventeenth century may truly be included among the martyrs of Greece.<sup>42</sup> It was noticed that, even in that age, the old Athenian love of liberty had not been extinguished by more than four centuries of Frankish and Turkish rule; the Attic air, it was said, still made those who breathed it intolerant of authority. Babin remarked that the Athenians had 'a great opinion of themselves,' and that 'if they had their liberty they would be just as they are described by St. Paul in the Acts.'<sup>43</sup> Athens, he wrote, still possessed persons of courage and virtue, such as the girl who received sixty blows of a knife rather than lose her honour, and the child who died rather than apostatise.

The Athenians were very religious under the Turkish sway, and then, as now, there were frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Land.<sup>44</sup> Sometimes this religious feeling was prone to degenerate into superstition; for example, Greeks and Turks alike believed that various epidemics lay buried beneath the great marble columns of the ruined temples. In short, the Athenian character was much what it might have been expected to be. Industrious, musical, and hospitable the Greeks of Athens were admitted to be, and the virtue of the Athenian ladies was no less admired than their good

<sup>39</sup> 'Ἐπῆραν τὰ παιδιά ἀπὸ τῆν Ἀθήνα [sic] are the words. This chronicle, which is dated 1606, has been republished by Kampouróglos in his *Μνημεία*, i. 89-90.

<sup>40</sup> Spon, ii. 103.

<sup>41</sup> Kampouróglos, *Μνημεία*, i. 33; Paparregópoulos, v. 597.

<sup>42</sup> The *θρήνος* for him is published in Kampouróglos, *Μνημεία*, i. 7-27.

<sup>43</sup> Laborde, i. 208.

<sup>44</sup> Kampouróglos, *Ἱστορία*, ii. 174.

looks. But the satirical talents of Aristophanes had descended to the Athenians of the seventeenth century; no one could escape from the barbed arrows of their caustic wit, sometimes poisoned with the spirit of envy; they ridiculed Turks, and Franks, and Wallachs, and their own fellow-countrymen alike, and they delighted in inflicting nicknames which stuck to their unhappy object. Their love of money and astuteness in business may have given rise to the current saying, 'From the Jews of Thessalonika, the Turks of Negropont, and the Greeks of Athens, good Lord, deliver us.' In striking contrast to the proverbial Turks of Euboea, those resident in Athens were usually amiable.<sup>45</sup> They generally agreed well with their Greek neighbours, whose language they spoke very well. In fact, like the Cretan Mussulmans of to-day, they knew only a few words of Turkish, barely sufficient for their religious devotions, while some of the Greeks were acquainted with the latter language. Sometimes the Turkish residents would aid the Greeks to get rid of an unpopular governor; and, when Easter and Bairam coincided, they would take a fraternal interest in each other's festivals. The Athenian Moslem drank wine, like his Christian fellow, and his zeal for water and his respect for trees were distinct benefits, the latter of which modern Athens has now lost. There was, however, one notable exception to the general amiability of the Turkish residents. The Greek population of Attica, as distinct from the town, was much oppressed by the Turkish landlords, and despised by the Greek townfolk. One part of Athens, and that the holy of holies, the venerable Akropolis, was exclusively reserved to the Turks, and no *rayah* was allowed to enter it, not because of its artistic treasures, but because it was a fortress. Archæological researches there were regarded with grave suspicion.<sup>46</sup>

Education was not neglected by the Athenians of the seventeenth century. From 1614 to 1619 and again in 1645 a wayward Athenian genius, named Korydalleús, was teaching philosophy to a small class there. A Greek, resident in Venice, founded a school there in 1647, and in Spon's time there were three schoolmasters—among them Demétrios Benizélos, who had studied in Venetia—employed in giving lectures in rhetoric and philosophy, while many young Greeks went to the classes of the Capuchins. We hear of a Greek monk who was acquainted with Latin; but Spon could find only three people in Athens who understood ancient Greek.<sup>47</sup> A century earlier, as we saw, correspondents of Kraus had commented on the badness of the Attic Greek of their day. Yet, according to

<sup>45</sup> Kampouróglou, ' *Ιστορία*, iii. 120.

<sup>46</sup> Vernon, in Ray's *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, ii. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Spon, ii. 194; Paparregópoulos, v. 645. Philadelphéus has treated exhaustively of the Athenian schools in the Turkish period (ii. ch. xix.).

Guillet, it was by this time 'the purest and least corrupt idiom in Greece,' and 'Athenian phrases and a Nauplian accent' were commended as the perfection of Greek. Externally too Athens was no mere barbarous collection of huts. The houses were of stone, and better built than those of the Morea; and a picture which has been preserved<sup>48</sup> of an *árchon's* house of the later Turkish period, constructed round a court with trees and a fountain in the middle, shows the influence of Mussulman taste on the Athenian aristocracy. The solid construction of the houses, and the name of 'towers' (*πύργοι*) given to the country villas of the *árchontes*, as in the island of Andros to the present day, were both due to the prevalence of piracy, then the curse of Athens. But the streets were unpaved and narrow—an arrangement better adapted, however, to the fierce heat of an Attic summer than the wide thoroughfares of the modern Greek capital. The town was then divided into eight parishes, or *platómata*, the name of one of which, *Pláka*, survives, and contained no fewer than fifty-two churches and five mosques. Among the latter were the Parthenon, or 'Mosque of the Castle,' the minaret of which figures conspicuously in the contemporary plans, and the 'Mosque of the Conqueror,' now used as the military bakery, which had been converted from a church by Mohammed II.<sup>49</sup> The most important of the former was the metropolitan church, the *Καθολικόν*, as it was then called, usually identified with the small building which still bears that name, but supposed by *Kampoúroglos* to have been that of St. Panteleémon.<sup>50</sup> Although the clergy had less influence at Athens than in some other parts of Greece, the metropolitan, as we have seen, was a personage of political importance; he received at that time 4,000 crowns a year, and had under his jurisdiction the five bishops of *Sálona*, *Livádia*, *Boudonítza*, *Atalánte*, and *Skýros*. The Monastery of *Kaisariané*, or *Syriané*, on *Hymettós*, or 'Deli-Dagh' (the 'Mad Mountain'), as the Turks called it, still paid only one *sequin* to the *voivode* in consideration of the fact that its abbot had presented the keys of Athens to Mohammed II at the time of the conquest.<sup>51</sup> The catholic archbishopric of Athens had, however, ceased to exist on the death of the last archbishop in 1483, and the churches and

<sup>48</sup> In *Kampoúroglos*, *Ἱστορία*, vol. iii.

<sup>49</sup> *Kampoúroglos* (*Ἱστορία*, ii. 37) thinks that it had been the metropolitan church of Athens during the whole Frankish period. *Philadelphéus* (i. 178, 273, 312) agrees with him. When I visited it I could see not only that it had been a mosque, but that it might easily have been a church. There are old pillars inside it, a continuation of those in the Roman market outside.

<sup>50</sup> *Ἱστορία*, ii. 275, 304. *Philadelphéus*, i. 273. This identification is conclusively proved not only by tradition among very old Athenians, but by an entry in a Gospel found at *Aegina* with the words *τοῦ Καθολικοῦ τῆς Ἀθήνας τοῦ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος*. This church stood in the square where the public auctions are still held.

<sup>51</sup> *Spon*, ii. 155, 172. 'Deli Dagh' is a translation of 'Monte Matto,' the Italian version of *Hymettós*. *Kampoúroglos*, *Ἱστορία*, ii. 50.



monasteries which had belonged to it in Frankish days had been recovered by the orthodox Greeks.

Although the Ilissós even then, as now, contained very little water, there were a number of gardens along its banks above the town, with country houses at Ambeloképi, and the excellent air and its freedom from plague at that period made Athens a healthy residence, where doctors could not make a living.<sup>52</sup> There were still some rich merchants; but the trade of Athens was mainly limited to the agricultural produce of the neighbourhood, to the export of oil, and to a little silk, imported from other parts and woven in private houses. Randolph mentions that, in 1671, an inspector from Constantinople found about 50,000 olive trees in the plain, and some of the olives were esteemed so delicious that they were reserved for the sultan's table. The oil was excellent, and was exported every year to Marseilles. Athens also supplied cotton sail-cloth to the Turkish navy.<sup>53</sup> As for the wine, though good, it was voted undrinkable by all the travellers of that period, owing to the resin with which it was impregnated.<sup>54</sup> Honey was still as famous a product of Hymettós as in classic ages, and the monks of Kaisariané were specially renowned for their hives. Trade being thus small, it is not surprising that few Franks resided at Athens. Such as it was, it was entirely in Greek hands.

The monuments of Athens had not then suffered from the havoc so soon to be wrought by the bombs of Morosini. When Des Hayes was there the Parthenon was as entire and as little damaged by the injuries of time as if it had only just been built. The Turks, whatever their faults may have been, had shown great respect for the venerable relics of ancient Athens, which had now been in their power for two centuries. When a piece of the frieze of Phidias fell they carefully placed it inside the Parthenon, the interior of which was at that time entirely whitewashed; <sup>55</sup> the external appearance of that noble temple, as it then was, can be judged from the published drawings of Carrey. The Akropolis was fortified, and occupied by the garrison, whose houses, about 200 in number, covered a portion of its surface, and the Odeion of Heródes Atticus (then called Serpentzés) was joined by a wall with and formed a bulwark of it. The Propýlaia served as the residence of the commander, the *disdar-aga*, whose harem was in the Erechtheion,<sup>56</sup> and the Temple of Wingless Victory had been converted into a powder magazine. Unfortunately the Turks had also stored their ammunition in the Propýlaia, and in 1656 a curious accident caused it to explode. At that time Isouf Aga, the commander of the Akropolis and a bitter enemy of the Greeks, had vowed that he

<sup>52</sup> Babin in Laborde, i. 188 n.

<sup>54</sup> Spon, ii. 192-4; Laborde, i. 163.

<sup>55</sup> Laborde, i. 81, 198; Spon, ii. 121.

<sup>53</sup> Finlay, v. 100.

<sup>56</sup> Spon, ii. 122.

would destroy the little church of St. Demétrios, on the opposite hill. One evening, before going to bed, he ordered two or three pieces of artillery to be put in position to fire on the church in the morning. But in the night a thunderbolt ignited the powder magazine. The Aga and nearly all his family perished by the force of the explosion, and—what was a more serious loss—part of the roof was destroyed. The Greeks ascribed the disaster to the righteous indignation of the saint, whose church was thenceforth, and is still, called St. Demétrios the Bombardier.<sup>57</sup> On another occasion, so it was said, when a Turk fired a shot at an eikon of the Virgin in the Parthenon his arm withered, while another Mussulman was reported to have dropped dead in the attempt to open two great cupboards, closed with blocks of marble and let into the walls.<sup>58</sup> For the great Temple of Olympian Zeus the Turks had a becoming regard, and at the solemn season of Bairam they used to meet near its columns to pray. The Areiopagos, from the spring of ‘black water’ still to be found there, they called *Kara-su*. Less scrupulous than the Turks, De Nointel took two workmen about with him on his tour, and carried off several pieces of marble, just as the Jesuits had taken with them to Chalkís some of the marble fragments of Athens to serve as monuments in their cemetery.<sup>59</sup>

The Piræus, which had played so great a part in the life of ancient Athens, consisted at that time of only a single house—a magazine for storing goods and levying the duties on them.<sup>60</sup> Its classical name had been lost, and while the Franks called it Porto Leone the Greeks styled it Porto Dráko,<sup>61</sup> from the huge lion, now in front of the arsenal at Venice, upon which Harold Hardraada had once scrawled his name, and which attracted the attention of all travellers. The foundations of the famous Long Walls were still visible almost all the way, and on the road to Eleusis there was another fine marble lion, which can be traced in the Capuchins’ plan. The Monastery of Daphní had been almost entirely abandoned, owing to the ravages of corsairs, Christians as well as Turks, and the former had driven away all the inhabitants of Eleusis; but the Monastery of Phaneroméne, in Salamis, had just been restored by Lauréntios of Mégara in 1670, and a little later, in 1682, the church at Kaisariané was decorated with fresh paintings by a Peloponnesian artist at the expense of the Athenians who had fled thither for fear of the plague. All along the shore near Pháleron stood towers, where men watched day and night to give the alarm against the pirates. Such was the terror inspired by those marauders that not a single Turk resided at Mégara, and there was only one house between that place and Corinth. The

<sup>57</sup> Spon, ii. 107-8; Laborde, i. 81.

<sup>58</sup> Babin, in Laborde, i. 199.

<sup>59</sup> Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Spon, ii. 179.

<sup>61</sup> The Greeks call any large beast a *δράκος*.

*Kakè Skála* maintained its classic reputation as a haunt of robbers, and descendants of the fabulous brigand Skiron were in the habit of lurking there, so that the Turks were afraid to travel along that precipitous road where the railway now passes above the sea. Acrocorinth, in spite of its ruinous condition, was, however, a sure refuge of the Mussulmans against the corsairs, while Lepanto, on the other hand, was a perfect nest of pirates.<sup>62</sup>

Of the Greek provincial towns at that period Chalkis, with a population of about 15,000, was the most important. It was the residence of the capitan pasha and the scene of the Jesuits' missionary labours. They had established a school there, after their departure from Athens, and the children of the seven or eight Frank families who still resided in the old Venetian town gave them more occupation than they had found at their former abode. The castle was entirely given over to the Turks and Jews, and the traveller Randolph mentions in his day the rich carving of some of the houses, which I have myself seen there. Patras, famous for its citrons, contained some 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom were Jews, and the latter had three synagogues at Lepanto, which had the whole trade of the gulf, though they were less numerous there than at Patras. Corinth was then, like the modern town, a big village with a population of 1,500, and it was noted for the numbers of conversions to Islâm which had taken place there. Like Athens, it had no Jews. Nauplia, the residence of the pasha of the Morea, was a large town, but Sparta was 'quite forsaken.'<sup>63</sup> Delphi, then called Kastrí, was the fief of a Turk, and produced cotton and tobacco. The neighbouring town of Sálona contained seven mosques and six churches, and at the splendid Byzantine monastery of Hósios Loukás there were about 150 monks. Thebes was then about the same size as at present, and had no more than 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants, while its rival, Livádia, provided all Greece with wool, corn, and rice. Somewhat earlier it had furnished sail-cloth for the Ottoman navy,<sup>64</sup> and in the Turkish period it enjoyed considerable liberty, being administered by a *δημογέρον*, or elder, who, with the assistance of the leading citizens, successfully resisted any intervention from outside in the affairs of his native city.<sup>65</sup> In the Morea, where there were only 30,000 Turks, and nearly all those Greek-speaking, each town was managed by its own Greek elders, who levied the taxes. Spon found there four metropolitans, whose sees were respectively Patras, Nauplia, Corinth, and Mistrá, and he remarks, as every modern traveller in the country districts of Greece

<sup>62</sup> Spon, ii. 211, 213, 220, 223, 230; Randolph, *Present State of the Morea*, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Vernon, *ubi supra*, ii. 22, 25.

<sup>64</sup> Spon, ii. 16, 23, 28, 41, 51, 57-62, 65, 73, 232, 246; Finlay, v. 100; Vernon, *ubi supra*, ii. 27.

<sup>65</sup> Paparregópoulos, v. 590.

cannot fail to do, on the strict fasts observed by the orthodox. He found that the sole exception was in the case of those who were subjects of Venice and who had imbibed the laxer ideas of Roman catholicism; as for the others, they would rather die than dine in Lent.<sup>66</sup> The value of the Peloponnesian trade may be judged from the fact that an English consul, Sir H. Hide, had lately resided at Glárentza and had built a church there.<sup>67</sup>

The former duchy of Nákos, then a Turkish *sandjak*, had been lightly treated by the Turks since their final conquest of the islands. In 1580 Murad III had given the islanders many privileges, permitting them to build churches and monasteries and to use bells, while forbidding the Turks to settle among them, a provision which has done much to keep the Cyclades free from all traces of Mussulman rule. Once a year, and once only, came the capitan pasha to levy the tribute of the islands at Páros; but the tribute was raised by the insular municipalities, whose powers of self-government were not disturbed by the Turkish conquerors. The inhabitants of some islands were, however, bound to send a fixed quantity of their produce to Constantinople every year.<sup>68</sup> These privileges were confirmed by Ibrahim in 1640, and we may form some idea of the state of the Cyclades from the amount of the capitation tax levied upon them at the date of Spon's tour. Nákos was then assessed at 6,000 *piastres*, out of which the governor had to provide one galley to the Turkish fleet; Andros paid 4,500, with which one galley was equipped, while Euboea paid 100,000 *piastres*, and the Morea was bound to furnish three vessels.<sup>69</sup> At that time the Venetian island of Tênos was the best cultivated, the most prosperous, and the most densely populated of all the Cyclades, because the banner of St. Mark protected it from the Christian corsairs, whose chief rendezvous was at Mèlos, and who captured, among others, the English traveller Vernon. Tênosthen contained twenty-four villages, the inhabitants of which, 20,000 in number, speaking Greek, but almost entirely of the catholic religion, were exclusively employed in the manufacture of silk. Randolph, who visited this island in 1670, found it to have 'ever been a great eyesore to the Turks,' especially during the Candian war, when a certain Giorgio Maria, a Corsican privateer in the Venetian service, had manned his ships with the islanders of Tênos, and had plagued the enemies of the republic as none had done since Skanderbeg. Tênos had quite recovered from the raid which the Turks had made upon it in 1658; but since the war its inhabitants had thought it prudent to offer the capitan pasha a *douceur* of 500 dollars, in addition to the regular tithe which they

<sup>66</sup> Spon, ii. 219, 270-3.      <sup>67</sup> Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea*, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxxvi. 172, 189.

<sup>69</sup> Spon, i. 149.

paid to Venice.<sup>70</sup> The only thing on Dêlos was the colony of rabbits. Mýkonos, which Venice still kept,<sup>71</sup> had not a single Turk, and the chief profession of its inhabitants was piracy, which kept so many of the men engaged at sea that there was an enormous disproportion between the females and the males.

Corsairs were indeed the terror of the Aegean, as was natural now that the Candian war was over and they had no more scope for the legitimate exercise of their talents. Thus in 1673 a Savoyard, the marquis de Fleury, set out to take Páros, but was captured by the Venetians in pursuance of their pledge, given to the Turks at the late peace, not to tolerate piracy in the Archipelago. Another freebooter, a Provençal, named Hugo de Creveliers, who served as the original of Lord Byron's 'Corsair,' and had roamed about the Levant from boyhood, succeeded in making Páros his headquarters, after a futile attempt upon a Turkish fort in Maina, and scoured the Aegean with a fleet of twenty ships for two whole years, levying blackmail upon Mégara and defying capture, till at last he was blown up in his flagship by a servant whom he had offended. Another pirate, a Greek, named Joánnes Kápsi, made himself master of Mêlos in 1677, but was taken and hanged by the Turks in 1680. Nevertheless the lot of the Melians was so hard that a party of them, together with some Samians, emigrated to London, under the guidance of a certain Georgerínes of Mêlos, at that date. It is to this colony that Greek Street owes its name, for the duke of York, the future king James II, assigned that site to them as a residence, and in Hog Lane, afterwards called Crown Street, Soho, they built a Greek church—the first in London.<sup>72</sup> Even where the privateers did not come the Turks took care to 'hinder the islanders from becoming too rich.'

The Latin population of the Cyclades had not diminished, though a century had elapsed since the last of the Latin dukes had fallen; on the contrary, it had increased, in consequence of the emigration thither after the Turkish conquest of Crete. Náxos and Santorin were the chief seats of these Latin survivors, who were sedulously guarded by the Roman church. Down to the seventeenth century a Latin bishopric was maintained in Andros, and one still exists at Santorin, another at Syra, and a third at Tênos. In 1626 the Jesuits, and nine years later the Capuchins, obtained a convent in Náxos, which was placed under the protection of France; and after

<sup>70</sup> Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*.

<sup>71</sup> Hopf (*ubi supra*, lxxxvi. 177) says that Mýkonos remained Venetian after 1671, and this is the general view. But Spon (*op. cit.* i. 145-6) says that in his day it was not under the Venetians; the governor was a Greek of Constantinople, and once a year the Turkish galleys levied *haratch* there. He is confirmed by Randolph, who tells of a visit of the capitan pasha to Mýkonos in 1680.

<sup>72</sup> Hopf, *ubi supra*, lxxxvi. 177; Sáthas, *Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ἑλλάς*, 310, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, 345.

the fall of Rhodes the Latin archbishopric was removed to the same island,<sup>73</sup> where the catholics held much property. But this concentration of catholicism in Nákos had some most unfortunate results, which were happily lacking in the less strenuous atmosphere of Santorin. The Latins of the upper town of Nákos looked down contemptuously upon the Greek inhabitants of the lower city; they refused to intermarry with the orthodox; and if a catholic changed his religion for that of the despised Greeks he was sure of persecution by his former co-religionists. In the country, where old feudal usages still prevailed, the Latin nobles oppressed the Greek peasants; while, like truly oriental tyrants, they were as servile to the Turks as they were haughty to the Greeks. Worst of all, their feuds became hereditary, and thus this little island community was plunged in almost endless bloodshed. For example, towards the close of the seventeenth century the leader of the Latin party in Nákos was Francesco Barozzi, whose family had come thither from Crete about the beginning of the same century, and whose surname I have found still preserved in the monuments of the catholic church in the upper town. Barozzi had married the daughter of the French consul, who was naturally a person of consequence among the catholics of Nákos. But the lady was one day insulted by Constantine Cocco, a member of a Venetian family which had become thoroughly grecised. Barozzi, furious at the slight, took a terrible vengeance, and not long afterwards Cocco was murdered by his orders, and his body horribly mutilated. Cocco's relatives thereupon murdered the French consul; the consul's widow persuaded a Maltese adventurer, Raimond de Modène, who had recently arrived on a frigate belonging to the Knights of St. John, and who was in love with her daughter, to bombard the Cocco family with the ship's cannon in the Monastery of Ipsili, where they had taken refuge. At last the vendetta ended as a dramatist would have wished. The daughter of the murdered Cocco, who was only one year old at the time of her father's assassination, married the son of her father's murderer. For many years the couple lived happily together, and the wife was the first woman in the Archipelago to wear Frankish dress. But, though the fatal feud was thus appeased, poetic vengeance, in the shape of the Turks, fell upon the assassin's son. His riches attracted their attention; he was thrown into prison, and died at Nákos a beggar.<sup>74</sup>

Such was the condition of Greece when, in 1684, the outbreak of war between Venice and Turkey led to the temporary reconquest of a large part of the country by the soldiers of the West and the reappearance of the lion of St. Mark in the Morea.

WILLIAM MILLER.

<sup>73</sup> Hopf, *ubi supra*, lxxxvi. 172-3.

<sup>74</sup> Hopf, *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten*, pp. 422-6; and in Ersch and Gruber, lxxxvi. 177.

## *The 'Mayflower'*

MORE than one writer upon New-England history has attributed the landing of the pilgrim fathers at Plymouth, instead of in Virginia, whither they intended to go, to the evil doings of the master of the 'Mayflower.' It has been suggested that he was instigated either by the Dutch of New Amsterdam or by Sir Robert Rich, who was at variance with the Virginia Company, to plant the colonists upon a shore far removed from that to which he was employed to carry them. These suggestions are founded mainly upon the assumption that the master, who we know from Bradford's history was a 'Mr.' Jones, was a certain Captain Thomas Jones, of whose character and connexions enough is known to make such a suggestion credible. The identity of the master of the 'Mayflower' is therefore a matter of some historical importance, and of more than local or antiquarian interest. The object of the present paper is to bring forward, from a source that has not hitherto been explored, some evidence to show that the master of the pilgrim fathers' ship was not Captain Thomas Jones; that he was one Christopher Jones, against whose character nothing is known; and that the theory of a conspiracy to deposit the pilgrim fathers at Cape Cod, under colour of a contract to land them elsewhere, so far as it rests upon the supposed evil character of Mr. Jones, has no foundation in fact. The mistake which has been committed in identifying Mr. Jones with Captain Thomas Jones has arisen in consequence of the supposed absence of any evidence as to the history and career of the pilgrim fathers' ship before and after she made the historic voyage. No serious attempt has hitherto been made to identify her with any one of the many 'Mayflowers' that are known to have been afloat in and about 1620. When a ship named 'Mayflower' occurs in a document of the period, it is commonly assumed that probably she is the pilgrim fathers' ship. The facts stated below will show that conjecture resting only upon identity of name is of very slight value.

The name 'Mayflower' was, in fact, very common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Besides Scotch and Irish 'Mayflowers,' of which there were several, there were 'Mayflowers' belonging to almost every port in England. There were 'May-

flowers' of Aldeburgh, Brightlingsea, Bristol, Chester, Dover, Grimsby, Looe, Lyme, Lynn, Maidstone, Millbrook, Newcastle, Plymouth, Portland, Rye, St. Ives, Sandwich, Scarborough, Shoreham, Southwold, Stockton, Stonehouse, Swansea, York, Weymouth, and Whitby. And although the same ship is not always described as belonging to the same port, some of the larger ports, such as Ipswich, London, Newcastle, and Yarmouth, possessed two or even several 'Mayflowers' apiece. There cannot have been fewer than forty or fifty 'Mayflowers' existing between A.D. 1550 and 1700. There were 'Mayflowers' trading to Virginia and New England, to the East and West Indies, to Africa, the Levant, and the Mediterranean, to Greenland, Norway, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, and Ireland. There were 'Mayflowers' in the service of the king and 'Mayflowers' in the service of parliament, 'Mayflowers' East Indiamen, men-of-war, privateers, whalers, slavers, colliers, and fishermen; 'Mayflowers' of all sorts and sizes, from 15 to 400 tons. In the autumn of 1620, while the pilgrim fathers' ship was on her outward voyage, at least two other seagoing 'Mayflowers' were under way, one in Eastern seas and one in the Thames. So fruitful in 'Mayflowers' are the records that it is very difficult to distinguish them, and still more difficult to identify any one of them with the pilgrim fathers' ship. The task would indeed be impossible were it not for a mass of records which, to all appearance, have never been systematically searched for this or any other purpose, the records, namely, of the High Court of Admiralty. It is not possible here to describe these records, which have only recently been thrown open to the public. It is enough to state that during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods much of the shipping business of the country came before the Admiralty court, and that there is no class of records which contains so many references to the ships of that period as the records of that court. They are very voluminous, but are almost wholly without calendar or index, and a great part of them are in the utmost confusion. An exhaustive search of them would be the work of a lifetime; and it is probable that some documents relating to the subject before us have escaped the notice of the present writer.

The constant occurrence in these records of ships bearing the name of 'Mayflower' is confusing. Nevertheless it is not difficult, by collecting a large number of references, to reduce the number of possible pilgrim fathers' 'Mayflowers' to some half-dozen ships; for many craft bearing the name may be at once dismissed as impossible; such, for example, are all 'Mayflower' pinks, hoys, fishermen, and small craft, and all 'Mayflowers' built after or lost before the year 1620.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A large number of references cannot be made use of, because no fact stated in any one of them enables us to identify the 'Mayflower' to which it relates.



The first step towards identifying the pilgrim fathers' ship with a 'Mayflower' mentioned in the records is to collect all the facts bearing upon her identity which are to be gathered from outside sources. These are scanty and may be summed up in a few lines. Bradford, Mourt, Winthrop, Prince, Neill, and Hazard are our authorities. From them we learn that between 1620 and 1630 a 'Mayflower,' or 'Mayflowers,' crossed the seas three times. One in 1620 carried the pilgrim fathers to New Plymouth; one in 1629 carried Higginson's party to Salem; and one in 1630 carried Winthrop's party to Charlestown. It has generally been assumed that these three voyages were made by the same ship; but the strong probability is that the voyages of 1629 and 1630 were not made by the ship that sailed in 1620. Our reasons for arriving at this conclusion are given below. In this connexion it may be stated that besides the three 'Mayflower' voyages above mentioned at least three and probably more voyages were made by other 'Mayflowers' to America during the first half of the seventeenth century.

As to the pilgrim fathers' ship, the historians give us the following particulars. First, as to her name: this we should expect to find in Bradford's history, but it is not there; nor is it mentioned by Mourt: it occurs in the records of the old colony of the year 1623; and 'A Note of the shipping, men, and provisions sent and provided for Virginia by the Right Honorable the Earl of Southampton and the Company this year 1620,' preserved among the duke of Manchester's papers,<sup>2</sup> mentions 'the May-Flower of 140 tuns, sent in August 1620, with 100 persons.' This, it would seem, must be the pilgrim fathers' ship; but the note is not accurate, for she was not 'sent and provided' by Lord Southampton's Virginia Company, but by the Plymouth Adventurers. As to the tonnage of the 'Mayflower,' Bradford says that her burden was 'about nine score.' This has universally been interpreted to mean nine score tons; but it is possible that Bradford meant nine score lasts (about 340 tons); and, if that be so, the ship of the Manchester papers would not be Bradford's ship. The 'last' was the Dutch unit of measurement, and when Robert Cushman wrote to Bradford about a ship which he was inclined to charter for the Leyden Company he described her as of sixty lasts. The probability, however, is that the traditional interpretation of Bradford's phrase is correct. The pilgrim fathers' ship had two decks. This we know from Mourt, who tells us that her shallop, a boat able to carry twenty-five persons under sail, was with some difficulty stowed 'betwixt the decks.' As to her age in 1620, it would seem that she was not then a new ship. This may be inferred from several facts. Bradford tells us that on the voyage out one

<sup>2</sup> No. 291; not fully set out in *Hist. MSS. Comm. 8th Report*, pt. ii. App. p. 37b.

of the beams in the midships was 'bowed and cracked,' and that her condition was so critical that, had she not been halfway out to New England, her master would have abandoned the voyage. The passengers lay wet in their berths, and continual caulking failed to keep the decks staunch. She was, says Captain John Smith, 'a leaking, unwholesome ship.' But her master, who knew her well, had faith in her; and after straining the buckled beam into its place with a screw-jack the crew shored it up and decided to continue the voyage. They were obliged, however, to keep the ship under small sail, and to ease her as much as possible.

Her master, we know from Bradford, was a 'Mr.' Jones. Unfortunately we are not told his Christian or first name. The records supply us with a 'Mayflower' of 1609-1624, whose master and part owner was a Christopher Jones; and it is this connexion of a 'Mayflower' with a master whose name was Jones that enables us to identify the pilgrim fathers' ship, and to follow her career in the records for at least thirteen years. The master of our ship being for the present assumed (though hereafter, it is submitted, he is proved) to be Christopher Jones, it is perhaps superfluous to show that he cannot have been the Captain Thomas Jones above mentioned. Inasmuch, however, as Captain Thomas Jones was undoubtedly trading to New England in 1620, and has for this reason been supposed by more than one writer to have been the master of the pilgrim fathers' ship, it may be well to state that the Admiralty court records show that Captain Thomas Jones was in Virginia, in command of the 'Falcon,' in September 1620, at the time when 'Mr.' Jones was on his outward voyage to New Plymouth in the pilgrim fathers' ship, and that in April 1621 the former was being sued in England by some of the 'Falcon's' crew for their wages, when the latter was on his voyage home from New Plymouth to England.<sup>3</sup> The historians do not tell us the names of any of the owners of the pilgrim fathers' ship. This is unfortunate, because the identity of the ship in the records can frequently be traced by owners' names. Nor do they tell us to what port she belonged. All we can gather from them is that she was chartered, probably in London, in July 1620.

As to the date and place of her sailing, we know that she sailed from London, some days before 19 July 1620, for Southampton, and that she arrived at the latter port on that day. She sailed from Southampton on 5 August, and soon afterwards put into Dartmouth. Thence she sailed on 23 August, but had again to put back to Plymouth. From Plymouth she sailed on 6 Sept., and arrived at her destination in New England on 11 Nov. She lay in New Plymouth harbour through the winter of 1620-1, and sailed

<sup>3</sup>. For the authorities for this and other statements see the note below, p. 680.

back for England on 5 April, arriving on the 5th or 6th of May. During the voyage out she had on board, besides her crew, 102 passengers.

These are nearly all the facts to be gathered from contemporary writers which will assist us in our search for the pilgrim fathers' ship among the records. They are set forth here at some length because, if any one of them were inconsistent with any fact stated in the records touching the ship in this paper called Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower,' the conclusion at which we shall arrive as to her identity with the pilgrim fathers' ship would be wrong. It is necessary, therefore, to state here that, so far as the writer is aware, there is nothing stated in the records about Christopher Jones's ship which is inconsistent with what the chroniclers tell us about the pilgrim fathers' ship.

There is a passage in Mourt's *Relation* which is of some importance in connexion with a 'Mayflower' whaler mentioned in the records, about which ship something will be said below. The passage is as follows. Speaking of whales seen by 'Mr.' Jones and the crew of the pilgrim fathers' ship on the New England coast during the winter of 1620-1, Mourt says :

Our master and his mate and others experienced in fishing professed we might have made 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale fishing, and purposed the next winter to fish for whale here.

From this passage it would seem reasonable to infer that previously to 1620 'Mr.' Jones, or some of his crew, had either been on a whaling voyage themselves or had some acquaintance with whale fishery. Now the records of the Admiralty court show that in 1624, and again in 1626, a 'Mayflower' of Yarmouth (or of Hull) was whaling in Greenland. And although the whaler of 1624 probably was not Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' it will be seen below that there is reason to think that at least two of the owners of Jones's ship were part owners of the whaler of 1624. Further, Purchas in his *Pilgrims* (iii. 565) tells us that a Master Jones was whaling at Cherrie Island<sup>4</sup> in 1609, the year in which we first find Christopher Jones's name as master of the 'Mayflower' in northern seas. Purchas tells us also (iii. 560, 561) that whalers sailed from Harwich; and it will be shown below that both Christopher Jones and his ship are described as 'of Harwich' in a document of 1611. There are other indications pointing to the conclusion that Jones's 'Mayflower' may have been a whaler before 1620. The whaling fleet of 1624, of which the 'Mayflower' of Yarmouth (or of Hull) was one, was fitted out

<sup>4</sup> This probably was one of the ships set out by Roger Jones, Henry Jones, John Jones, and James Duppa, merchants; Admiralty Court Exam. 40, 4 and 13 Oct. 1609; Exam. 108, 6 Oct. 1609; Acts 27, 15 Sept., 7 Oct., 25 Oct., 21 Nov. 1609.

by merchants of York and Hull; and this fleet had been whaling in Greenland for several years before 1624. Aldeburgh has always been closely connected with the neighbouring fishing port of Yarmouth; it is distant from Yarmouth only about 30 miles, and it was at this date a member of the port of Yarmouth. At Aldeburgh, it will be seen below, there was built in or about the year 1624 a new 'Mayflower,' and the master of this new 'Mayflower' was part owner of Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower.' Since, as is stated above, there is reason to think that the new 'Mayflower' built at Aldeburgh was the whaler of 1624, it seems reasonable to conjecture that she was built to supply the place of the old (Christopher Jones's) 'Mayflower,' and that the old 'Mayflower' had also been a whaler.

To return to the historic ship, we have gathered from the chroniclers her name and tonnage, her occupation from July 1620 to May 1621, and the surname of her master. We now turn to the Admiralty court records for information about Christopher Jones and his 'Mayflower.' Only those documents are here quoted which certainly relate to the same ship, her identity throughout being assured by statements as to her owner's or master's name and as to her tonnage. Upon the last point it is necessary to state that the records cannot be relied upon for accuracy in their statements as to a ship's tonnage. The same ship is found to be described as of 200, 240, 250 tons; and sometimes the figures vary more than this. Nor is it safe to rely upon the description of a ship as belonging to a named port as evidence of identity. The same ship is frequently described as belonging to different ports. Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' is described sometimes as 'of London' and twice as 'of Harwich.' She may nevertheless have been owned in Aldeburgh, Ipswich, or elsewhere. As regards her connexion with Harwich, that port is much frequented by ships bound either to Ipswich or to Aldeburgh. It is, in fact, the entrance to the Ipswich river, and many ships bound into Orford Haven (the entrance to the Aldeburgh river, about 7 miles distant) bring up at Harwich, in order to wait there until the tide serves to cross the bar at Orford Haven. The Aldeburgh river is very difficult to enter, and the bar can be crossed only at the top of high water. Consequently at the present day Aldeburgh cod smacks, and other vessels of any draught, are constantly in and out of Harwich harbour.

Christopher Jones first appears in the records as master of a 'Mayflower' in a document of 1609. Two years before this he is stated to have been owner and master of the 'Josan' (or 'Jason') of London. In her he made a voyage to Bordeaux in 1606 or 1607, and brought prunes to London. He sued James Campbell for freight of the prunes, and the suit was stayed by prohibition

from the Common Pleas on 22 May 1611. Of the history of Jones's 'Mayflower' before 1609 nothing can be stated for certain. Her name does not appear in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission upon the Ipswich records, and the present writer has not succeeded in finding it amongst the (unpublished) records of the Harwich corporation. It is possible, however, that a more careful search at one of these places, or at Aldeburgh, or Yarmouth, or Hull, may discover further facts as to her ownership and history. The records of the Admiralty court and other sources contain a good deal of information about 'Mayflowers' of an earlier date, but no fact is stated about any one of them which enables us to identify her with Jones's ship. We are told of a 'Mayflower' of Dover, which had wine on board in 1603, and some years later was in Barbary; a 'Mayflower' or 'Mayflowers' of Hull, referred to in documents dated between 1573 and 1582; a 'Mayflower' of Ipswich of 120 tons, built after 1571, and mentioned again (or another 'Mayflower' of Ipswich) in 1598; a 'Mayflower' of Lynn of 150 tons, which fought the Spaniards under Lord Edward Seymour in 1588; a 'Mayflower' of London of 250 tons, owned by John Vassall and others, fitted out by the Londoners for the queen in 1588, and mentioned in documents until 1594; a 'Mary Floure' of Newcastle, of 140 or 160 tons, which was captured from the Scots in 1558, rebuilt in 1566, and was trading in 1582; another 'Mayflower' of Newcastle (or possibly the same ship) trading to Africa in 1601-2; a 'Mayflower' of Southwold that was fishing at Iceland in 1593; and a 'Mayflower' of Yarmouth of 120 tons, of the year 1593. No evidence has been found of the loss, capture, or breaking up of any of these ships; and Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' may be any one of them.

The records give the following particulars of the doings of Christopher Jones's ship from 1609 to 1624. In August 1609 Andrew Pawlinge chartered the 'Mayflower,' Christopher Jones master, Robert Childe, Christopher Jones, and probably also Christopher Nicholls and Thomas Shorte, being her owners, for a voyage from London to Drontheim, in Norway, and back to London. Her cargo on the return voyage consisted wholly or in part of tar, deals, and herrings. She met with bad weather, lost an anchor and cable, and made short delivery of her herrings. Litigation followed, and was proceeding in 1612. Another suit arose out of this voyage which is of more interest. In 1609, when the 'Mayflower' was lying in the Thames, goods on board were arrested, at the suit of the king, for a crown debt owing by Pawlinge. Richard Nottingham claimed to be then owner of the goods under an assignment from Pawlinge. On behalf of the crown it was alleged that the assignment was fraudulent, and made for the purpose of evading

payment of Pawlinge's debt to the crown. Application was made to the court by Nottingham that the goods should be released on bail. The judge of the admiralty, Sir Richard Trevor, doubted whether he could take bail in a crown suit, and refused to release the goods. Subsequently Nottingham procured the opinion of Sir Henry Hobart, attorney-general, that the goods might be released. This opinion was submitted to the court, and upon the strength of it the goods were released. In the course of this suit the 'Mayflower's' charter-party and a receipt by Christopher Jones for payment by Nottingham of freight and other charges on the goods were produced as evidence of Nottingham's ownership of the goods. These documents were filed in the registry of the Admiralty court, but apparently they have been lost.

In January 1611 Christopher Jones was probably at London in the 'Mayflower.' In the Thames estuary he had picked up at Gore End some wreckage, sails and other ship's gear, which were presented as admiralty droits and claimed on behalf of the lord high admiral. In the appraisement of their value, dated 14 Jan. 1610-1, Christopher Jones is described as of Harwich, and his ship is called the 'Mayflower' of Harwich. In 1613 the 'Mayflower,' Christopher Jones master, was twice in the Thames, once in July and again in October and November. Export duties upon stockings, bayes, and coney skins, part of her outward cargoes, were paid in London. In 1614 Christopher Jones was again party to an Admiralty suit. There are several other references to a 'Mayflower' in the years 1613, 1614, and 1615, but the particulars given are not sufficient to identify the ship. The next reference, which certainly relates to Christopher Jones's ship, is in 1616. In that year John Cawkin came on board her in the Thames, and there, according to Jones's statement, misconducted himself by inciting the crew to mutiny, abusing Jones, and drinking from the cargo of wine. For these matters he was sued by Jones in the Admiralty court, with what result does not appear. Cawkin was an officer of the court, and he may have been on board the 'Mayflower' in connexion with the death of Edward Baillie, who was drowned from a 'Mayflower' in the Thames about this time. The claim of the Admiralty coroner to hold an inquest upon bodies found in the Thames not infrequently led to trouble at this date. The mention of wine on board suggests that the 'Mayflower' had recently been on a voyage to France, Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, or some other wine country.

After 1616 no record has been found which certainly relates to Jones's 'Mayflower' until the year 1624. This is remarkable, for a ship trading to London does not usually disappear for so long a time from the records. No Admiralty court document relating to the pilgrim fathers' voyage of 1620 has been found, and no litiga-

tion arose out of the voyage. Perhaps the hurry and secrecy with which the transfer of the pilgrims from Leyden to New England was arranged may account for this. Moreover the business of the Admiralty court at this period was at a low ebb, owing to the vigorous attack which had recently been made upon its jurisdiction by Lord Coke; and paucity of business was accompanied by neglect and dilapidation of its records, many of which belonging to this period have been lost. There is another possible explanation of the silence of the records touching Jones's 'Mayflower' from 1616 to 1624. If the suggestion made above as to the whaling career of the ship is correct, there are reasons why she would not be likely to have come to London during those years. The Muscovy Company were now taking active measures to stop interlopers from Hull and Yarmouth, who were trespassing upon the Company's patent monopoly of whaling in the Northern seas. If Jones's 'Mayflower' was, in fact, one of the Hull and Yarmouth whalers, she would not be likely to have come within reach of the officers of the Admiralty court in London. Had she done so, she would probably have been arrested, and proceedings taken against her as an interloper. There is evidence to show that the east coast whalers carried their oil cargoes to Scotland and Hull; and this, Jones's ship, if she was a whaler, may have done.

The next appearance of Christopher Jones in the records of the High Court is in 1618. In that year he was plaintiff in an Admiralty suit, and is described as of Redrith (Rotherhithe), mariner. In another suit of the same year he was arrested as defendant, and was released upon bail. The name of the 'Mayflower' does not occur in either of these suits. Before 26 Aug. 1622 Christopher Jones died. The books at Somerset House tell us that on that day administration to his effects was granted to Joan, his widow.<sup>5</sup> He must have died between the spring of 1621, when he was in the 'Mayflower' in New England, and 20 Aug. 1622. It is possible that he made whaling voyages in the 'Mayflower' in the summers of 1621 and 1622, but the absence of any whaling gear in the inventory of the 'Mayflower,' made in 1624, and mentioned below, makes this improbable.

About two years after the death of Christopher Jones, on 4 May 1624, Robert Childe, John Moore, and [Joan,] widow of Christopher Jones, owners of three-fourths of the 'Mayflower,' obtained a decree in the Admiralty court for her appraisement. She was then probably lying in the Thames; for the commission of appraisement issued to four mariners and shipwrights of Rotherhithe. The appraisement is extant. It is a significant document, as regards her age and condition. Her hull was valued at 50*l.*; her five anchors at 25*l.*; her one suit of worn sails at 15*l.*; her cables,

<sup>5</sup> 'Prerogative Court Books.'

hawsers, and standing rigging at 35*l.*; her muskets, arms, pitch-pots, and 10 shovels at 3*l.* 8*s.* It does not appear for what purpose the appraisement was made, nor has any other document or reference to the suit, if there was a suit, been found among the Admiralty court records. It is possible that the owner of the remaining one-fourth of the ship was unwilling to contribute to the cost of repairing her, or of fitting her out for a new voyage, and that the other co-owners took proceedings to compel him to contribute; or, possibly, the appraisement was made to fix the value of the widow Joan Jones's one-fourth, for purposes of administration of Christopher Jones's estate. A total value of 160*l.* for a ship of 180 tons seems a low value; but we know that she was at least thirteen years old, and possibly she had been laid up since Christopher Jones's death in 1622, and had been allowed to get out of repair. In the suit of 1609 she was bailed for 800*l.*

The next document<sup>6</sup> which may relate to Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' is a certificate made by the mayor and bailiffs of Aldeburgh of the losses which that town had suffered by wreck and capture of their ships; and the object of the petition, to which it was probably attached, was doubtless to obtain relief from naval assessment. The certificate gives a list of ships lost and captured, and first amongst them is a 'Mayflower' of Aldeburgh of 160 tons, which is stated to have been owned in Aldeburgh and to have been worth 700*l.* The names of the owners are not given. She was captured on 5 March 1626 by Dunkirkers, while on a fishing voyage to Iceland. As compared with 160*l.*, the appraised value of Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' in 1624, 700*l.* seems to be excessive, and to point to her being a different ship. But it is certain that the certificate would put the value of the captured ship at the highest possible figure, which would include the value of stores, provisions, fishing gear, and possibly some cargo. Unless the captured ship was ransomed (and there is no evidence that she was ransomed), it is not possible that she was the new ship next mentioned, which was trading for her owners of 1626 in the year 1630. In 1626 Robert Child, John Totten, Michael (or Myles) White, and others not named were owners of a 'Mayflower' of about 200 tons, which had been built at Aldeburgh 'about a year since,' John Moore being designed her master. It will be remembered that Robert Child was a part owner of Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower' in 1609, and that he and John Moore were part owners of her when she was appraised in 1624. Myles White is perhaps the Myles White of London, grocer and rope-seller, who in 1625 owned the 'William and Mary' of Ipswich. The fact that Child and Moore named their new ship 'Mayflower' makes it unlikely that

<sup>6</sup> *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I, cxxvi. no. 55. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. M. Oppenheim.



their old 'Mayflower' (Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower') was still afloat and owned by them. If, as is possible, their old ship was the ship that had been captured by Dunkirkers, they would not be unlikely to call their new ship by the old name. The new ship may be the whaler of 1626, which is in that year described as a new ship.

It has been stated above that the voyages made by 'Mayflowers' to New England in 1629 and 1630 were probably not made by the pilgrim fathers' ship. Apart from the probability that the 'Mayflower' captured by Dunkirkers in 1626 was the pilgrim fathers' ship there are other reasons for distinguishing the ships of 1629 and 1630 from that of 1620. In the first place the chroniclers tell us that the ship of 1629 had 14 guns. Ordnance was supplied to ships only upon an order made by the Lord High Admiral; most of these orders are extant, and there is no record of guns having been supplied to Christopher Jones's ship. There is, however, a record of 14 guns having been supplied to a 'Mayflower' 'of London' in 1626; and this ship was not Christopher Jones's 'Mayflower.' In the second place it is not likely that Christopher Jones's ship, which was of some age and weak in 1620, would have been fit to carry 14 guns nine years later, in 1629. Thirdly, the 'Mayflower' of 1629 was chartered by a wealthy body, the Massachusetts Bay Company, who would not have been likely to employ 'a leaky, unwholesome' ship upon an arduous voyage, for which she had proved herself to be hardly fit nine years before. As to the ship of 1630, it is probable that she was the same ship as that which made the voyage of 1629. The subsequent history of this ship can be traced in the records with tolerable certainty and fullness. There is evidence to show that she was afterwards a 'Mayflower' 'of Yarmouth,' owned in and after 1627 by Thomas Hoarth of Yarmouth, and that she also became a whaler.

Since this account was written it has been brought to the notice of the writer by the kindness of Mr. Henry F. Thompson, of Baltimore, that there was on board the pilgrim fathers' ship a Christopher Jones. It is known that he was not one of the colonists; he must, therefore, have been one of the ship's company. Modern research has discovered at Somerset House the will of William Mullens,<sup>7</sup> who died on board the 'Mayflower' at Plymouth in 1621. A copy of the will is certified by John Carver, the governor of the Plymouth colony, Giles Heale, who, there is reason to think, was the doctor of the 'Mayflower,' and 'Christopher Joanes.' It is submitted that, if further evidence were necessary, the discovery of Mullens's will leaves little doubt that the third witness to that will was Bradford's 'Mr.' Jones, the master of the 'Mayflower;' that he was the Christopher Jones of the records,

<sup>7</sup> The Somerset House reference is 68 Dale, ff. 68, 69.

and that the ship whose career we have followed from 1609 to 1624 or 1626 was the pilgrim fathers' ship.

R. G. MARSDEN.

NOTE.

The following references, except where otherwise stated to the records of the High Court of Admiralty, are the principal authorities for the statements in the text:—

Captain Thomas Jones, in the 'Lyon:' 'Acts' 29, 19 & 27 April 1619, ff. 335, 355; 'Libels' 79, no. 60; in the 'Falcon,' 'Lib.' 77, no. 177; 'Lib.' 80, *ad med.*; 'Examinations' 43, April to June 1621; 'Exam.' 109, 10 July 1621; 'Warrant Books' 13, 20 April, 26 Oct. 1621; 'Miscellanea,' 1127.

Christopher Jones, in the 'Josan:' 'Lib.' 75, no. 250; 'Acts' 28, March 1610, April 1611; 'War. Bks.' 12, 6 March 1610; prohibition in Jones *c.* Campbell, 'Common Roll East.' 9 Jac. I, rot. 1506; party to Admiralty suits, 'War. Bks.' 13, 22 June 1614, 5 & 12 May 1618; 'Acts' 29, ff. 249, 251; Jones *c.* Cawkin, 'Lib.' 79, no. 120; 'Acts' 29, f. 253.

'Mayflower,' voyage to Drontheim and suits of Rex *c.* Nottingham, Rex *c.* Pawlin, Jones *c.* Pawlin: 'Acts' 27 & 28, *passim*; 'Lib.' 73, nos. 27, 37, 69; 'Lib.' 74, no. 125; 'Lib. 75, no. 143; 'Exam.' 40, 41, & 42, *passim*; 'War. Bks.' 12, 7 & 10 Dec.; in the 'Thames,' 'Lib.' 74, no. 60; 'K. R. Customs' <sup>9</sup>/<sub>8</sub>; appraisement, 'Acts' 30, f. 227; 'Lib.' 82, no. 167.

New 'Mayflower,' built at Aldeburgh, *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I, xvi. no. 25; voyage to Spain in 1630 and suit of Totten *c.* Bowyer: 'Lib.' 91, nos. 17, 121, 176; 'Exam.' 112, 27 Jan. 1633; 'Exam.' 113, 21 & 26 June 1634; 'Exam.' 50, 4 March 1633, 24 April 1634; 'War. Bks.' 19, 27 Sept. 1633, 22 July 1634; 'Monitions' 5, no. 72; 'Miscellanea' 949; 'Miscellanea' 1423, f. 20 b.

'Mayflower' whaler and the Hull whaling fleet: 'Exam.' 45, Jan. & Feb. 1626; 'Exam.' 46, 19 April 1627; 'Exam.' 50, 12 & 14 Nov. & 8 Feb. 1633; 'Exam.' 51, 15 & 24 Nov. 1634; 'Exam.' 112, 30 Oct. 1633; 'Lib.' 82, no. 5; 'Exam.' 148; 'Interrogatories' 7, *ad med.*; 'Miscell.' 1141; *S. P. Dom.* Chas. I, xvi. no. 30.

Miles White, 'Exam.' 43, 30 May 1621; 'Exam.' 114, 1 Dec. 1635; 'War. Bks.' 15, 17 Feb. 1624.

## *The French Losses in the Waterloo Campaign.*

IT may be said that till within the last few years there were no definite data available for the calculation of the losses of the French army during the Waterloo campaign. Siborne, the most careful of English writers on the subject, contented himself with stating that they were 'immense, but difficult to estimate,' and did not commit himself to figures. More modern narrators of the campaign from this side of the Channel have either copied his example or reproduced French estimates, which are themselves usually echoes from Gourgaud's 36,940,<sup>1</sup> or the 36,500 of the *Victoires et Conquêtes*.<sup>2</sup> Henry Houssaye, whose volumes on 1814-15 have completely superseded the earlier French accounts, because of his infinitely greater care in consulting original documents, gives much higher figures. He allows for 35,000 men lost at Waterloo alone, 12,800 at Ligny and Quatre-Bras, some 2,000 for Grouchy's casualties at Wavre and Namur, and a few hundred for the skirmishes with the Prussians on June 15, in all a total of 51,000 men.<sup>3</sup> This estimate is undoubtedly far nearer to the truth than any which had hitherto appeared, but I think that it is now possible to arrive at a result which approaches even closer to exactitude.

The new evidence which enables us to attack the problem from a secure basis is contained in M. Martinien's '*Tableaux par Corps des Officiers tués et blessés pendant les Guerres de l'Empire 1805-1815*.' This magnificent work of 824 pages consists of regimental lists of all officers killed and wounded in the Napoleonic campaigns, extracted item by item from the records of the regiments at the Archives of the Ministry of War at Paris. It is no mere table of figures, but gives the name and rank of each person cited, and even notes the death of all officers who, though returned as merely wounded, ultimately succumbed to their injuries within a couple of months of the engagement in which they had been disabled. The whole being drawn up by regiments, not by battles, the inquirer must go through the titles of all units engaged in a campaign, if he wishes to obtain the total of losses in it, and then add up the

<sup>1</sup> See Gourgaud, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> See *Victoires et Conquêtes*, xxiv. 229.

<sup>3</sup> See Houssaye's *Waterloo*, pp. 184, 213, and 439-440.

results for himself. This I have done for all the regiments which took part in the Waterloo campaign, in the hope that by the aid of the figures thus obtained we may arrive at some general facts concerning the French losses in 1815. The results are embodied in the annexed tables. It will be seen that they differ very appreciably from the totals given by M. Houssaye; e.g., he asserts that 720 French officers were killed or wounded on 18 June, and cites M. Martinien as his authority. But the 'Tableaux,' published a year later than his book, show that the real total was not 720, but 1,405. Similarly his estimate for the casualties of Ligny and Quatre-Bras is 346, but Martinien's list of names gives no less than 707 killed and wounded officers.

But it is not only the losses of the whole army considered in general that M. Martinien's tables display to us. We can also deduce from them how the stress of each battle bore upon the larger units of Napoleon's host, the corps, divisions, and brigades. To show the proportion in which each suffered, it is only necessary to prefix to its losses the total number of officers present at the opening of the campaign. These figures I have procured from another admirable work, which has appeared within the last few years, Couderc de Saint-Chamant's *Dernières Armées de Napoléon* (1902). Not till this book came to hand was it possible to arrive at the exact number of officers who took the field with each unit. But by printing in full the last morning-states of the Waterloo army, those of 10–15 June, recovered from the miscellaneous documents of the *Section Historique*, Captain Couderc has enabled us to see what precisely is the meaning of M. Martinien's lists of losses. For example, if we had only the latter before us, we could merely know that at Waterloo the 1st Léger and the 21st of the Line each lost twenty-three officers. But when we note in Captain Couderc's columns that the former regiment had 61 officers in the field, while the latter had but 42 officers, we realise that the one lost only 37 per cent. of its commissioned ranks, the other more than 50 per cent. These percentages of loss in the various units of the army have turned out to be so interesting that I have devoted several paragraphs of comment to them.

The method in which the figures thus collected can be utilised is that which has been applied in many similar cases by military statisticians—the multiplying of the number of casualties among the officers by twenty, as a rough but fairly accurate way of arriving at the number of casualties among the rank and file. This proportion is not that of the actual officers and men present at the opening of the campaign, which seems to have stood at 23 to 1, but allows for the undoubted fact that 'the epaulette attracts the bullets;' i.e. that in all the Napoleonic wars, no less than in the wars of to-day, the officer took more than his fair pro-

portional risk, because his duty sent him to the front. That this figure of 20 to 1 errs rather on the side of understatement than of overstatement seems to result from an examination of the French losses in the Peninsular war. In ordinary line *versus* column engagements, such as the imperial troops were wont to wage with the British in Spain, the average number of casualties of men per officer was decidedly over twenty. The figures of Albuera, Salamanca, and Vittoria were never properly returned by the French commanders, but those of the other main battles of the Peninsular war stand as follows :

Talavera .	266	officers killed or wounded :	7,002	men ::	1	officer :	26	men
Busaco .	243	„	4,241	„	1	officer :	17·4	men
Barrosa .	113	„	2,451	„	1	officer :	21·6	men
The Pyre-								
nees .	377	„	10,448	„	1	officer :	27·7	men
Nivelle .	174	„	4,096	„	1	officer :	23	men
Bayonne &								
St. Pierre.	268	„	5,095	„	1	officer :	21·3	men

At Busaco, if Masséna's return is accurate, the proportion of officers to men disabled is abnormally great ; at Talavera and the Pyrenees it is abnormally light. Taking the whole series of battles together, we find that the proportion is one officer killed or wounded to 23·2 men. But we must remember that the Waterloo army was heavily officered ; the regiments had their full *cadres* in the commissioned ranks, even when (as in many cases) they were not up to regulation strength in men. In several cavalry regiments the officers stood to the men in a proportion so high as 1 to 12, and in the infantry 1 to 24 was the average. In the Peninsula, on the other hand, it is a repeated complaint of the French commanders, especially of Soult in 1813-14, that the regiments were short of officers. Statistics bear out this allegation : in Masséna's army in 1810 the infantry showed one officer to 26 men ; in Soult's army in 1813 there was but one officer to 28 men. We should allow, therefore, that in the Waterloo campaign fewer men per officer were likely to fall, simply because there were fewer men per officer in line. If we find that the Peninsular battles show an average of 23 men hit to one officer, when 26 or 28 men per officer were present, we may grant that a loss of 20 men per officer should be the probable figure for 1815, when only 23 men per officer were in line.

The headings of the columns in the annexed tables for the most part explain themselves. But it is perhaps necessary to point out that the casualties in the column headed ' Small Fights ' include (1) the losses of 15 June suffered by the Guard Cavalry, the Reserve Cavalry (Excelmans and Pajol) and Vandamme's infantry,

while driving in Ziethen's corps towards Fleurus ; (2) the casualties of 17 June which Subervie's Lancers suffered at the combat of Genappe, when they were engaged with the 7th Hussars and the Household Cavalry of Wellington's rear-guard ; (3) the casualties of Maurin's cavalry, and of Gérard's and Vandamme's infantry during Grouchy's retreat on 20 June ; (4) those of Teste's division of the 6th Corps, while defending the walls of Namur against the pursuing Prussians on 21 June, on the second day of this same retreat. The third item is far the heaviest, and accounts for just over half of the total of 109 officers killed and wounded in the 'small fights.'

I have included the losses of Ligny and Quatre-Bras in the same column, as they were fought on the same day by different fractions of the French army, and there can be no confusion between them. Those of Quatre-Bras belong to the 2nd Corps (minus Girard's division), L'Héritier's cuirassiers, and the light cavalry of the Guard: they amount to 33 officers killed and 158 wounded. The far heavier losses of Ligny (76 officers killed and 440 wounded) are distributed between the 3rd and 4th corps, Girard's division of the 2nd Corps, the Reserve Cavalry corps of Pajol, Excelmans, and Milhaud, and the infantry and heavy cavalry of the Guard. Of the casualties of the staff in these two battles I have identified and distributed those of the generals by name, but in regard to the 26 aides-de-camp, *adjoints de l'état-major* &c., the only possible course (since M. Martinien gives them simply as 'losses on 16 June') was to credit them to Ligny and Quatre-Bras in the proportion of the other losses of the day—viz. 19 to the first named, and 7 to the second engagement.

Division	Regiment	Officers Present	Ligny and Quatre-Bras		Waterloo		Wavre		Small Fights		Total		General Total
			k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	
1st CORPS D'ERLON													
<i>Infantry</i>	54th Line	41	—	—	6	14	—	—	—	—	6	14	20
Allix . .	55th "	45	—	—	5	14	—	—	—	—	5	14	19
	28th "	42	—	—	6	11	—	—	—	—	6	11	17
	105th "	42	—	—	11	22	—	—	—	—	11	22	33
Donzelot .	18th Léger	61	—	—	7	20	—	—	—	2	7	22	29
	17th Line	42	—	—	5	16	—	—	—	1	5	17	22
	19th "	43	—	—	9	13	—	—	—	—	9	13	22
	51st "	42	—	1	8	11	—	—	—	—	8	12	20
	21st Line	42	—	—	7	16	—	—	—	—	7	16	23
Marcognet	46th "	43	—	—	3	21	—	—	—	—	3	21	24
	25th "	40	—	—	1	30	—	—	—	—	1	30	31
	45th "	43	—	—	3	28	—	—	—	—	3	28	31
Durutte .	8th Line	40	—	—	1	19	—	—	—	—	1	19	20
	29th "	40	—	—	2	8	—	—	—	—	2	8	10
	85th "	40	—	—	5	17	—	—	—	—	5	17	22
	95th "	40	—	—	1	18	—	—	—	—	1	18	19
	<i>Cavalry</i>	7th Hussars	28	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	9
Jacquinot .	3rd Chasseurs	29	—	—	1	10	—	—	—	—	1	10	11
	3rd Lancers	27	—	—	2	6	—	—	—	—	2	6	8
	4th "	22	—	—	3	6	—	—	—	—	3	6	9
		792	—	1	86	309	—	—	—	3	86	313	399

Division	Regiment	Officers Present	Ligny and Quatre-Bras		Waterloo		Wavre		Small Fights		Total		General Total
			k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	
<b>2nd CORPS REILLE</b>													
<i>Infantry</i>													
Bachelu	{ 3rd Line	42	—	5	5	20	—	—	—	—	5	25	30
	{ 61st "	41	3	11	4	13	—	—	—	—	7	23	30
	{ 72nd "	40	2	3	1	8	—	—	—	—	3	11	14
	{ 108th "	61	3	14	5	15	—	—	—	—	8	29	37
Prince Jerome	{ 1st Léger	64	—	3	5	18	—	—	—	—	5	21	26
	{ 2nd "	95	—	12	5	10	—	—	1	—	6	20	26
	{ 1st Line	69	6	21	5	13	—	—	—	—	11	34	45
	{ 2nd "	65	1	5	6	20	—	—	—	—	7	25	32
Girard <sup>1</sup>	{ 11th Léger	42	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	20
	{ 82nd Line	27	1	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	21	22
	{ 12th Léger	51	—	23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	23
	{ 4th Line	44	1	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	24	25
Foy	{ 92nd Line	40	4	2	1	12	—	—	—	—	5	14	19
	{ 93rd "	41	1	1	6	11	—	—	—	—	7	12	19
	{ 4th Léger	59	6	23	2	6	—	—	—	—	8	29	37
	{ 100th Line	51	1	14	1	8	—	—	—	—	2	22	24
<i>Cavalry</i>													
Piré	{ 1st Chasseurs	40	—	2	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	16	16
	{ 6th "	34	—	1	2	11	—	—	—	—	2	12	14
	{ 5th Lancers	25	1	9	—	3	—	—	—	—	1	12	13
	{ 6th "	34	3	8	—	9	—	—	—	—	3	17	20
		965	33	222	48	191	—	—	1	—	82	413	495
<b>3rd CORPS VANDAMME</b>													
<i>Infantry</i>													
Lefol	{ 15th Léger	62	3	11	—	—	1	14	—	1	4	26	30
	{ 23rd Line	62	1	12	—	—	4	1	—	—	5	13	18
	{ 37th "	59	1	10	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	11	12
	{ 64th "	40	2	11	—	—	1	8	—	—	3	19	22
Habert	{ 34th Line	55	3	14	—	—	2	2	—	1	5	17	22
	{ 88th "	57	12	16	—	—	—	2	1	—	13	18	31
	{ 22nd "	55	—	17	—	—	1	6	1	2	2	25	27
	{ 70th "	45	1	10	—	—	—	2	2	—	3	12	15
Berthezène	{ 2nd Swiss	21	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	9	9
	{ 12th Line	41	—	13	—	—	—	—	1	4	1	17	18
	{ 56th "	42	1	7	—	—	—	3	—	1	1	11	12
	{ 33rd "	39	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	13	2	13	15
<i>Cavalry</i> Domon <sup>2</sup>	{ 86th "	44	—	7	—	—	—	—	2	8	2	15	17
	{ 4th Chasseurs	31	—	—	—	9	—	—	1	2	1	11	12
	{ 9th "	25	—	2	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	12	12
	{ 12th "	29	1	2	1	10	—	—	—	—	2	12	14
		707	25	132	1	29	11	48	8	34	45	241	286
<b>4th CORPS GÉRARD</b>													
<i>Infantry</i>													
Pêcheux	{ 30th Line	41	8	13	—	—	—	—	1	2	9	15	24
	{ 96th "	41	3	5	—	—	—	—	2	2	5	7	12
	{ 63rd "	44	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	8	10
	{ 75th "	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	1	4	5
Vichery	{ 59th Line	41	2	11	—	—	3	5	—	—	5	16	21
	{ 76th "	41	1	12	—	—	2	9	—	—	3	21	24
	{ 69th "	40	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5	10
	{ 48th "	42	2	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	13	15
Hulot	{ 9th Léger	45	4	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	10	14
	{ 111th Line	45	2	10	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	11	13
	{ 44th "	44	1	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	9	10
	{ 50th "	36	3	10	—	—	—	2	—	—	3	12	15
<i>Cavalry</i> Maurin	{ 6th Hussars	25	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	2
	{ 8th Chasseurs	25	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	6	6
	{ 6th Dragoons	20	2	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	7	9
	{ 16th "	24	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
		596	35	117	—	—	6	23	4	9	45	149	194

<sup>1</sup> This division was detached from its corps, and fought at Ligny, not Quatre Bras.

<sup>2</sup> This division was detached from its corps, and fought at Waterloo, though the 2nd Corps was present at Wavre.

Division	Regiment	Officers Present	Ligny and Quatre-Bras		Waterloo		Wavre		Small Fights		Total		General Total	
			k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.		
6th CORPS LOBAU <i>Infantry</i> Zimmer	5th Line	42	—	—	4	18	—	—	—	—	4	18	22	
	11th "	61	—	—	2	16	—	—	—	—	2	16	18	
	27th "	39	—	—	1	16	—	—	—	—	1	16	17	
	84th "	45	—	—	5	11	—	—	—	—	5	11	16	
	5th Léger	42	—	—	4	9	—	—	—	—	4	9	13	
	10th Line	40	—	—	2	21	—	—	—	—	2	21	23	
	Jeannin	47th "	Never joined	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		107th "	44	—	—	4	11	—	—	—	—	4	11	15
		8th Léger	42	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	1	2	5	7
	Teste <sup>5</sup>	40th Line	Never joined	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
65th "		22	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	7	1	7	8	
75th "		42	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	1	4	5	
		419	—	—	22	102	2	4	2	12	26	118	144	
<i>CAVALRY RESERVE</i>														
1st CORPS PAJOL														
P. Soult	1st Hussars	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	7	
	4th "		—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	9	9	
	5th "		—	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	6	
Subervie <sup>4</sup>	1st Lancers	122	—	1	1	13	—	—	—	1	1	15	16	
	2nd "		—	—	—	3	—	—	—	14	—	17	17	
	11th Chasseurs		—	—	2	10	—	—	—	—	2	10	12	
		219	—	15	3	26	—	—	—	23	3	64	67	
2nd CORPS EXCELMANS														
Strolz	5th Dragoons	146	—	7	—	—	1	2	—	—	1	9	10	
	13th "		—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	4	4	
	15th "		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	3	
	20th "		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	1	6	7
Chastel	4th Dragoons	141	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	12	
	12th "		1	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	9	
	14th "		2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	5	
	17th "		1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	7	8	
		187	4	37	—	—	1	6	1	9	6	52	58	
3rd CORPS KELLERMANN														
L'Herétier	2nd Dragoons	138	—	—	6	12	—	—	—	—	6	12	18	
	7th "		—	—	1	15	—	—	—	—	1	15	16	
	8th Cuirassiers		—	13	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	17	17	
	11th "		1	3	2	15	—	—	—	—	3	18	21	
Roussel	1st Carabineers	122	—	—	8	13	—	—	—	—	8	13	21	
	2nd "		—	—	3	10	—	—	—	—	3	10	13	
	2nd Cuirassiers		—	—	2	14	—	—	—	—	2	14	16	
	3rd "		—	—	2	11	—	—	—	—	2	11	13	
		260	1	16	24	94	—	—	—	—	25	106	135	
4th CORPS MILHAUD														
Wathier	1st Cuirassiers	117	—	—	4	13	—	—	—	—	4	13	17	
	4th "		—	—	4	10	—	—	—	—	4	10	14	
	7th "		—	—	3	11	—	—	—	—	3	11	14	
	12th "		—	—	4	12	—	—	—	—	4	12	16	
Delort	5th Cuirassiers	39	1	—	2	12	—	—	—	—	3	12	15	
	6th "	22	—	2	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	18	18	
	9th "	34	—	2	2	11	—	—	—	—	2	13	15	
	10th "	32	1	4	2	11	—	—	—	—	3	15	18	
		244	2	8	21	96	—	—	—	—	23	104	127	

<sup>5</sup> This division was detached, and fought at Wavre, though the corps was at Waterloo.  
<sup>4</sup> This division was detached and served at Waterloo, though Pajol was at Wavre.



Division	Regiment	Officers Present	Ligny and Quatre-Bras		Waterloo		Wavre		Small Fights		Total		General Total				
			k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.					
<i>Artillery</i> Horse .	18 batteries of 1st, 2nd, and 4th Regiments	44	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	3				
			Field .	26 batteries of 2nd, 5th, 6th, and 8th Regiments	90	2	1	4	7	—	—	—		2	6	10	16
					184	2	1	6	8	—	—	—		2	8	11	19
Train .	28 companies of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th battalions	57	1	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	2	4	6				
Engineers	'Etat-major particulier' Sappers and Miners	?	—	1	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	9	9				
		46	—	—	3	9	—	2	—	—	3	11	14				
		46	—	1	3	17	—	2	—	—	3	20	23				
IMPERIAL GUARD																	
<i>Infantry</i>																	
<i>Old Guard</i>																	
Friant .	{ 1st Grenadiers 2nd "	86	—	—	1	11	—	—	—	—	1	11	12				
			—	1	1	15	—	—	—	—	1	15	16				
Morand .	{ 1st Chasseurs 2nd "	89	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	—	1	6	7				
			—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—	11	11				
<i>Middle Guard</i>																	
Roguet .	{ 3rd Grenadiers 4th "	65	—	2	3	13	—	—	—	—	3	15	18				
			—	2	4	13	—	—	—	—	4	15	19				
Michel .	{ 3rd Chasseurs 4th "	80	—	—	8	17	—	—	—	—	8	17	25				
			—	—	4	11	—	—	—	—	4	11	15				
<i>Young Guard</i>																	
Duhesme .	{ 1st Tirailleurs 3rd "	80	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6	6				
			1	—	1	8	—	—	—	—	1	8	9				
Barrois .	{ 1st Voltigeurs 3rd "	82	—	—	2	8	—	—	—	—	2	8	10				
			—	—	2	7	—	—	—	—	2	7	9				
<i>Heavy Cavalry</i>																	
Guyot .	{ Grenadiers à cheval Dragoons Gendarmes	117	—	—	2	17	—	—	—	1	2	18	20				
			1	—	3	16	—	—	—	—	4	16	20				
			4	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	2				
<i>Light Cavalry</i>																	
Lefebvre-Desnouettes	{ Lancers Chasseurs	139	—	2	1	9	—	—	—	—	1	11	12				
			—	—	6	14	—	—	—	—	6	14	20				
Artillery .	{ 9 field batteries	54	—	—	2	9	—	—	—	—	2	9	11				
Train .	{ 4 horse "	?	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1				
			806	3	7	41	193	—	—	—	1	44	201	245			

## STAFF AND NON-REGIMENTAL OFFICERS

Rank	Officers Present	Ligny and Quatre-Bras		Waterloo		Wavre		Small Fights		Total		General Total
		k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	k.	w.	
Généraux de division <sup>5</sup>	—	1	4	3	18	—	1	1	1	5	19	24
Généraux de brigade <sup>6</sup>	—	1	11	4	16	1	—	—	—	6	27	33
Adjudants-commandants	—	—	2	1	8	—	1	—	—	1	11	12
Adjoints d'état-major	—	1	11	—	9	—	—	—	—	1	20	21
Ingénieurs-géographes	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Aides-de-camp	—	—	11	3	21	1	—	—	1	4	33	37
Commissaires des guerres	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Total	?	3	40	11	68	2	2	1	2	17	112	129
Grand total of whole campaign	?	109	598 <sup>7</sup>	267	1,188	22	79	17	95	415	1,910	2,325

<sup>5</sup> These were:—Killed at Ligny, Girard, of the 2nd Corps; wounded at Ligny, Habert, of 3rd Corps, and Domon and Maurin, of the cavalry. Wounded at Quatre-Bras, Kellermann. Killed at Waterloo, Desvaux, Michel, and Dullesme, of the Imperial Guard; wounded at Waterloo, Bailly de Monthion, Barrois, Colbert, Friant, Gayot, of the Guard, Durutte, of the 1st Corps, Bachelin and Foy, of the 2nd Corps, Zimmer, of the 6th Corps, Delort, L'Héritier, Roussel, of the cavalry reserve, Radet 'Grand Prévôt de l'armée.' Wounded at Wavre, Gérard, commanding 4th Corps, Teste, of 6th Corps. Small Fights: killed, Letort, of Imperial Guard, on 15 June, near Charleroi; wounded, Vandamme, commanding 3rd Corps, in front of Namur, 20 June.

<sup>6</sup> These were:—Killed at Ligny, Le Capitaine, of 4th Corps; wounded at Ligny, Billard and Dufour, of 3rd Corps, Berruyer, of 4th Corps, Devillers and Plat, of Girard's division of 2nd Corps, Farine, of reserve cavalry; wounded at Quatre-Bras, Gauthier, of 2nd Corps. Killed at Waterloo, Aulard, of 1st Corps, Baudoin and Jaum, of 2nd Corps, Donop, of reserve cavalry. Wounded at Waterloo: Gobrecht, Noguez, and Bourgeois, of 1st Corps, Campy and Vathiez, of 2nd Corps, Farine, Guiton, Dubois, Picquet, Travers, Blancard, of reserve cavalry, Cambonne, Harlet, Henrion, Lallemand, of the Guard, Durrien, of the staff. Killed at Wavre, Penne, of 6th Corps.

<sup>7</sup> Of this Quatre-Bras 33 killed, 157 wounded = 190; Ligny 76 killed, 443 wounded = 519.

The first observation called forth by a study of these tables is that the French losses at Ligny must have been considerably understated by all the historians. We note that at Quatre-Bras 191 officers fell; on an estimate of 20 men hit to each officer, this should give a total casualty list of 3,800 men: as a matter of fact the number was somewhat greater, for Ney and Reille report 4,300 disabled,<sup>4</sup> a proportion of 22 not of 20 to 1. But at Ligny we find that 516 officers were killed or wounded, while in deference, apparently, to Napoleon's statement that he had lost only some 6,000 or 7,000 men, the historians, down to M. Houssaye himself, state the French casualties at figures varying up to, but never exceeding, 8,500 men. This proportion, which would give only 16 men hit per officer, seems entirely improbable. There was nothing in the character of the fighting at Ligny which would make it likely that the officers should suffer in such an abnormal proportion: neither the long cannonade, nor the street firing in Ligny and the two St. Amands, ought to have proved so peculiarly deadly to the commissioned ranks. I am driven to conclude that it would be safer to estimate the total French loss at 10,000 men; even this would be lower than the proportion of 20 to 1 which we have agreed to accept as normal.

Descending to details, we find that by far the heaviest casualties at Ligny fell upon Girard's division of the 2nd Corps, the unit detached from Reille which fought so desperately in the Hameau de St.-Amand. It lost 90 officers out of 164 present, more than

<sup>4</sup> These figures seem perfectly genuine and certain; see Houssaye, pp. 213, 440, and the notes of Gourgaud, who gives the figure at 4,140, Foy, and others.

54 per cent. This fact corroborates all the narratives which speak of it as practically *hors de combat* at nightfall, and accounts for Napoleon having left it behind him on the field of Ligny, to recuperate itself, when he marched off upon the following day.

Of the other troops present at Ligny Vandamme's corps lost 157 officers out of 707 present, a portion of about one in five, or more exactly 22·2 per cent. Gérard's corps suffered 152 casualties among 596 officers present, or about 25·5 per cent. The Reserve Cavalry, who were mainly occupied in observing the Prussian left wing, and of whom only one or two divisions were seriously engaged, seem to have lost only 66 officers out of some 700 present, about 8 per cent. The Imperial Guard suffered even less: the infantry had 5 officers wounded and one killed, the heavy cavalry two killed. It is clear, therefore, that Gourgaud's estimate of 100 of all ranks killed and wounded for the whole Guard is not far wrong, though 160 would be nearer the mark. M. Houssaye's hypothetical estimate of 300 must be hopelessly erroneous; it would give 37 men hit per officer. The figures also render incredible his statement that the 4th Chasseurs of the Guard were so cut up at Ligny that they were reduced from two battalions to one at Waterloo: they had not in the battle of Ligny one single officer killed or wounded, and probably not a score of men. It is clear, therefore, that they had still two battalions on the day of Waterloo, and that Ney's final charge on 18 June was conducted by six not (as M. Houssaye asserts) by five battalions of the Guard.<sup>5</sup>

The figures for Quatre-Bras have nothing very noticeable in them. Reille's corps had 801 officers present (Girard's division being detached at Ligny) and lost 165, one in five, or 20·4 per cent. The unit that suffered most was Foy's division, which had 52 casualties among 191 officers, i.e. 27 per cent. Kellermann's cuirassiers, who gave the English squares so much trouble, must be considered to have got off very lightly with 17 officers hurt out of some 50 present in the one brigade that was engaged. Of these 17, only one, by a curious chance, seems to have been killed outright. Piré's Lancers, who broke the British 69th and nearly rode over the 42nd also, had four officers killed and 17 wounded out of 59—exactly the same proportion of losses as that suffered by the cuirassiers.

Passing on to 17 June we find that the only serious fighting on that day was the combat of Genappe, where Subervie's Lancers, the head of Napoleon's pursuing column, drove in the British 7th Hussars, but were themselves ridden down by the Life Guards. They are recorded to have lost 15 officers out of 73 present, a

<sup>5</sup> M. Houssaye (p. 389) quotes General Petit's narrative as his authority for the statement that the 4th Chasseurs were thus cut up at Ligny and were a battalion short at Waterloo. But there is no such allegation in this narrative, printed *in extenso* in the *English Historical Review* for 1903, pp. 325-6.

sufficient proof that the sharpness of the check has not been exaggerated in British accounts of the skirmish. Of Wellington's two regiments engaged, the 7th lost 4, the 1st Life Guards 1 officer—so that it seems probable that the total French casualties were as three to one compared with the British.

We now come to the awful slaughter of Waterloo. M. Martinien's figures show 267 officers killed and 1,138 wounded as the casualty list of the great battle. This total of 1,405 would seem to give a probable loss of 28,100 for the French army, putting unwounded prisoners aside. Of the latter, as we gather from Wellington's and Blücher's despatches, there were about 7,500 or 8,000, of whom a very small proportion were officers; for at Waterloo, as in other battles, the rank and file surrendered freely when cut off, while the officers either resisted and were shot down, or made desperate efforts to get away and succeeded. In the rout and pursuit after nightfall, during which the majority of the prisoners were taken, this last was more especially the case. Nearly the whole of the remainder of the unwounded captives were taken during the charge of the Union Brigade, when the British cavalry got in among the infantry of Allix, Donzelot, and Marcognet and captured whole companies *en masse*.<sup>6</sup> Two thousand men laid down their arms in ten minutes at this point, but I am compelled by M. Martinien's figures to believe that, while the rank and file yielded, the officers resisted and were cut down. For in the 45th and 105th regiments, which bore the brunt of the charge and both lost their eagles, I find that 64 officers out of 85 present were killed or wounded, though the number of unwounded rank and file taken was very large indeed. But while it is certain that in this part of the field the officers as compared with the men suffered much heavier casualties than their normal one-to-twenty percentage, I imagine that the general average of losses must have been corrected in the pursuit after dark, where the rank and file surrendered, but the officers, having greater initiative and a stronger dislike for capture, got off and escaped.

I should conclude, therefore, that we must place the total loss of the French army at Waterloo at something like 37,000 men out of the 72,000 present, or about 50 per cent. This would allow for the 1,405 officers whom we know to have been killed or wounded, for 28,100 rank and file killed or wounded, and for 7,500 unwounded prisoners, of whom I should guess that not more than 100 were officers.

When we turn to look at the details of the losses of the various

<sup>6</sup> Several narrators speak of one of the main features of the battle-field next morning as being whole rows of muskets neatly laid down in line opposite Picton's position, where organised bodies of French had surrendered simultaneously, on being cut off by the Union Brigade.

units of Napoleon's army, the first fact that strikes us is the very moderate casualty list of those divisions which were opposed to the Prussians, as compared with that of those which fought the British. The force with which Lobau so long held back Blücher consisted of the two infantry divisions of Zimmer and Jeannin, the Young Guard under Duhesme and Barrois, and Domon and Subervie's Cavalry, with the addition late in the day of three battalions of the Old Guard (one each of the 2nd Grenadiers and the 1st and 2nd Chasseurs). The casualty list of these units stands as follows :

Zimmer's division	. 187	officers present,	73	killed or wounded,	or 39	p.c.
Jeannin's division	. 126	„	41	„	or 32·5	„
Young Guard	. 161 <sup>7</sup>	„	34	„	or 21	„
Domon's cavalry	. 80 <sup>7</sup>	„	30	„	or 37·5	„
Subervie's cavalry	. 106 <sup>7</sup>	„	29	„	or 27·3	„

The losses of the three battalions of the Old Guard cannot be separated from those which the other battalions of their regiments suffered in the main battle. But taking the rest of Lobau's force together, we find that it lost 207 officers out of 649 present, or a percentage of 31·8. This would be considered sufficiently heavy in any ordinary battle, but at Waterloo it contrasts very strongly with the awful casualty list of the divisions which were engaged with the British army, where no less than 44 per cent. of the officers present were disabled. After making all due allowance for the fact that Lobau's men were acting on the defensive, and partly protected by the buildings of Planchenoit, it still remains astounding that they should have held their own for five hours against an adversary who had at first a threefold and afterwards a sevenfold advantage in numbers. One can only conclude that the Prussian fire was far less deadly than the English—one of the many consequences of column as opposed to line formation. It was not without reason that Soult observed to Napoleon that morning, '*Sire, l'infanterie anglaise en duel, c'est le diable.*'

Taking together all the fractions of the imperial army which were opposed to the English alone, we get the following results:—

1st Corps	. 788	officers present,	395	killed or wounded,	or 50·6	p.c.
2nd Corps	. 635 <sup>8</sup>	„	240	„	or 37·7	„
Middle Guard	. 141 <sup>9</sup>	„	73	„	or 51·8	„
Reserve Cavalry:						
Kellermann	. 243 <sup>8</sup>	officers present,	118	killed or wounded,	or 48·5	p.c.
Milhaud	. 234 <sup>8</sup>	„	117	„	or 50·0	„
Guard Cavalry	. 255 <sup>8</sup>	„	69	„	or 27	„
Total	. 2,296	„	1,012	„	or 44	„

<sup>7</sup> Deduction being made of the losses of these units at the battle of Ligny and the combat of Genappe.

<sup>8</sup> After deducting previous losses at Quatre-Bras and Ligny.

<sup>9</sup> After deducting previous losses at Ligny.

I have had to leave the infantry of the Old Guard out of the calculation, as five of its battalions were engaged with the British and three with the Prussians, while M. Martinien's tables only give the losses by regiments not by battalions, so that they cannot be properly distributed between the two halves of the battle. It will be noted that the Old Guard's casualty list was only 46 officers out of 174 present, i.e. 26·4 per cent., a smaller proportional loss than that of any other unit of the French army, save the infantry of the Young Guard. The literary tradition which will have it that the famous squares of the Old Guard perished *en masse*, while covering the retreat of the emperor, is obviously erroneous. These veterans suffered far less than the line and the cavalry.

On the other hand, we note that the 1st Corps, which, after enduring the charge of the Union Brigade, maintained for the rest of the day a bitter strife with the infantry of the British left wing, lost a full half of its officers killed and wounded. If we allow for the unwounded prisoners made by the British cavalry in addition to the casualties, it is evident that much more than half of this unfortunate corps was destroyed. The cuirassiers of Milhaud and Kellermann, who delivered the great charges on Wellington's squares during the afternoon hours, also suffered a loss of about 50 per cent. So did the six battalions of the Middle Guard, with which the emperor delivered his last thrust at nightfall against Wellington's right centre.

It is somewhat surprising to find that the Guard cavalry, who joined in the same charges as the cuirassiers, show the much smaller casualty list of only some 27 per cent. This is partly, but not wholly, accounted for by the fact that the emperor retained four of the light Guard squadrons about his person till the end of the day. They were only engaged for a few minutes with Vivian's Hussars after nightfall, and can have suffered little. But, even allowing for this, the numbers lost seem small: is it possible that there is some small omission of names in M. Martinien's rolls of the lancers and chasseurs? Those of the horse-grenadiers and dragoons show a far higher proportional loss, yet we know that the light cavalry was as deeply engaged as the heavy.

The greatest individual losses in cavalry regiments at Waterloo are those of the 6th Cuirassiers, 16 officers disabled out of 20 present; the 11th Cuirassiers and 1st Carbineers lost almost as heavily in proportion. In the infantry the greatest sufferers were the 105th line, 33 casualties out of 42 present, the 45th and 25th, with 31 casualties each out of 40 and 43 respectively present—all in the 1st Corps—and then the 61st of the line of the 2nd Corps, with 17 casualties out of 27 present. The heaviest losses of the Guard infantry were in Roguet's brigade, which supplied half the column that delivered the last great attack on Wellington's right-

centre: in it 37 officers fell out of 61 present. But a score of regiments in the 1st and 2nd Corps show heavier proportional losses than this.

It only remains to speak of Grouchy's casualties at Wavre and Namur. Those at Wavre were very moderate, as might be expected from the rather slack way in which the marshal pushed the inferior Prussian force in front of him. Four of his seven infantry divisions seem hardly to have been engaged: Berthezène, Pécheux, Teste, and Hulot have only 12 officers wounded between them. The other three divisions show 16 officers killed and 51 wounded out of 472 present, a mere 14 per cent. The cavalry was lightly engaged, and shows only 15 officers hit. The marshal's total loss must have been well under 2,000 men. The combat in front of Namur on 20 June, indeed, must have been almost as serious a business, though so little is made of it in most histories. Probably the total of Grouchy's losses from 18 to 21 June may have amounted to 3,200 men, as he would seem to have lost about 162 officers in that period.

Our general estimate, therefore, of the French losses in the whole campaign is somewhat as follows:

Quatre-Bras . . .	4,800 killed and wounded.
Ligny . . .	10,000 " "
Waterloo . . .	29,500 " "
" . . .	7,500 prisoners unwounded
Wavre . . .	1,800 killed and wounded.
Small fights . . .	2,100 " "
Total . . .	<u>55,200</u>

These figures, as it will be seen, exceed those of M. Houssaye by some 4,000 casualties—partly owing to what I am inclined to consider his under-estimate of the loss of Ligny, partly on account of Waterloo, where I think that he is about 2,000 short, partly because of the high figure which must apparently be allowed for the small fights, more especially the combat of 20 June. As the emperor took the field with 126,000 men, he lost some 43 per cent. of his army in the week between 15 June and 22 June.

C. OMAN.

## *Notes and Documents.*

### *The First Campaign of Heraclius against Persia.*

THE study of the Armenian historians has of late years done much to increase our knowledge of the campaigns of Heraclius against Persia, but there still remain many difficulties awaiting solution. Among these the operations of the year 622 have hardly received the attention they merit. The reason for the summary treatment which they have experienced from modern students is that virtually our only authority for this campaign is George of Pisidia, and it has been easy for readers of his involved verse to absolve themselves from any detailed study by pronouncing that he was but a poet and no historian. It may, however, be answered that he was something more—an eye-witness—and that this fact is of the greatest moment. In this paper we shall attempt to understand the account given us in the *Expeditio Persica*, assuming that even the words of a poet are usually intended to be susceptible of some meaning.

The object of the first campaign of Heraclius against Persia is in fact, despite oft-repeated misconceptions, quite clear: it was to force the Persian to withdraw from Asia Minor. The plan of campaign was not to engage the enemy, but, passing him on his flank, to threaten his communications and to appear to be striking at the very heart of his native country. The operations were in the result completely successful.

On 4 April 622 Heraclius celebrated a public communion.<sup>1</sup> On the following day he summoned Sergius, the patriarch, Bonus (or Bonosus), the magister, together with the senate, the principal officials, and the entire populace of the capital.<sup>2</sup> Turning to Sergius he said, 'Into the hands of God and of his mother and into thine I commend this city and my son.' After solemn prayer in the cathedral the emperor took the sacred image of the Saviour and bore it from the church in his arms. The troops then embarked, and in the evening of the same day (5 April) the fleet set sail. They passed Chalcedon, now in all likelihood occupied by

<sup>1</sup> *Exp. Pers.* i. 132 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. p. 466 (Bonn ed.); Niceph. p. 17 (Bonn).



the Persians, and coasted round the promontory of the Heraeum.<sup>3</sup> Here the pagan name was changed, and Heraclius gave the headland a Christian title, probably dedicating it, as Drapeyron suggests, to the Virgin Mary: the chief goddess of the old pantheon would be displaced by the flower of womanhood in the new faith. A strong wind, however, sprang up from the south and blew in the teeth of the fleet, while a heavy cloud-rack hid all the stars. The emperor's ship ran on a reef, and it was only through his own enthusiasm that she was eventually saved from being dashed to pieces. The sailors, fastening cables to the boat, dragged her free once more,<sup>4</sup> and the Romans continued their voyage without further mishap. Heraclius, 'the swift courser of a day,'<sup>5</sup> arrived at the small town of Pylae, in the Bay of Nicomedia, and there cast anchor without delay or opposition.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. A. J. Butler, in his recent work on *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, has returned to the identification of Quercius, which was adopted by Gibbon and all subsequent historians down to Tafel's time.<sup>7</sup> He writes: 'The Roman force landed and camped at Issus and seized the pass of Pylae, on the frontier between Cilicia and Syria. . . . The expedition to Cilicia drove a wedge into the very centre of the vast territory between the Nile and the Bosphorus, now controlled by the Persians.'<sup>8</sup> But the contention of Tafel<sup>9</sup> that this account is impossible must, I think, be admitted without hesitation. His arguments may be summarised as follows:—

(i.) George of Pisidia gives no geographical position to the place; it must therefore be not only known to the citizens but near the capital.

(ii.) No place is mentioned after the turning of the promontory of the Heraeum.<sup>10</sup>

(iii.) Terms like *λεγόμεναι* are not used of famous places, but applied to towns, &c., which are more or less obscure.

(iv.) The words of George of Pisidia, which are in themselves conclusive:

ἕως διελθὼν τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν ῥευμάτων  
αὐταῖς ἐπέστῃς ταῖς καλουμέναις Πύλαις  
ἐλθὼν ἀπροσδόκητος ἡμεροδρόμος.

(v.) While no one could *sail* to the Cilician Gates<sup>11</sup> the sea

<sup>3</sup> *Exp. Pers.* i. 156-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐλθὼν ἀπροσδόκητος ἡμεροδρόμος (*ibid.* ii. 11).

<sup>6</sup> Ἀπάρas δὲ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως ἐξῆλθεν κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας Πύλας πλοῦ τῆς πορείας ποιησάμενος (*Theoph.* p. 466; cf. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 10.)

<sup>7</sup> See Professor Bury's edition of Gibbon, v. 79, n. 97.—*ED. E. H. R.*

<sup>8</sup> P. 124.

<sup>9</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia; Probe einer neuen kritisch-exegetischen Ausgabe* (1852), p. 146 *sqq.*

<sup>10</sup> Drapeyron clearly felt this difficulty (*L'Empereur Heraclius*, p. 154).

<sup>11</sup> 'Pylas autem Cilicias *intus* situs navibus nemo mortalium adit ut hinc in Armeniam superiorem . . . perveniat' (Tafel, p. 149).

passage through the Nicomedian Bay avoided a circuitous coast road.

Gerland<sup>12</sup> has seen an additional argument for Tafel's view in the fact that a south wind blew in the teeth of the fleet: *Νότου πνέυσαντος εἰς τοῦναντίον*.<sup>13</sup> This would clearly, however, apply equally well if the troops were on their voyage either to the Bithynian or Cilician Pylae. It could be quoted as rendering an identification with the Caspian Pylae impossible, but I am not aware that the latter have ever been seriously suggested in this connexion. There is, however, one other point of importance to be noticed. Pylae was precisely the spot at which the emperors were accustomed to land when going to the east.<sup>14</sup> In the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus the proper formalities to be observed on such a disembarkation are detailed.<sup>15</sup> Dr. Butler supports the old view by a passage of Sepeos, according to whom 'there was a drawn battle close to Antioch city, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans retreated to Pylae, where they defeated the Persians, who, however, recovered and took Tarsus and all Cilicia.'<sup>16</sup> But Sepeos has no chronological framework,<sup>17</sup> and in his account the whole Persian war is apparently fought out in a single campaign. I would suggest that he is here describing events which should be referred to the spring of 626, when Heraclius had undoubtedly marched into Cilicia.

From Pylae the emperor proceeded, Theophanes tells us,<sup>18</sup> 'into the region of the themes,' by which he must mean the heart of Asia Minor, probably Galatia and perhaps Cappadocia. Remembering the march of Philippicus and the route pursued in Heraclius's own second campaign,<sup>19</sup> we might conclude that he now halted at Caesarea, in Cappadocia. To this spot the army was to be collected, and veterans and recruits welded into one force. Speed was necessary and the greatest vigilance, or else the enemy might cut off small sections of the scattered troops and sever them from the main body. But the concentration was carried out successfully,<sup>20</sup> and the several mountain streams helped to form

<sup>12</sup> 'Die persische Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios,' in the *Byz. Zeitschr.* iii. 341.

<sup>13</sup> *Exp. Pers.* i. 170.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 187.

<sup>15</sup> *De Cerim.* i. 474, 493; Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>16</sup> Butler, *op. cit.* p. 124.

<sup>17</sup> Gerland, *ubi supra*, p. 335.

<sup>18</sup> 'Ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν θεμάτων χώρας ἀφικόμενος (Theoph. p. 466).

<sup>19</sup> Sepēos, cap. 26.

<sup>20</sup> 'Ὅμως συνῆλθον, *Geo. Pisid. Exp. Pers.* ii. 66; cf. *Heraclias*, ii. 153:

ἡβουλόμεν δὲ καίπερ ὦν βραδύγραφος  
τὴν συλλογὴν σου τῶν στρατευμάτων γράφειν.  
τὴν εἰς ἄπαν γῆς ἐσκεδασμένον μέρος  
βούλαις δὲ ταῖς σαῖς ἐν βραχεῖ συνηγμένην  
οἱ σοὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἦγον ἐκτικτοὶ λόγοι  
ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐκ μίας ὕδραργύρου  
σῦρει τὰ χρυσᾶ συλλέγων σπαράγματα.

that river which was to overflow the Persian land.<sup>21</sup> As Theophanes says, 'he collected the garrisons, and added to their number his young army.'<sup>22</sup> George does not cease to wonder at the way in which the emperor kept all his plans clear and distinct from each other, despite their multiplicity,<sup>23</sup> or at the resource and adaptability he showed in devising others when one failed, or in strengthening a scheme insufficiently developed.<sup>24</sup> After the troops had been thoroughly drilled and exercised in mimic combats,<sup>25</sup> Heraclius continued his march. The first aggressive operation was to send out skirmishing parties of picked horsemen. These captured many small bands of the enemy who were ravaging the country-side. The leaders were set at liberty, and the emperor's motto, 'Pardon rather than the sword,' brought, we are told, many even of 'the faithless barbarians' to his side.<sup>26</sup>

Heraclius had, apparently, down to this time been pursuing a line of march running due east from Caesarea—that is to say, through the north of Cappadocia. Thus the capture of a Saracen leader is said by Theophanes to have taken place when the emperor was drawing near to the districts on the frontier of Armenia.<sup>27</sup> He does not say—as some have translated him—that the emperor was *in* Armenia, where he certainly was not.<sup>28</sup> Heraclius now struck in a north-easterly direction into the province of Pontus. The summer was over; before the Romans lay the mountains and the forces of the enemy. The passes had been seized by the Persians; the road to the east was blocked. Sarbar intended to keep Heraclius where he now was during the winter, and to besiege his quarters in Pontus.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Exp. Pers.* ii. 66-9.

<sup>22</sup> Theoph. *loc. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> *Exp. Pers.* ii. 70 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 60 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The poet assures us that he was anxious to see the pleasant prelude of the war, but that this mock battle was a most terrible sight.

<sup>26</sup> Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 235-238.

<sup>27</sup> Γενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη Ἀρμενίας (Theoph. p. 468). Gerland appears (p. 347) to think this barely possible.

<sup>28</sup> Theophanes, p. 469, makes this quite clear when he says of Sarbar, Φοβηθεὶς μὴ διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Περσίδα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσβαλὼν ταύτην παράγῃ. From the narrative itself we see that the words *εἰς τὴν Περσίδα εἰσβάλλει* must be regarded as an expression of direction; as such they are correct. To the Persians who had been out-maneuvred he seemed to be striking at their country (*contra* Tafel, p. 55, note on l. 13).

<sup>29</sup> Cedrenus, i. 720: ἀποκλίνας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ποντίου κλίμα. Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 256:

ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς χειμῶνα πρὸς τὸ πόντιον  
κλίμα διατρίψας συντόμως ὁ βάρβαρος  
τὰς εἰσβολὰς κατέσχε τῆς ὁδοῦ φθάσας.

Read with Tafel Πόντιον and διέτριψας. Manuscripts of Theophanes, p. 468, have ἀποκλείσας, 'absque sensu,' says Tafel. We should read ἀποκλίνας, *i.e.* he strikes north-east. I adopt (following De Boor) the interpretation of the *Hist. Misc.*: 'visum est barbaris obsidere illum in hoc hiemantem.' A manuscript of Theophanes has ἔδοξε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸν παραχημάζειν, for which Tafel reads, ἔδοξε τοῖς βαρβάροις πολιορκεῖν

Heraclius was thus forced to adopt a stratagem in order to turn the enemy's position. For this manœuvre our only authority is George of Pisidia.<sup>30</sup> The obscurity of his description has, however, deterred historians from any detailed consideration of the passage.<sup>31</sup> The fighting was evidently very slight. In fact the poet is most anxious that we should understand that the operation was a successful feint: *ἐπαινετὴ πλαστοουργία, σοφὴ πλαστοουργία, σοφὴ ὑπόκρισις, τοῦτο τὸ ποικίλον, εὐμηχάνως* (not *ἀνδρείως*, or the like), &c. The enemy were entrenched in a strong position, and were determined not to abandon it. At the same time they would be keeping a keen watch over the movements of the Roman army. To divert their attention Heraclius in person made a sudden frontal attack,<sup>32</sup> as though about to storm the passes to the east. Meanwhile the army, under cover of this diversion, probably marched to the north, and soon struck east, where they got possession of the hills, either meeting no force of the enemy or preventing any from escaping. The Persians, thinking that the body led by the emperor was the main force, came out from their entrenchments.<sup>33</sup> Immediately Heraclius, as though finding a more serious opposition than he had expected, gave the signal for retreat. The Persians, knowing the love for feints which was proverbial in Byzantine military tactics, were afraid to pursue to any distance, fearing that they might lose their position by a secret flanking attack, and accordingly retired to their fortified encampment (*ἐκ σου σκελισθεὶς δυστυχῶς ὑποστρέφει*). As, however, the Roman army did not return to the attack, the Persians, concluding that it was as demoralised as its predecessors, relaxed all vigilance, and Heraclius was able to follow in the track of his main force.<sup>34</sup>

*ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸν παραχειμάζοντα.* If we accept the reading of the manuscript we must take it as an excuse for the ease with which Heraclius turned the Persian position.

<sup>30</sup> I am not aware that any writer has attempted to explain this passage of George. Le Beau does not mention it; Drapeyron's account (p. 170) is even more mysterious than the Greek original; Gerland (p. 347) simply gives the result of the manœuvre and does not hazard a suggestion as to method; Tafel has no note on the subject, and the general historians are silent. Professor Bury's remarks (*Later Roman Empire*, ii. 228, note 3) are useful, but he was at that time (1889) apparently unaware of Tafel's work. It is noticeable that the movement cannot be explained even by such a formation as an *oblique échelon*, for the flanking movement was not only *unsuspected* by the enemy but absolutely unknown to them, which implies a wider *détour* than a mere formation in *échelon*.

<sup>31</sup> Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 256 sqq.

<sup>32</sup> This is apparently the meaning of *ἐκδρομή* in l. 264.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *ἐξωρμηκός, προεκτρέχειν*.

<sup>34</sup> I retain the manuscript text in ll. 276, 277, *καὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον τοῦ σκοποῦ τὸ ποικίλον τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνήκεν εἰς ῥαθυμίαν*. Tafel says it reads 'inepte,' and emends *ἄθυμίαν*. But the poet clearly implies that the Persians considered themselves victorious; why *ἄθυμία*? Theophanes has preserved the true word (*λαθὼν δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ ἐπιστραφεὶς εἰς τὴν Περσίδα εἰσβάλλει. Τοῦτο μαθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι εἰς ῥαθυμίαν ἦλθον τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς τούτου εἰσοδοῦ*), but in his abbreviated form has missed the

Thus at the time of the feint his army was marching *διπροσώπῳ σχήματι* (i.e. east and north), and on his retreat the emperor, from being leader of the van, at once took the second place in the line of march (*καὶ πρῶτος εὐθὺς ἠγρέθησ ὁ δεύτερος*). Formerly he had been going almost at right angles to the direction taken by the army (*τὰς ἡγίας λόξας προδείκνυσ*), but turning<sup>35</sup> he went straight after his force (*ὀξέωσ παρέρχεται*); and, taking up a position exactly opposite to that previously held (*ἐξ ἀντιστρόφου, εἰσ ἀντιστάδην*),<sup>36</sup> had thus passed the enemy on their right flank<sup>37</sup> (*παρέρχεται, παρῆλθε*). George sums up the operation thus:—

*καὶ τὸν παραβάτην βαλὼν πλασμῶ ξένῳ  
πρὸ τῆσ μάχης ἀφήκασ εἰσ ἀντιστάδην.*

These lines have been hopelessly misunderstood. The note in the Bonn edition opens thus:—

*Παραβάτην duplici sensu vocat Persam tum quia locum aptiorem ad pugnam praeoccupaverat, tum etiam quia a religione Christiana defecerat. Παραβάτης enim est tam is qui currum moderans alios praevertit quam qui legem violavit.*

In the first place it is, I think, clear that the word *παραβάτης* means 'transgressor,' and that alone. Elsewhere George applies the same term to Chosroes: *ὡσ καθεῖλεσ (τὸν) παραβάτην Χοσρόην*.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the *παραβάτης* is he who stands beside the warrior in the *battle* chariot, and has no connexion with skill in *chariot-racing*. In the second place we are not to read *πλαστῶ ξένῳ* (with Kusterus), and certainly neither to translate *et transgressorem coniectum in planitiem ignotam ante pugnam in adversam partem compulisti* nor *Parabaten cum ficto hospite committens ante pugnam in adversarium (ἀντιστάτην, Suidas) immisisti*. We must deny that *πλασμὸσ idem est ac πλατυσμὸσ, planities*. *πλασμὸσ* (*πλάζω*) is, in fact, only another word for *πλαστουργία*.<sup>39</sup> *πλασμὸσ ξένοσ* is the newly invented stratagem of the emperor. As for the reading<sup>40</sup> to be adopted, the manuscript of George of Pisidia has *καὶ τὸν παραβάτην βαλὼν πλασμῶ ξένῳ κ.τ.λ.* Those of Suidas have *τὸν πᾶρᾶβάτην παραβαλὼν*, or *συμβαλὼν*, or *τὴν πᾶρᾶβᾶσιν συμβαλὼν*. I believe that we have here one of those verbal conceits which are of such frequent

precise meaning of the poet. The *Historia Miscella* reads 'in rancorem . . . devenerunt.' Tafel proposes 'angorem;'; I would suggest 'languorem' (= *ῥαθυμία*)

<sup>35</sup> In l. 283 I read *ὑποστρέφων* with all the editions.

<sup>36</sup> This latter phrase must here mean 'opposite' and not 'in hand-to-hand fight,' as Liddell and Scott.

<sup>37</sup> If, as is probable, he marched to the north of the enemy's position.

<sup>38</sup> *Heraclei*. i. 206.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ἐπιανετὴ πλαστουργία, σοφὴ πλαστουργία*, above, p. 698.

<sup>40</sup> See Hilberg, *Wiener Studien*, ix. 211.

occurrence in the poems of George. I suggest that we should read—

τῷ παραβατῇ γὰρ συμβαλὼν, πλασμῷ ξένῳ  
πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἀφῆκας εἰς ἀντιστάδην,

*i.e.* 'for though you had engaged with the transgressor, yet *before the fight*, by a novel stratagem, you reversed the relative position of the two armies.'

The enemy, having retired to their entrenchments, made no further movement, but waited quietly for six days. It was only then <sup>41</sup> that the unexpected report was brought them that the emperor had outflanked them and was now in their rear. As George says, <sup>42</sup> it was a matter of the greatest import to the Persians that the Roman army should have gained this advantage. The country lying between the hostile forces was mountainous and difficult; the Persians themselves were invaders, who could only look for opposition from the native population; they were threatened by famine, as the Romans could carry off all provisions in the line of march; they would be forced to be continually on their guard against ambushes in the rough districts of Pontus towards the east, while all the most favourable positions would be seized in advance by the imperial army. While Heraclius apparently marched east at a leisurely pace, Sarbar was at a loss to know what policy to adopt. At first he determined to follow hard on the tracks of the emperor, to overtake him and fight a battle forthwith. But should he suffer a reverse in such country his retreat would be beset with dangers and difficulties. Rather would he turn southwards; by so doing he would draw off the emperor from Pontus; by rendering him anxious for his southern provinces he would turn the Roman into the pursuer and would frustrate his well-planned strategy. Sarbar set out accordingly for Cilicia. The Persian tactics, however, met with signal failure. Heraclius refused to abandon the position he had won, while the Roman fleets were undisputed masters of the Euxine and the Archipelago. Once more Sarbar hesitated. He suddenly realised that since his southern march the passes into Armenia were left unguarded. What if the enemy should thus strike at the very heart of Persia? 'And so he leapt from one plan to another like a rolling stone, which, falling down a precipice, crashes on to a projecting point and rebounds, only to be tossed back from the opposing crag.'<sup>43</sup>

But the prospect of the emperor entering Armenia unopposed was insupportable, and so at last the Persian general determined

<sup>41</sup> Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* ii. 286.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* l. 293 ff. Drapeyron (p. 170) is clearly in error in his explanation of these lines, which show a keen perception of the real strategic importance of the emperor's manoeuvre.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* ll. 338-56.

to march north-east, through Cappadocia, into the region of the upper streams of the Halys. He was thus dragged after the emperor against his will, like a dog on a chain, as George vividly puts it.<sup>44</sup> But while Heraclius had improved his position, and had inspired the new Roman army with his own enthusiasm, the Persian troops were disheartened by their arduous and fruitless manœuvres. Clinging to the hills, they feared to venture on an open assault upon the imperial camp, pitched in the plain below. Sarbar had planned a secret attack under cover of darkness, but the moon was nearly at the full, and the clear wintry nights were cloudless. An eclipse of the moon when the attempt was on the point of being made further discouraged the enemy (23 Jan. 623). Thus passed fifteen days. The Persians were rapidly becoming demoralised; constant skirmishes invariably resulted in a victory for the Romans, the emperor himself 'doing all things instead of all before the whole host,' while deserters brought news of the desperate state of affairs in the Persian camp. Sarbar was forced to take the decisive step. Just before dawn he drew up his forces in three divisions facing the imperial position. A picked body of men, however, he had set in ambush on the wing between the two armies. They were fully concealed by the hollows of the broken country in which the battle was fought; during the engagement they were to charge upon the Roman flank and throw it into confusion. Sarbar's hope was that as it had been in the past so would it be now. But 'the times of cowardice were past;' before the night was half over Heraclius was aware of the danger and took his measures to guard against it. He also drew up his army in three divisions to meet the disposition of the enemy, and himself took the initiative by sending out a body of men 'armed rather with good counsels than with weapons.' As soon as they were on a line with the ambuscade they made a feigned retreat, as though terror-stricken by the strength of their opponents. The Persians in hiding, thinking this to be the very moment to strike, poured out upon the supposed fugitives. Relying rather on the surprise and suddenness of their onset than on order or combination, they found drawn up against them the three divisions of the Roman force. Heraclius immediately led out a body of his most trusted soldiers, and the Persians, themselves ensnared, broke and fled. When Sarbar ordered a general advance it was too late: the army was seized with sudden panic. In the utter rout which ensued but few escaped.<sup>45</sup> The Romans fearlessly entered the Persian camp, and did not even strike the enemy's tents, but wherever a man found a shelter still standing he left the canvas as it was and appropriated

<sup>44</sup> Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* l. 357-8.

<sup>45</sup> Σφάζουσι δὲ ἅπαν τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος ὀλίγων τινῶν διαδράντων (Cedr.)

the spoil.<sup>46</sup> Thus ended the first campaign of Heraclius against Persia. The army went into winter quarters; the emperor set out for Byzantium, and with him went the poet to whom we owe the *Expeditio Persica*.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

### *London and the Commune.*

THE WORD 'commune,' as is well known, was used in the middle ages, like many words in the feudal vocabulary, both in a vague, popular sense and in one strictly defined and technical. In the former sense it might be applied to any union of citizens for the purpose of securing freer conditions of local government; in the latter it was applied only to a town that was formally constituted in its corporate capacity a feudal person, a vassal of its lord, a lord perhaps of other vassals, with the rights, obligations, and freedom of that station in the feudal society, a *seigneurie collective populaire*, as it has been termed by Luchaire.<sup>1</sup> That London was called a commune in the former sense has long been known.<sup>2</sup> The most interesting of the early instances of the fact is the passage in William of Malmesbury where, in recording the events of 1141, he mentions *omnes barones qui in eorum communionem iamdudum recepti fuerant*.<sup>3</sup> The question whether London was ever a commune in the stricter sense has been raised by Mr. J. H. Round in connexion with the events that occurred there in 1191 and the light thrown on them by two documents of a little later date which he has printed for the first time.<sup>4</sup> The language of the chroniclers in describing the occurrences of 1191 clearly indicate that with reference to a commune of London something unusual was done,

<sup>46</sup> The lines of George are as follows (*Exp. Pers.* iii. 281, 899):—

πάντες γὰρ οἱ πρὶν μῆδε Περσικῆν κόνιν  
 ἰδεῖν στέγοντες, οὐδὲ τὰς σκηνὰς τότε  
 καθέλιον ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἦν εἶχε σκέπην  
 οὕτως ἀφῆκεν ὥσπερ ἦν πεπηγμένη.

I believe that the poet is here speaking of the occupation by the Romans of the Persian camp; and he was thus understood by Theophanes. Quercius refers *σκηνάς* to the Romans' own tents, which, usually struck before a battle, were, he thinks, on this occasion left standing. The interpretation is improbable; it is the sense of security *after* the victory of which George is speaking, not of that *before* the battle. Further we must not translate *σκέπη* with Quercius by 'scutum' or 'armatura.' It means simply 'shade.' The Romans after an arduous pursuit come back spent and weary; nearer than their own camp, on the flank of the hill is that of the Persians. So great was the assurance of their complete safety that the soldiers, not troubling to dismantle the enemy's camp, occupied it, and any shelter from the midday sun which each man discovered he left standing as it was and turned to his own use.

<sup>1</sup> *Communes Françaises*, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 407, first ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. Nov.* c. 495.

<sup>4</sup> *The Commune of London, and other Studies* (1899), pp. 219 ff.



some step was taken that had never been taken before.<sup>5</sup> The language of Richard of Devizes admits of no other interpretation, and, while it is perhaps possible that he might have used the same language of a concession of local independence to London which would fall considerably below a strict commune, the reference to Richard and Henry and the mention of the oath taken to the commune by John, who probably assumed to be acting for the crown, make such an interpretation unlikely. The most natural supposition is that John granted to London the position of a crown vassal with all the privileges which that would carry with it. As, however, this interpretation of the language of Richard of Devizes is not beyond question, and as our evidence from the following period leaves the status of the city somewhat in doubt, it is worth while to analyse such evidence as we have to see if the doubt can be removed.

1. In 1894 in his *Leges Anglorum* Dr. Liebermann called attention to the fact that Addit. MS. 14252 of the British Museum gave evidence of the existence of a mayor and *skivini* in London under Richard and John.<sup>6</sup> The documents which embody this evidence, important in themselves, are those referred to above as published by Mr. Round in his *Commune of London*. Mr. Round's essay seems to imply that he regarded the conclusive proof that he presented of the existence of these officers in London as equally proof of the establishment of a commune by the act of 1191 as something different from the earlier commune in the vague sense, but it is certain, I think, that neither mayor nor *skivini* were officers typical of the commune in the technical sense. They existed in towns not recognised as legally communes.<sup>7</sup> And while the interesting evidence that Mr. Round presented in the same essay of the derivation of the London organisation from Rouen makes the existence of a commune more likely it is not conclusive. Both Rouen itself and the towns that adopted its institutions were imperfect communes, allowing unusual powers to the suzerain,<sup>8</sup> and it is quite possible that London might have borrowed these officers from Rouen without objection from the king and without obtaining therewith recognition as a crown vassal.

<sup>5</sup> The passages of chief importance are these: 'Johannes comes frater regis et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi, comites, et barones regni qui aderant, concesserunt civibus Londoniarum communam suam, et juraverunt quod ipsi eam et dignitates civitatis Londoniarum custodirent illibatas, quamdiu regi placuerit (*Gesta*, ii. 214).

<sup>6</sup> Concessa est ipsa die et instituta communia Londoniensium, in quam universi regni magnates et ipsi etiam ipsius provincie episcopi jurare coguntur. Nunc primum in indulta sibi conjuratione regno regem deesse cognovit Londonia, quam nec rex ipse Ricardus, nec praedecessor et pater ejus Henricus, pro mille millibus marcarum argenti fieri permisisset' (Richard of Devizes, *Chronicles of Stephen*, &c., iii. 416).

<sup>7</sup> *Leges Angl.* pp. 18 and 83.

<sup>8</sup> Luchaire, *Communes*, p. 176; *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 404-5.

<sup>8</sup> Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 402, n. 1; *Communes*, p. 102.

2. If John, even as representing the crown, granted a commune to London in the strict sense, it is by no means certain that Richard on his return would have felt himself bound by that grant. No act of royal prerogative is more common in the feudal age than the disavowal and revoking by one king of his predecessor's grants from the crown domain, at least when these have been made under circumstances which put the crown at a disadvantage, and the grant of a commune to London, legally considered, would be a grant from the crown domain. The words of Richard of Devizes seem like a well-informed judgment of what Richard's attitude in the matter would be, and our general knowledge of that king's character makes it seem unlikely that he would have hesitated to refuse his sanction to his brother's act.

3. This supposition receives some confirmation from the absence of all reference to a commune in the charter of Richard to the city of 23 April 1194,<sup>9</sup> as well as from the use of the ordinary form of expression *pro libertatibus suis conservandis* in the entry in the Pipe Roll of 1195,<sup>10</sup> where the Londoners' payment of 1,000*l.* to the king is recorded. The conclusion is fairly certain that Richard recognised no commune, for it is hardly possible to suppose that a relationship to the crown so exceptional, so far as English towns are concerned, would have escaped some kind of notice had it existed. In line with this are John's charter of confirmation of 17 June 1199,<sup>11</sup> and his grant of the shrievalty to the citizens on 5 July of the same year.<sup>12</sup> The citizens might indeed have wished to buy the shrievalty even if they had had a commune, for, embracing the county of Middlesex, it would be wider than the commune; but it may rightly excite suspicion because, with a commune in the strict sense, their interest in the shrievalty would be greatly reduced.

4. From 1215 comes a piece of evidence interesting in the suggestion it makes but exasperating in its incompleteness.<sup>13</sup> In the charter of 9 May, which John issued to the city as his trouble with the barons was approaching a crisis, the mayor is required to swear allegiance to the king. If we had a record of the form of oath to be taken by the mayor under this charter, it is quite likely that our problem would be solved, so far at least as this particular date is concerned. If he took an oath of fealty to the king in the name of the city, and as representing it in its vassal capacity, London was a commune; if he took it merely as an officer of the city, the same oath which other officers took at the same time, it was not. The language of the charter looks like

<sup>9</sup> *Liber Custumarum*, p. 248.

<sup>10</sup> *Commune of London*, p. 234; cf. Madox, *Exchequer*, i. 473, n. t [p. 327, n. t, ed. 1711].

<sup>11</sup> *Foedera*, i. p. 76; cf. charter of Henry III, *Lib. Custumarum*, p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 249; cf. *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvii. 508.

<sup>13</sup> See Miss Bateson in the *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvii. 726.

the former case, and suggests that the king may be tempting the city with the hope of a restoration of the commune to which he had once sworn, but not so clearly as to exclude the other possibility.

5. Clause 12 of Magna Carta has the appearance of deciding the question. London is there classed with the crown vassals, and its tax payments are called *auxilia*. A comparison of this clause with clause 32 of the Articles of the Barons shows, I think with great probability, that this exact point was clearly in mind and that the language was used intentionally. The earlier article says, *Simili modo fiat de taillagiis et auxiliis de civitate Londoniarum, et de aliis civitatibus quae inde habent libertates*—evidently a careless phrase and an extension of the privilege that could be justified legally by no precedents in favour of the towns included. To have inserted it in the final charter would have been to demand a large concession from the crown, and to demand new grants is not in the general spirit of Magna Carta. The demand for London might be justified if John himself had once sworn to its commune, but there were no grounds on which it could be claimed for any other town. As Magna Carta in general, and in comparison with the Articles of the Barons, is a carefully drawn document, this explanation of the difference between the two clauses is not improbable. It seems possible then to conclude that in clause 12 of Magna Carta the crown, in indirect terms at least, recognised London as a commune in the strict sense.<sup>14</sup>

6. The first piece of evidence that is conclusive comes to us from the reign of Henry III and from his 39th year. In that year, according to the record of the case then made,<sup>15</sup> the king by order of the council ordered a tallage of his domains to meet the expenses of his campaign abroad. As a part of the domain the citizens of London were summoned before the king and council and informed that 3,000 marks was asked of them *nomine tallagii*. The mayor and others who had appeared for the city took counsel together and offered 2,000 *nomine auxilii*, and declared flatly (*praecise*) that they could not and would not give more. Then the king sent his treasurer and others of the council to London to receive the sum demanded, with instructions, if the city would not pay it, to assess it themselves upon the citizens individually; but the king's messengers found not merely that the city refused to pay the tax, but that the citizens refused to take the oaths demanded of them to fix the assessments of one another, and they had to go away *infecto negotio illo*. Then the matter came before the king's council

<sup>14</sup> A grant of freedom from tallage merely would not be equivalent to the grant of a commune, nor evidence of its existence. Clause 12, however, seems clearly to class London with the vassals of the crown, and the payment of *auxilia* seems to be claimed as a right rather than asked as a concession.

<sup>15</sup> Madox, *Exchequer*, i. 712, n. a [p. 491, n. a, ed. 1711].

at Westminster on the issue of fact created by the claim of the city. *Et cum contencio esset, utrum hoc dici deberet tallagium vel auxilium, rex scrutari fecit rotulos suos, utrum ipsi aliquid dederunt regi vel antecessoribus suis nomine tallagii. Et scrutatis rotulis comperum est tam in rotulis de Scaccario quam de Cancellaria* that in the 16th of John and in the 7th, 26th, and 37th of Henry III the city had been tallaged and had paid the tax. That settled the case. *Postea in crastino . . . venerunt praedicti Radulfus maior et cives et recognoverunt se esse talliabiles, et dederunt regi tria millia marcaram pro tallagio.* Now both *tallagium* and *auxilium* are words used in a vague as well as in a technical sense, but it is not possible to suppose that anything but the strict technical distinction between them is here meant by the claim which London advances. The city asserts that it is not a part of the king's domain, that it should pay *auxilia*, like a vassal, and not *tallagia*, like a villain. The precedents are examined; they prove to be clearly against the city—if the council had had a copy of Madox's *Exchequer* they could have increased the number;—and the city is obliged to withdraw its claim and to confess itself a domain town. The bearing of the case is so clear, indeed, that we cannot believe that the crown as such had ever recognised London as a true commune, not even as a consequence of the act of John in 1191, or that the claim of London in Magna Carta had been made good.

In view of all the evidence I am inclined to suggest these conclusions: John in 1191, assuming to represent the crown, granted to London a commune in the legal sense, and under this arrangement the mayor and *skivini* constitution was introduced. Richard on his return refused to confirm this grant, though this refusal did not modify the city's constitution, and John as king continued Richard's policy. In 1215 he needed the city's support and bid for it with the charter of 9 May, in which it is possible, though only barely possible, that he meant to hold out the prospect of a re-establishment of the commune. In Magna Carta a few weeks later the city put forward its own programme, with the support of the barons asserted its legal right to the commune, and compelled the king to recognise it, hoping in this way to establish it. On the reissue of the charter after the death of John clause 12 was omitted, and with it London's legal right to a commune fell to the ground.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Possibly the reference to London, along with that to scutage, was one of the *dubitabilia* said in the reissue of 1217 to have led to the omission of that clause. We must regard its insertion in the clause, I think, as an assertion of London's claim and programme, and not of a legal right that the crown was likely to admit.

*King John and Robert Fitzwalter.*

THE study of feudal genealogy is apt to be somewhat neglected by historians, although for at least a century and a half after the Norman Conquest its close connexion with territorial power makes it constantly of importance.

We all know that Robert Fitzwalter was the leader of the barons' host in the struggle for the Great Charter, and we also know that Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex, was one of the king's most ardent opponents; but the connexion between these two men has been till recently unknown, and the actual territorial position of Robert himself appears to be imperfectly grasped.

Although the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie* was published by the Société de l'Histoire de France so far back as 1840, it was not, I believe, till Miss Norgate laid stress, in her *John Lackland*, on the authority of its writer as 'one of the best, and certainly the most impartial, of our informants on the closing years of John's reign' that its value for English history was recognised. Certainly the fact, which it states, that Geoffrey, earl of Essex, married the elder daughter of Robert Fitzwalter will be sought for in vain in English peerage books, and appears to have been quite unsuspected. The statement, however, is very precise and is directly connected by the author with the quarrel between the king and Robert. Not only is it asserted on pp. 112 and 117; on p. 119 we have this precise statement on Robert Fitzwalter:

Il avoit ij filles et j fill; li aisnee des filles, si comme vous avés oï, fu mariée à Joffroi de Mandeville, et l'autre fu encore petite puciele; mais puis fu-elle mariée à Guillaume de Mandeville, qui freres fu Joffroi; mais puisnés estoit de lui.

It is well ascertained that William, earl of Essex, who succeeded his brother Geoffrey, married Christina, a daughter of Robert Fitzwalter, and I accept, therefore, as correct this statement that his elder brother had married her elder sister, even though I do not know of any other evidence for the fact.

The name of the daughter who married Geoffrey is, unfortunately, not given, so that we cannot tell whether it was Maud, the name given in the Dunmow story as that of John's victim. But I would point out that the known fact of Geoffrey being given to wife, at the beginning of 1214, John's 'divorced' wife Isabel proves that his previous wife must then have been dead, and that she cannot have long survived John's quarrel with her father. Robert Fitzwalter retained his influence with the Mandevilles by the marriage of his other daughter with Geoffrey's brother William, who acted, when earl, in close conjunction with him in 1216. Geoffrey's second marriage in 1214 is a curiously difficult matter. So different

are the impressions that the evidence is capable of conveying that, in two works appearing simultaneously, we find Miss Norgate writing of John's scheme 'for conciliating him by marrying him to the greatest heiress in England,' the countess of Gloucester,<sup>1</sup> while Sir James Ramsay asserts that Geoffrey was 'forced, much against his will, to take to wife the king's discarded Isabel of Gloucester.'<sup>2</sup> What is certain is that he promised the great sum of 20,000 marcs for her marriage, to raise which he is said to have been forced to mortgage manors and cut down woods. Sir James, who has studied the Pipe Rolls of the reign, considers that John 'compelled Geoffrey de Mandeville, the earl of Essex, to marry her, in order to obtain from him an impossible fine, one that he could never pay; the marriage was simply a device for turning the Gloucester estates into money.'<sup>3</sup>

It is a good illustration of the doubt in which even the simplest facts are involved that the marriage of one of the greatest men of his day in England, Hubert de Burgh, to this great heiress, Countess Isabel, who became the widow of the earl of Essex in February 1216, has been questioned. In the latest work of reference, *The Complete Peerage*, the marriage is asserted in vol. iii. p. 281,<sup>4</sup> under 'Essex,' where we are referred to 'Gloucester,' under which (iv. 40) we read that, on the contrary, 'her (often alleged) remarriage with Hubert de Burgh is a mistake arising out of her lands having been committed to his custody (as justiciar of England) in consequence of Earl Geoffrey having died in rebellion.' Now this 'Gloucester' article is based on a good authority, Mr. Gough Nichols's paper on the earldom in the Bristol volume of the *Archæological Institute* (1851). Mr. Nichols certainly denies the marriage with Hubert, but he vouches Foss's *Judges* as his authority for doing so. Turning to this useful work as the ultimate source of the denial, we find that what Foss really urged, and rightly urged, was that the authority cited by Dugdale,<sup>5</sup> namely an entry on the Close Roll of Henry III., did not state or imply marriage, but only the custody of the lands (ii. 277). He closes his remarks, however, by observing that 'her union with him may have occurred shortly afterwards, but could only have been of short duration. The date of her death is not mentioned.' I can find no record evidence of her marriage, but the chronicles show that it must have taken place; for, of the charges subsequently brought

<sup>1</sup> *John Lackland*, p. 196. The dealings of Henry II with the Gloucester inheritance should be noted as a remarkable illustration of 'the king's prerogative right' to bestow an entire fief on an unmarried daughter and co-heiress to the exclusion of her married sisters. Compare the *History of English Law* (1895), ii. 273, where, however, the only example given is that of the Mandeville fief from my *Ancient Charters*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Angevin Empire*, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> But this appears to be deleted in the 'Errata' (vol. viii. pp. 391-2).

<sup>5</sup> *Baronage*, i. 536, 694.

against Hubert, one was that he had married a daughter of the king of Scots in spite of his previous wife, the countess of Gloucester, having been her kinswoman; <sup>6</sup> and another that he had never purchased, as he should have done, the *maritagium* of the countess of Gloucester from the crown.

Returning to Robert Fitzwalter himself, I find that Miss Norgate, who devotes a special appendix to 'Eustace de Vesci and Robert Fitz-Walter,' <sup>7</sup> speaks of 'the group of "Northerners,"' among whom the most conspicuous were two barons of secondary rank, Eustace de Vesci and Robert Fitz-Walter' (p. 219). Now this description is true enough of Eustace, a Yorkshire baron, who paid scutage on 24 $\frac{1}{3}$  fees, but quite misleading as to Robert, who was certainly neither a Northerner nor 'of secondary rank.' Miss Norgate's own authority, the *Histoire des Ducs* (p. 145), classes 'Eustasses de Vesci' among the 'Norois,' but rightly places 'Robiers le fils Gautier' at the head of the other set of barons, who were not 'Norois.' So also Stubbs, classifying the barons of the Charter, names Eustace de Vesci at the head of 'the northern lords' and Robert Fitz-Walter at the head of the next class, 'the feudal and ministerial lords.' <sup>8</sup> As Miss Norgate states that he was lord 'by his marriage with an heiress of large estates in the north' (p. 290), her error must, I think, be derived from Professor Tout's article on Robert in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, <sup>9</sup> though she differs so sharply from his estimate of the baronial leader's character (pp. 289, 292).

As to the 'secondary rank' of Robert among English barons, her own authority, cited by herself, makes him '*uns des plus haues homes d'Engletierre et uns des plus poissans*,<sup>10</sup> a description borne out by the records. For his own fief scutage was paid on some sixty-six or sixty-seven fees,<sup>11</sup> while sixty fees were enough to constitute a barony of the first rank. But his wife, Gunnora de Valognes, brought him the whole of the Valognes estates, represent-

<sup>6</sup> 'De justitiario proposuit [archiepiscopus] quod habuit uxorem ejus consanguineam prius habuerat sibi matrimonio copulatam.' (R. Wendover, iii. 14; M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iii. 205.) Hubert's answer, by his agent Lawrence, was: 'De consanguinitate inter comitissam Gloverniae et filiam regis Scotiae nihil scit.' (M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* vi. 71.) So too, according to the Dunstable Annals (*Ann. Mon.* iii. 28): 'Super divortio vero tertiae uxoris suae, scilicet filiae regis Scotiae, conventus, super eo quod erat consanguinea secundae uxoris suae, scilicet comitissae Gloverniae,' &c. They further state precisely that when she was widow of Geoffrey, earl of Essex, Hubert married her (*relictam ipsius duxit*) and that she '*post paucos dies decessit*.' (*Ibid.* p. 45.)

<sup>7</sup> *John Lackland*, pp. 289-293.

<sup>8</sup> *Constitutional History* (1874), i. 540.

<sup>9</sup> It is there stated that her father's fief consisted of '30 $\frac{1}{3}$  knight's fees, mainly situated in the north, so that his interests now became largely identical, with the "Aquilonaes," whom he afterwards led in the struggle against King John' (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.* xix. 220.)

<sup>10</sup> *John Lackland*, p. 290.

<sup>11</sup> Pipe Roll 14 Hen. II. He also obtained some lands of his maternal uncle, Bishop Geoffrey, in 6 John.

ing over thirty-two fees.<sup>12</sup> Thus we may reckon his joint baronies at about 100 fees, while his special position in London as lord of Baynard's Castle added to his importance. Moreover, his wife's holdings and his own lay alike not in the north, but in the eastern counties, thus supporting his position in London.<sup>13</sup>

When we remember that the *caput* of the barony of his son-in-law, the earl of Essex, lay, like his own, in that county, and that Clare, the castle of the head of his house, his ally in the fight for the Charter, lay on the borders of Essex and Suffolk, it may fairly be suggested that the Eastern counties, and especially Essex, played a more prominent part in the struggle than has hitherto been recognised, and that their barons formed as distinct a group as the 'Northerners.' Among the most active opponents of the king were William de Lanvallei, an Essex baron, and Roger de Cressi, an East-Anglian one. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a kinsman of the Mandevilles and the Clares, was an Essex magnate, whose stronghold in that county, Hedingham Castle, was taken by John and afterwards restored to him by Louis. Finally the house of Bigot, the East-Anglian earls, was also active against the king. Among the twenty-four barons (excluding the mayor of London) elected as guardians of the Charter, the above-named group was represented by the earl 'of Clare' and Gilbert de Clare, the earl of Norfolk and Hugh Bigod, the earls of Essex and of Oxford, Robert Fitzwalter himself, Richard de Muntfichet, another great Essex baron, whose castle was at Stanstead Muntfichet, his neighbour, John Fitz Robert, whose castle at Clavering gave name afterwards to his house, William de Lanvalay, of Colchester, and William de Huntingfeld of Huntingfield, Suffolk. Thus eleven, or all but half, were Eastern counties barons.<sup>14</sup> Is it, then, fanciful to suggest that when the advance guard of the French landed in the Orwell in November 1215, the reason for their selecting that landing-place was that it lay in the midst of Essex and Suffolk, where their friends were strongest?

The position of Robert Fitzwalter as an Eastern counties magnate is illustrated by a very curious episode ignored alike by Miss Norgate and by Professor Tout, although it appears to bear directly on his quarrel with John. In right of his wife Robert was patron of Binham Priory, a Valognes foundation in the extreme north of Norfolk, which brought him into conflict with St. Alban's Abbey, the mother house.<sup>15</sup> The trouble culminated in the abbot's removal of Thomas, prior of Binham, a great

<sup>12</sup> Pipe Roll 14 Hen. II.

<sup>13</sup> The Baynard fief, which Robert held, lay in the three eastern counties and in Hertfordshire in 1086, and so did that of Valognes.

<sup>14</sup> I do not count Geoffrey de Say, a cousin of the earl of Essex, because his interests lay elsewhere.

<sup>15</sup> The story of his conflict with St. Alban's is told in the *Gesta Abbatum*, i. 220-230, and, under Binham, in the *Monasticon*.



friend of Robert's, whereupon the priory was formally besieged by Robert, who insisted on the monks deposing the new prior from St. Alban's. On complaint being made to John of this violent action he swore '*per pedes Dei, ut moris habuit,*' that either he or Robert should be king of England. For, we read, they hated one another, and the king rejoiced at the chance of avenging himself on Robert. A friend of the latter was able to send him warning just in time for him to seek safety in flight before the arrival of the king's troops. This took place 'in the time of the Interdict.'

It may be useful, in conclusion, to correct a misapprehension as to Robert Fitzwalter's issue. Dugdale erroneously makes his son and successor Walter to be born of his marriage with Gunnora of Valognes.<sup>16</sup> Professor Tout writes that

This Walter must have been either a younger son or a grandson. After the death of Gunnor (she was alive in 1207) it is said that Fitzwalter married a second wife, Rohese, who survived him.<sup>17</sup>

It is now known that Walter, Robert's successor, was his son by his second wife, and that Christina, his daughter by the Valognes heiress, inherited her mother's barony.<sup>18</sup> The *Histoire des Ducs* enables us to add a son and another daughter by Gunnora de Valognes, of whom the son was captured with his father at the battle of Lincoln, while they both died without issue, as did eventually Christina also.

J. H. ROUND.

### *The Tactics of the Battles of Boroughbridge and Morlaix.*

IN his important paper on the archers at Crecy in the *English Historical Review*, xii. 427-436, and also in his *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, Mr. J. E. Morris has thrown into clear relief the evolution of English tactics from Falkirk to Crecy. In his former article he 'appealed from Crecy to other battles' with very interesting results. But, as his chief object was to emphasise the gradual development of the employment of archery, he was naturally led to pay less attention to other aspects of the new tactics. I propose here to call attention to two links in the chain of development from Falkirk to Crecy which Mr. Morris has overlooked, doubtless as having in one case no great and in the other very little bearing on the particular point of archery. These two links are the battle of Boroughbridge of 1322 and the battle near Morlaix of 1342. The former of these shows English soldiers first applying against their own countrymen the Scottish system of fighting; the second seems to be the first occasion on which the

<sup>16</sup> *Baronage*, i. 220.

<sup>17</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, xix. 222.

<sup>18</sup> See my article on 'Comyn and Valoignes' in the *Ancestor*, Oct. 1904.

tactics which later secured victory at Crecy were employed by Englishmen in a pitched battle on the continent. Neither of these fights has any place in Professor Oman's *History of the Art of War*.

There is no need to tell from the chroniclers the story of either of these battles. At Boroughbridge Earls Thomas of Lancaster and Humphrey of Hereford were retreating with their partisans from Edward II's forces in the direction of Scotland, when they were intercepted at the moment of their passage over the Ure by Sir Andrew Harclay and his border levies, well tried in the hard experience of warfare against Robert Bruce. On reaching the Ure Lancaster found the north bank of the stream, particularly the approaches to the bridge and the only neighbouring ford, strongly held by Harclay's men. The so called 'Chronicle of Lanercost' best gives the disposition of his forces.

[Andreas de Harclay] praevenit comitem et praeoccupavit pontem de Burghbrige, et dimissis lanceis suis et suorum statuit in pedibus omnes milites et quosdam lancearios ad borealem partem pontis, et contra vadum sive transitum aquae posuit alios lancearios in scheltrum secundum modum Scotorum ad resistendum equitibus et equis in quibus adversarii confidebant. Sagittariis autem praecepit ut venientibus inimicis spisse et continue sagittarent.<sup>1</sup>

Here we have (a) the dismounting of the knights and men-at-arms, (b) the conscious adaptation of the Scottish formation of the 'scheltrum' or square of pikemen, (c) the stress laid on the use of archers to ward off the enemies' attack, (d) the defensive tactics that these changes practically involved. Of course not all these things were complete novelties. I do not forget the knights who, as Professor Oman has shown us, fought on foot in earlier battles, as, for example, at Tenchebrai, at Bremûle, and at Lincoln (1141), but these earlier instances are outside the chain that binds Falkirk to Crecy. Limiting ourselves to this series, we cannot but see that Boroughbridge thus affords 'the earliest hint of the new English policy of dismounting,' and not the landing of the Disinherited on the coast of Fife just before Dupplin Moor, as Mr. Morris has taught us to believe. We must therefore qualify the suggestion of the canon of Bridlington, whom Mr. Morris quotes, to the effect that the dismounting policy before Dupplin was accidental, and was continued because found effective. We know from the Lanercost writer that it had been effective ten years earlier.

Harclay's disposition of his troops assured him an easy victory. It was in vain that the two earls set another precedent for the array of Dupplin, Halidon, and Crecy by deciding that Hereford and Clifford should dismount with their followers and proceed on foot to the attack on the bridge.

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp. 243-4 (Bannatyne Club).

Comites [sc. Lancaster and Hereford] . . . videntes dominum Andream praeoccupasse boreialem partem pontis, ordinaverunt quod comes Herefordiae et dominus Rogerus de Cliffordae . . . cum comitiva sua *praecederent in pedibus et arriperent pontem supra lancearios.*<sup>2</sup>

A glance taught Lancaster and Hereford, though neither was a great captain, what the French took years to learn—namely, that the dismounted pikemen could best be dealt with by opponents who accepted their method of fighting. It is curious, however, that Hereford with his Gwentian experience made no use of archers to clear away the defenders of the bridge, though the account of his failure and death shows that Harclay's archers had their part in his defeat.

Turning to Lancaster's attempt to cross the ford on horseback, we find that it was equally unsuccessful. As the Lanercost writer goes on—

Equites autem comitis qui voluerunt aquam transivisse, non potuerunt eam intrare prae multitudine et spissitudine telorum quae sagittariis mittebantur in eos et in equos eorum.<sup>3</sup>

From these details we may infer that Boroughbridge rather than Dupplin Moor is the real starting-point of the English adoption of the new tactics that Mr. Morris has so well described. It is significant that the first English host to employ them should be Harclay's army of borderers, well tried in the conditions of Scottish warfare. Unluckily the Lanercost chronicler does not tell us where the archers of Harclay were posted. Assuming, if we may do so, that they were 'interlaced' with the foot, as in some of Edward I's Welsh battles, we may conclude that the chief improvement effected at Dupplin was the putting the archers in the wings.

The significance of the second battle, to which I wish to call attention, has been even more completely overlooked by modern writers, though there are fairly full recent accounts of it by Dr. Mackinnon<sup>4</sup> and M. Arthur de la Borderie.<sup>5</sup> The fight in question was fought by the earl of Northampton, near Morlaix, in Brittany, on 30 Sept. 1342. Northampton had been sent by Edward III to help the Montfortians, while the king prepared a larger expedition. After many successes in Leon and Cornouailles, both Montfortian regions, Northampton ventured to attack the stronghold of Charles of Blois, the vast county of Penthièvre, and besieged Morlaix, its south-western bulwark. Driven by Charles of Blois from the siege, he was forced to retreat further away from his base at Brest towards Lanmeur, on the road to Lannion.<sup>6</sup> Between Morlaix and Lanmeur he was forced to give battle. We seem in-

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. de Lanercost*, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. of Edward III*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. de Bretagne*, iii. 466-7.

<sup>6</sup> This direction of the retreat comes from an unedited charter, quoted *ibid.* iii. 467.

debted for our knowledge of this fight to English writers exclusively. Of these Murimuth<sup>7</sup> simply emphasises in two detached passages the importance of the English victory and the immense numerical superiority of the defeated side, Northampton having 500 men against Charles of Blois's 52,000 men-at-arms. But these random and ridiculous figures stand in conflict with a previous reference to what is plainly the same battle, in which Charles's numbers are 3,000 *armati* and 1,500 Genoese.<sup>8</sup> More valuable evidence comes from Knighton and Geoffrey le Baker. Of these Knighton<sup>9</sup> is by far the more precise as regards the disposition of the forces. After telling us that Charles of Blois *cum xx mille viris* had raised the siege of *quandam villam cum castro*—clearly of Morlaix—he goes on to describe the array:

Et mane ceperunt [sc. Anglici] locum suum quasi per unam leucam ab inimicis prope unum boscum et foderunt foveas et fossas circa eos et cooperuerunt eas de feno et herbagio; et post solis ortum paraverunt se ad bellum.

Then Charles of Blois came on to attack in three 'battles,' of which the first included many *galleti*, which means, I suppose, Welshmen—that is, *Bretons bretonnants*. It may be assumed that these attacked on foot.<sup>10</sup> Anyhow they were immediately beaten, and then the other two French 'battles' came on. Knighton's words show that these were, as would naturally be the case, mounted men. He tells us how they

ferocitate animi ducti opprimere Angliae gentes moliti sunt; et equorum suorum validorum pedibus conculcare volentes capitose irruerunt in eos, sed antris decepti obturatis, ut predictum est, ceciderunt quilibet super alium in foveis abinvicem confusi.

Thus the host of Charles of Blois was defeated after a hard fight. Knighton does not tell us clearly all that we should wish to know, but it seems almost certain from his account that the English fought on foot. Otherwise the pits, suggested by Bannockburn and anticipating what Baker tells us of Crecy, would be unintelligible. No sane general would have marshalled men-at-arms mounted on restless and high-spirited chargers just behind a row of pits. An involuntary movement forward would have caused the same disaster as befell the Bretons. Moreover by this time the English habit of fighting on foot was completely established. A more serious gap in the account is that we read nothing about the work of the archers. Yet, admitting the deficiencies of the evidence, we cannot but feel sure that Northampton in this obscure fight between Morlaix and Lanmeur substantially anticipated the

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 127, 128-9, Rolls Series.    <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127.    <sup>9</sup> *Chron.* ii. 25, Rolls Series.

<sup>10</sup> M. de la Borderie is quite sure of this: 'La première [bataille] . . . composée de ces troupes irrégulières à pied qu'on appelait *ribauds* ou *galois*' (*Hist. de Bretagne*, iii. 467).

array of Crecy. We have most of the essential points—the defensive action, the flanking woods, the dismounted men-at-arms, the concealed pits, the great odds, the preliminary and futile attack of the enemy's foot, the rush of the heavy cavalry charge, and, after hard fighting, the decisive result. Even trivial analogies—the attack delayed till late in the day,<sup>11</sup> and the inability of the scanty force of victors to do more than withdraw safely, complete the closeness of the anticipation of Crecy. And we must not forget that Northampton was in high command at Crecy, being one of the two leaders of the left 'battle' that flanked the array of the Black Prince. Consideration of these facts and inferences makes us realise that the historical comments of Geoffrey le Baker<sup>12</sup> on the battle are something more than mere rhetoric.

Pugnatum est fortiter ex utraque parte, ita quod contigit illo certamine quod nec in bellis, nec de Halydonehiel nec de Cressi nec de Petters, audivimus contigisse.

The shrewdest judgment of the battle of Morlaix is that which thus makes it a link in the chain between Halidon Hill and Crecy and Poitiers.

T. F. Tout.

### *Tithing Lists from Essex, 1329-1343.*

MANORIAL court-rolls contain constant references to various details of the tithing-system. Very frequently, the record of a leet-court is headed by a list of the headmen (*capitales plegii*), by whose presentments, in answer to the 'Articles' propounded by the steward, the jurisdiction of the court was exercised. Less frequent are complete lists, showing the manner in which the tithing-men (*decenarii*) were grouped under these headmen. The following lists are found in the court-rolls of Chatham-Hall, one of the seven manors in the extensive parish of Great Waltham, Essex. In this, as in many other Essex manors, every member of the tithing had yearly to pay to the lord of the manor 1*d.* to make up the 'common fine' on the leet-day, and in these lists the sum for each tithing is noted. The tithings are six in number, each under the joint control of two headmen. The first list comes at the head of the court-leet roll for Tuesday in Easter week, 27 March, 1329:

CHATHAM.—*Visus franci plegii tenti ibidem die Martis in Septimana Paschae anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum tertio.*

Cap. pleg. { Robertus Levelif }  
 xv*d.* { Johannes Startleg } habent in eorum decena:—

<sup>11</sup> 'Circa horam nonam' (Murimuth, p. 127), i.e. from 2 to 4 P.M., which would not leave many hours of light on 30 Sept.

<sup>12</sup> P. 76, ed. E. Maunde Thompson.

Radulfum Hegnon, Johannem Levelif, Johannem Cok, Robertum Trippe, Henricum Rat, Ricardum Rat, Ricardum Heghnon, Galfridum Heghnon, Willelmum Levelif, Johannem Levelif juniorem, Adam Levelif, Robertum filium Johannis Levelif, Rogerum Levelif.

Cap. pleg. { Andreas Hegnon } habent in eorum decena :—

viii. { Saherus Mot }

Nicholaum Samar, Willelmum Clobbe, Willelmum Edward, Andream Samar daÿe, Willelmum Mot, Willelmum Heghnon.

Cap. pleg. { Thomas Randolf } habent in eorum decena :—

vii. { Johannes le long }

Johannem Saward, Petrum Litele, Ricardum Whitbred, Walterum Reynold, Ranulphum Spileman.

Cap. pleg. { Andreas Samar } habent in eorum decena :—

xd. { Johannes Spileman }

Johannem Trippe, Ricardum ate Broke, Johannem Prentys, Robertum Prentis, Johannem ate Brok, Willelmum Whitbred, Johannem ate hundred, Johannem Samar.

Cap. pleg. { Johannes le little } habent in eorum decena :—

xii. { Andreas Aylwyne }

Johannem le long, Johannem Adam webbe, Saherum le webbe, Johannem Adam brodheued, Johannem filium Johannis little, Johannem Frebarn webbe, Johannem Ailwyne, Johannem filium Johannis Little seniore, Willelmum le Little.

Cap. pleg. { Johannes ate Brok } habent in eorum decena :—

ix. { Johannes cocus }

Saherum Startleheg, Johannem Startleheg, Johannem Clobbe, Robertum cocum, Ricardum Samar, Johannem Heuekyn, Johannem ate Wode.

It will be seen that this list gives sixty persons on the tithings, and therefore a common fine of 5*s*. It may be noted, from the information elsewhere supplied by the rolls, that the majority of these people were born serfs. *Nativus domini* is constantly attached to the surnames Adam, Aylwyne, ate Brok, Clobbe, Cok, Edward, Heghnon, ate Hundred, Randolf, Rat, Samar, Saward, Startleheg, Trippe, Whitbred, ate Wode. The only person on the list who is definitely stated to have been a freeman is John Prentys. In 1332 the list was brought to date by striking out Radulfus Heghnon (tithing I), Nicholaus Samar (II), Johannes filius Johannis Little senior (V), and Johannes Heuekyn (VI), in each case as 'mortuus,' and by adding Johannes Sleuir at the end

of tithing III. This gave a list of fifty-seven, and a common fine of 4s. 9d.

A second list is found at the end of the roll for the court-leet of 22 April, 1337 :

- Cap. pleg. { Walterus Saundre } et eorum decenarii :—  
 xiii*d.* { Johannes Strateleheg }  
 Willelmus Levelif ('remotus<sup>1</sup> quod fecit finem'), Adam Levelif, Johannes Levelif midling, Johannes Levelif junior, Johannes Strateleheg junior, Johannes Cok, Robertus Trippe, Henricus Rat, Ricardus Rat, Ricardus Hegnon, Galfridus Hegnon, Rogerus Levelif.
- Cap. pleg. { Andreas Hegnon } et eorum decenarii :—  
 ix*d.* { Johannes Clement }  
 Willelmus Motte, Willelmus Hegnon, Ricardus le White, Johannes Pourte, Sayerus Motte, Simon le Long, Petrus Hegnon.
- Cap. pleg. { Johannes Denhale } et eorum decenarii :—  
 vii*d.* { Robertus Randolf }  
 Johannes Saward, Petrus le Littele, Ricardus Whitbred, Ranulfus Spileman, Johannes Sliver.
- Cap. pleg. { Andreas Samar } et eorum decenarii :—  
 viii*d.* { Johannes Spileman }  
 Ricardus atte Brok, Johannes atte Brok junior, Johannes atte Hundrede, Johannes Samar, Willelmus Samare, Andreas Samar senior.
- Cap. pleg. { Johannes Littele } et eorum decenarii :—  
 x*d.* { Andreas Aylwyne }  
 Johannes Adam webbe, Johannes Adam brodheuid, Johannes Littele minor, Johannes Frebaren, Sayerus Frebarin, Johannes Aylwene, Willelmus Littele, Nicholaus Somer.
- Cap. pleg. { Robertus cocus } et eorum decenarii :—  
 x*d.* { Johannes atte Broke }  
 Sayerus Strateleheg, Johannes Strateleheg, Ricardus Samar, Johannes ate Wode, Willelmus cocus, Johannes Clobbe, Willelmus Clobbe, Ricardus Marionn.

This, again, gives us a list of fifty-seven, and the common fine of 4s. 9d. This second list has been much pulled about, (a) by striking out names (nine of them because 'mortuus,' others as

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that his name has to be left out in estimating the xiii*d.* paid by this tithing to the common fine.

having purchased exemption 'per finem' and some as having become 'cap. pleg.'), (b) making additions, and (c) altering the marginal sums. This was in 1343. In the list in tithing II, we have Willelmus Motte scored out and noted 'remotus per finem.' In the court-leet, 2 April, 1342, William Mot paid 18*d.* *ut removeatur ab officio decenarii*. Making alterations as directed, we have the following list for 1343 :

Cap. pleg. { Walterus Saundre } et eorum decenarii :—  
 xiiid. { Johannes Stratleheg }  
 Adam Levelif, Johannes Stratleheg junior, Johannes Cok, Robertus Trippe, Ricardus Rat, Ricardus Hegnon, Galfri-  
 dus Hegnon, Rogerus Levelif, Robertus Leuelif, Andreas Startleheg, Johannes Reynolds.

Cap. pleg. { Andreas Hegnon } et eorum decenarii :—  
 xd. { Johannes Prentys }  
 Willelmus Hegnon, Ricardus le White, Johannes Pourte, Sayerus Motte, Simon le Long, Johannes Rat, Andreas Lyttle, Johannes le White filius Ricardi le White.

Cap. pleg. { Edmundus Prat } et eorum decenarii :—  
 viiid. { Ricardus Maryonn }  
 Petrus le Littele, Ranulfus Spileman, Johannes Sliver, Robertus le chapman, Johannes Feraunt, Thomas Randolf.

Cap. pleg. { Andreas Samar } et eorum decenarii :—  
 ix*d.* { Johannes Spileman }  
 Ricardus atte Brok, Johannes atte Brok junior, Johannes atte Hundrede, Johannes Samar, Willelmus Sanaar, Rogerus Samar, Johannes filius Johannis at Hundrede.

Cap. pleg. { Johannes Littele } et eorum decenarii :—  
 viiid. { Andreas Aylwyne }  
 Johannes Adam webbe, Johannes Littele minor, Johannes Frebaren, Johannes Aylwene, Willelmus Littele, Nicholaus Somer.

Cap. pleg. { Robertus cocus } et eorum decenarii :—  
 viiid. { Willelmus le Longe }  
 Ricardus Samar, Willelmus cocus, Johannes Clobbe, Willelmus Clobbe, Johannes Trippe, Johannes Sleuyr filius Johannis Sleuyr.

We have thus, for 1343, fifty-six names, representing a common fine of 4*s.* 8*d.*

It may be of interest to give, from the court-leet of the years



next to these lists, an exact instance of each step in the tithing-system, attached to a name occurring in the lists.

(a) When a resident labourer's son passed his twelfth year, the court-leet ordered him to be placed in a tithing. 21 April, 1332: *Omnes capitales plegii presentant quod Willelmus cocus est plenae aetatis ad ponendum in decenam. Item presentant quod Johannes Startleheg est de eodem statu.* Accordingly, in 1337, we find these two in tithing VI.

(b) When an incoming labourer had resided for a year in the manor, he was ordered to go on a tithing, and the order enforced by fines on himself or on his employer. 24 May, 1328, *presentant quod Johannes Slyver est extra decenam; ideo in misericordia iii d.; et receptatur cum Andrea Aylwyne.* 2 April, 1331: *Omnes capitales plegii presentant quod Johannes Slyver est extra decenam: ideo preceptum est attachiare. Postea venit et misit se in decenam.* In the 1332 revision we find him in tithing III.

(c) A tithing-man had to attend every court-leet, and his two headmen were often held 'responsible for his appearance. 27 March, 1329, *misericordia iii d.: presentant quod Johannes Trippe decenarius facit defaltam: ideo in misericordia.* 2 April, 1336, *dicunt quod Henricus le Rat est decenarius et non venit: ideo [ipse in misericordia]. Item dicunt quod Willelmus Levelyf est decenarius, et non venit: ideo etc. Misericordia vi d. de Waltero Sandre et Johanne Startleheg, capitalibus plegiis, quod non habuerunt Willelmum Levelyf. Misericordia vi d. de eisdem quod non habuerunt Henricum le Rat: in misericordia.* The 1337 list shows that these were in tithing I.

ANDREW CLARK.

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*Correspondence of Archbishop Herring and Lord  
Hardwicke during the Rebellion of 1745.*

PART II.

XV.

*The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

October 6 1745.

My Lord,—I have the honour of your Lordships of the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst. Nothing new has occurred here lately—We are at present in a state of great repose, partly supported by the spirit which is shining at London and in the southern part of the Island, and partly from assurances given us, that Berwick and Newcastle are in no present danger from the Rebels. Our last advices are that they are divided into three bodies, the large one of 4 or 5000 in Edinburgh and the camp, 2000 returned to the North to gather their oats, and 1000 marching towards England. Oglethorpe tells me today, this is their present situation. The Castle seems to be in

danger, but I hope Guest will hold out till relief comes, at the worst. Their attention to that business, and the secession for the harvest time, will give the King time, what is more wanted at present, to collect and march his army. Oglethorpe is very alert, wants to collect our Lord Lieutenants and their forces together, and in conjunction with the Cleveland men to make the mien of opposition—at least to try to make these rascals suspend their incursions. I see from Lord Somervilles own hand that his house has been plundered, and three of his servants killed upon the spot, but two of the Highlanders were killed afterwards, which he feared would occasion setting fire to his house. Oglethorpe tells me, that the Scotch nobility in the Kings interest have offered, if empowered to do it, to regain the kingdom; it had been easier perhaps to have prevented the loss of it. I never had an opinion of Scotch faith, and now I am sure I never shall.

I purposed to have set out for London on Wednesday next, but I have had a sort of remonstrance from the City here, that it will create some uneasiness. There is a great matter in opinion, and if my presence at Bishopthorpe seems to support a spirit or preserve an Union, or that the people think so, I will not stir. For nothing is so hurtful at these times of suspicion, as a panic, which perhaps, as it is easily occasioned, is as easily prevented. I am sure it is so. If my presence will prevent it I have therefore put off my journey, but ordered my affairs so, that at the least intimation from your Lordship I can *vasa conclamare*, and set out in an hour. To talk in the style military (though my red coat is not made yet) the first column of my family went off a week ago, the second moves on Wednesday, and the third attends my motion. I purpose to leave my house in a condition to receive the Marshal if he pleases to make use of it, and there is a sort of policy in my civility too, for, while he occupies it, it cannot be plundered. I know your Lordship has even an anxiety for your friends, but, if I must fly, the General and his hussars have offered to cover my retreat. But enough of this—I had rather laugh when the battle is won, and could not help putting up an ejaculation at the Pond side tonight—God grant I may feed my swans in peace! Your Lordship will be so good as to excuse my attendance at the opening of Parliament to my Royal Master if he condescends to enquire after me.

I am, my Lord, with perfect truth,

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Fairfax and Tempest's houses have been searched, but no appearance of mischief.

## XVI.

*The Same to the Same.*

Oct 9 1745.

My Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordships of the 5<sup>th</sup> inst, and am very glad my intention of staying here falls in with your judgment, and the rest of my friends in London. I do it with pleasure, and have presumed upon M<sup>r</sup> Pelhams leave to keep one of his friends here as my assistant—Fred. Frankland, who however is ready to obey a call.

Our subscriptions here, I believe, will amount to more than 40000*l.*, and the forces, York and Hull included, to 4000 horse and foot. I had spoke to the Postmaster here about the Caledonian Mercury, and he had reason to suppose that one came last Post, but dare not open it, though I sent word I would justify him. He is an honest man, and would readily submit to proper Powers, and therefore if it is judged right to enable me, at this juncture, to open any letters, I will see it executed while I stay. A fellow in York, Dr Drake a Surgeon,<sup>1</sup> who was long suspected to be a Jacobite, has declared himself so by refusing publicly to take the oaths. It is a good discovery, for his insinuations here have done much mischief. My secretary is going to York, to watch the Northern Mail, and if anything material comes, to communicate it to your Lordship.

I am with most affectionate Esteem, my Lord,

Your Lordships ever obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

### XVII.

*Lord Hardwicke to the Archbishop of York.*

Powis House, Oct<sup>r</sup> 12 1745.

My Lord,—I have now two letters of yours unacknowledged, for which I return your Grace my sincere thanks. The continuance of that fine spirit, which has shone forth with so much lustre in your part of the North, rejoices me, as well as the success which has hitherto attended your meritorious labours. In the south it has been greatly propagated, and the raising of regiments does in several parts go on, though I cannot say that the Association of Subscription in the City of London has made all the progress that one could wish. The meeting in Surrey was a prodigious one, and showed great zeal and alacrity. As to General Oglethorpe's intelligence, that the Scotch nobility had offered, if empowered, to regain the kingdom, I cannot say that I have heard of any such offer. Some few Lords indeed have talked of raising men in Scotland, in case the rebels leave it, and march into England, but I fear that will be a work of time, especially after all that has happened. I think your Grace has determined quite right in staying for the present at Bishop-Thorpe, and everybody here thinks so too. As soon as Mr Pelham returns from Sussex, whither he went on Thursday to a general meeting, I will acquaint him with the reason of Mr Frankland's staying with you. I find your Grace has learned the Style Military, and presume, though the paragraph about your Grace's red coat was not true, yet you are by this time skilled in the exercise, and can use the word of command. It brings to ones mind Shakespeare's Henry IV<sup>th</sup>:—'My gentle Lord of York . . . assembles all his Powers,'—though it happened that predecessor of yours mistook his side.

I am glad Edinburgh Castle, partly by threats, and partly by a little execution, has found means to relieve itself, and get in some provisions. I never thought that would be complied with till the last extremity. Possibly it is their despair of starving out the Castle makes them think of

<sup>1</sup> Francis Drake, author of *Eboracum*. He was compelled to enter into recognisances, and lost his post as city surgeon.

marching southward, and we have intelligence here that they intended to begin their march as upon Tuesday or Wednesday last; but we have heard nothing further. It is surprising that there should still be such an uncertainty about their numbers. Lockhart of Carnwath is come to Berwick, and has put himself into the power of the King's officers. This looks like a good symptom, and yet he, whose disposition and conduct is well known, has no great opinion of their success.

I am sorry your Postmaster is so nice. In such times as these people must take something upon themselves. I will speak about proper orders being sent to him.

I am ever, with the truest esteem, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours,  
HARDWICKE.

## XVIII.

*The Archbishop of York to Lord Hardwicke.*

Bishop Thorpe, Oct<sup>r</sup> 19 1745.

My Lord,—It is not possible for me to forbear sending to your Lordship everything that occurs to me of moment at this nice and perilous season. The companies that were raised here by the Gentlemen have been completed some time, and they have been in daily expectation of arms for them, which they say they had assurance from above were put on shipboard for Hull, but afterwards, for reasons of despatch and safety, removed into waggons, above three weeks ago. They have heard nothing at all of them since, nor have any sort of information where they are. You cannot imagine, my Lord, what an effect this disappointment has upon the whole Country; I see and hear a world of people every day, and I will tell your Lordship, as becomes an honest man and the King's faithful subject, what they say upon the occasion. Before they speak, they lift up their eyes and shrug their shoulders;—‘What, no news of Arms yet? Have we deserved this neglect? Are the Ministers asleep? Or do they mean to despite all we can do to defend ourselves, and tell the world so? Or do they intend to expose us to the derision of our enemies, and, after an expense of some thousand pounds, to gather together and clothe our people, will they put us into the poor condition of the well-affected class in Scotland, without arms, at the mercy of these ruffians?’ I do assure your Lordship this is the plain literal truth and matter of fact, and I do in my conscience think, if this affair is not *instantly* attended to and satisfaction given to people's minds, this uneasiness will grow up into a rank and strong indignation. I pray God send us good news to day from Scotland, for if the rebels are in motion Southward, I can't describe the terror it would occasion—I am sure of it; the noble spirit of defence which has appeared here will, from this single circumstance of want of arms, sink into despondency and lame submission, if it produces nothing worse. Wade intended to move northwards tomorrow or Monday, but if he was here in Quarters at York, with all his army, the gentlemen of this country are disposed to the highest resentment, if the men whom they have raised have not at least the credit of arms in their hands. Your Lordship cannot imagine how shamed and vexed the King's friends are, that their men are forced to exercise with broomstuffs.

In good truth, this is a most serious matter, and well known to the rebels, who, by means of an open and uncontrolled post, have to my knowledge a regular correspondence with people in the City of York. I hear extreme bad news from the Camp at Doncaster—quarrels, mutinies, and almost a murder, but the temper and prudence of the Magistrate has composed them for the present.

I received another paper from Edinburgh by the last post, which I transmit to day to your Lordship, but I presume they are scattered all over the Kingdom.

Upon reviewing my letter, I doubt I have run into a sort of saucy freedom, but if your Lordship thinks it of moment to be shown to the D. of N. I am sure you will answer for me, that it comes from an honest principle, and from an anxiety that nothing should be done or omitted, that can tend to the hurt or embarrassment of the King's affairs, or the discredit of his faithful servants.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships ever most affectionately,

THO : EBOR :

*Extract.*

Bishophthorpe, Octr 23 1745.

— I am frightened with stress of bloody frays every day between the Dutch and English. It seems our fellows are perpetually twitting them with their poltroonery at Fontenoy. Would to God we were rid of them, and in due time with all connection with their perfidious masters! They quarrelled on Monday night at Ferrybridge. Good my Lord, dont forget the affair of arms for our Yorkshiremen. I feel I press that matter unhandsomely, but if it be not immediately taken care of, every thing that has been done here will be in a manner undone. I know this to be true from certain intelligence from every Riding.

## XIX.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Octr 28 1745.

My Lord,—It was with great pain to me that I troubled your Lordship so upon the subject of arms, and I was fully sensible how cruel it would be to tease the Ministers at this unfortunate juncture, but I thought it a point of duty to the public, and agreeable to that friendship with which I desire to be for ever attached to your Lordship, to apprise you fully of a thing of that consequence. I had yesterday the honour of your Lordships, and soon after an express came to Lord Irwin, who has been with me these two days, that a competent number of arms was or would soon be ready at Hull. Due notice shall be given of this instantly, and I dare say, the spirit of the country will continue such as it was a month ago.

I send the enclosed to your Lordship. The memorial may possibly be new to you; I think it is good. It is remarked at the bottom of one edition of this paper that it was published at the time the contribution was raised in Glasgow. It is added too that 900 Highlanders had deserted. I had a Kirk Minister with me the other day, who was a Volunteer at Edinburgh at the surrender of the town. He was a man of sense and

apparent credit, and gave a confident account of things. It is beyond doubt that the City was betrayed, and that the Lord Provost did of most deliberate perfidy give up the guns upon the Walls, and the arms lent out of the Castle for the defence of the City. I except the arms of the Volunteers, which were put into the Castle again. . . . My secretary is just gone to York to attend the northern mail, and has my orders, if anything material arrives, to send it to your Lordship. General Wade does very prudently in concealing any disagreeable circumstances with regard to our joint forces, and is the best man in the world to prevent mischief. He has done it hitherto. The army marched in good spirits, and the better for receiving £9000 from Leeds of the public money. It has been well received. It halted yesterday at Northallerton, proceeds to day onwards to Newcastle, which the Marshal purposes to reach on Tuesday. I hear Lord Malton received instructions from Wade at Doncaster how to make the best use of our country forces, which I hope he will put in motion. The mischief that ugly affair does is incredible. It has put an absolute stop to trade and business, and if it holds a little longer, I I believe I must go upon credit for my bread and cheese. But that want of business in the W. Riding has made it much easier to raise soldiers there, for the manufacturer<sup>2</sup> has no other way to get bread. I hope some folks will consider the Chevalier's declaration very maturely, and ask themselves, whence he has received some of his principal topics of encouragement. I am sorry to hear that a spirit of *previously* redressing what are called grievances is stirring in a Certain Place. As to that, I think a single question would be worth a years debate. 'Sir, my house is in flames. Shall I try to put out the fire, or first satisfy myself by whose neglect or wickedness the mischief happened?'

My best compliments wait upon Lady Hardwick and your young soldier. I am sure he would not be frightened with a Highland broadsword as poor Lascelles was. God forbid, though, he should come in the reach of one. I accept the appellation of Camerader from him with all my heart. I find I must get into regimentals in my own defence in a double sense: for an engraver has already given me a Saracen's head surrounded with the Chevalier in chains and all the instruments of war, and the hydra of rebellion at my feet, and I see another copper-plate is promised where I am to be exhibited in the same martial manner with all my clergy with me. By my troth, as I judge from applications made to me every day, I believe I could raise a regiment of my own order, and I had a serious offer the other day from a Welsh curate at the bottom of Merionethshire,<sup>3</sup> who is six feet and a half high, that, hearing I had put on scarlet, he was ready to attend me at an hour's warning, if the Bishop of Bangor did not call upon him for the same service.

I should mention to your Lordship that the Scotch Kirk Minister named above expressed himself extremely solicitous that the Government should not lay the imputation of disloyalty on the Scotch nation at Geneva.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's faithful Servant,

THOS: EBOR.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly equivalent to *operative*, a sense of the word now entirely disused.

<sup>3</sup> Merionethshire was in Archbishop Herring's former diocese of Bangor.

## XX.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Nov 3 1745.

My Lord,—I now sit down to communicate some things possibly worth your Lordship's observation, which I have just taken from the mouth of a Scotch Refugee, as they call themselves, who dined with me, and is just come out of Aberdeenshire, and a man of figure in his country. He appears thoroughly well affected to the King. He made a shift by steering westward to get into England, clear of the Rebels, and passed through Newcastle to talk with Wade and make his observations there, after having informed himself pretty well of the circumstances of the rebel army. To begin with what he says of their condition, and, as is natural, what he has heard of the character and qualities of the leader. He is told, that he is of undoubted courage and resolution, and determined to conquer or die, as he has publicly professed. His presence is good, and he affects a very winning affability, conversing almost with the lowest now and then. He is said too to have a good understanding, and my author thinks himself pretty well informed, that most of the things that have been well done in the progress of his affairs, have been done by his advice, and he was with great difficulty restrained from charging at the head of his men at the battle of Preston Pans. I enquired into what is said of the truth of his attachment to his religion, and was assured that he and all his people have purposely avoided showing anything like it. That he never has Mass said, has not a priest about him, and declined any communication with the Episcopal divines. As to his army, he confirms the notion of their being 8000; that they have the best intelligence, that they certainly will not disperse for reasons of fear. That they will act *pro re nata*, and not come into England unless it should appear the eligible scheme, and that, if they do slip Wade, they will march like a torrent. He speaks of it as a certainty, that their chiefs extremely regret their not pursuing their advantage at Haddington, which does indeed look like an infatuation in them. They boast that half Wade's army, and particularly the D[utch], will either be passive or act with them and endeavour to persuade their people, that many of the English gentlemen who are associated will in due time pull off the mask and declare for them; it being, they say, the only method left for their friends to arm in their favour.

Thus much for the rebel forces; my friend halted at Newcastle, and made his observations there; and the reports he brings are disagreeable, but I must and will relate them to your Lordship. He says that the numbers, he is told, are far short of report; that there are great deficiencies in the corps, and besides that very many of them are sick. That as to those that are well, there are great doubts of their integrity. That the Scotch and Irish are suspected to be false, and the first not disposed to fight against their countrymen. That most of the D[utch] are Papists, and that, if there are not many priests armed among them, that they are there in disguise. He says that one of St George's dragoons was discharged at Durham for declaring over night in his cups, and standing to it the next morning when he was sober,—That Right was with the Pre-

tender and his son,—and there certainly have been such facts in Sinclair's and other regiments.

These things he said he mentioned in private, and as reasons of caution, and so far they are good, for, great as our army is, Prudence to be sure would suggest that we should not contemn our enemy, but consider some resource in case of a disappointment. My guest went on in the following manner. If I may speak the sentiments of an honest man:—Our Governors, as they paid too little attention to the King's friends at the beginning, seem to continue in the same bad politics still. The true friends of K G are nine parts in ten of Scotland, but without authority, arms, or money. The Lord Loudoun and the president are in the north, but for want of the materials above mentioned can do nothing. Lord Loudoun has carried £4000 and some arms, but very insufficient. Soon after the beginning of this affair, the Grants alone assembled in the number of a thousand good men, but could not stir nor act for want of power, but yet their assembling only defeated the rebel levies for ten miles round them; They are still in the same disposition, and so are the men of Argyllshire, and many in the West, and nothing can import the Government more than to collect and arm a competent number of these men, who might be of incredible service to the King's affairs, by cutting off the retreat of the rebels, and their communication with the northern ports, which are now all open; or, in any case of any disaster to the King's army, affording a resource or reinforcement. He says the rebels give out great expectations from the Western Isles, but none have yet come in, and he hopes will not. He mentioned one thing, which may be deemed of little consequence at London, but he thinks very material, That care should be taken to circulate good intelligence in the northern parts of Scotland, which would be well read, and obviate the mischief arising from delusive lies of the rebels.

I have now told your Lordship my facts and my reasonings. Sir Archibald Grant is my author, and he gives me leave to name him. Your Lordship I dare say knows him; I do not. Perhaps the Ch[aritable] Corporation affair has not helped his reputation, but he is a man of sense, and the Grants he says have been Whigs at origin, but, in their cases, one would hear a fool, and receive information, if one could from an Enemy. Sir Archibald says that the people publicly about the Pretender are weak ones, but that there are abler hands behind the Curtain, who draw up all their public things. . . .

I am ever your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR.

I was going to fold up my letter, but your Lordship will pardon me for two or three stories of chit chat. As to what I have said of this Young Pretenders affability, I have reason to retract it, being assured that his behaviour is rather stiff. I would observe that Sir Archibald's account of the temper of the rebel army as to courage was speaking of them three weeks ago. There is one thing worth observing, that the spirit of enthusiasm is very strong in the army, and that there is amongst them a sober turn of religion, an instance of which he knows in the behaviour of two Highlanders, who were treated by Dr Wisheart's lady.



She said the fellows covered their faces with their bonnets, and said grace, observing to her that they kept up that good old custom, though the fashionable folks had dropped it. They professed themselves protestants, and determined friends to Hereditary Right. I must give your Lordship a mark of this young mans religion. Upon being called to attend his father to mass, he refused with an oath to go, for it has cost his father three kingdoms. For his courage, it seems Schulemberg said of him, that he should be loath to have a crown which that man had a right to. I find two stories current in Edinburgh to the disadvantage of a great D[uke], one, that he gave it as a reason for his inaction in Scotland, that he did not choose to have two halters about his neck at once, from the severity of the disarming Act, and the progress of the Chevalier. The other intimates the opinion people have of him, for in a conversation, where some Highlanders were jocosely parcelling out his estate, a sly Highlander asked the gentleman whether the Dukes neutrality had no merit in it.

Mr M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, who converses with many young gentlemen that have travelled, seems to think it likely that this young [man] is in the scheme of no religion at all, but of the loose Deistical turn prevalent at present.

\* The Young Pretenders character is now well known. He had no great personal courage, but obstinacy enough. He certainly professed to have his religion to choose, and has said to Humphries the painter, that his family had suffered too much from priests for him to have anything to do with them. He grew sottish, indolent &c after his escape from Scotland, is said to have been in London a few years after the rebellion, and the late King being told of it, forbid any notice to be taken of him.

## XXI.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Nov<sup>r</sup> 6 1745.

My Lord,—I am afraid your Lordship will think that my letters smell strong of the gloomy North and the despairing month of November, but, if I am of any use here, it is by communicating to your Lordship what I hear of any moment, and leave it to your consideration. The perusal of the Gazette this morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> inst. has put me upon troubling your Lordship now. I find there several encouraging circumstances to the Kings friends mentioned, as received from Berwick, relating to Lord Lowdon and Col. Campbell, which I doubt have no truth in them. and your Lordship will please to hear the reason of my doubt. Mr M<sup>c</sup>Laurin, who left me this morning for the North, showed me a letter yesterday from Mr Pringle, a refugee now at Durham. It is dated Nov<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> and cautions Mr M<sup>c</sup>Laurin from believing any thing of the reports from the North mentioned in that day's Newcastle Courant. Now those reports are of the same favourable sort expressly with those in the Gazette. He adds that a messenger is returned from Edinburgh despatched by Baron Craigie and Lord Arnistown, who reports the pre-

\* The following paragraph is manifestly a much later addition by another hand.  
Ed. E.H.R.

sent number of rebels at about 7000. It is asserted on all hands that 5000 of these are as fine fellows as any in Europe. I have great confidence in General Wade, but I own I think we take it too much for granted, that he can't possibly miscarry, and I wish our credulity in one respect now mayn't hurt us as much as our incredulity did some time ago in another. I fancy if I was with your Lordship now, you would send me up to a Lady whom you are pleased to call Cassandra. I own frankly our present situation does call to my mind instances in which great wicked nations have been severely scourged by very despicable instruments. The proceedings at Westminster do not tend to clear me of these apprehensions. I am so chagrined at the unreasonableness of some late motions, that I think the Patrons of the Divisions would have hurt the public less if they had subscribed to a regiment or two for the services of —.

I am ever, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithfully & affectionately,  
THO: EBOR:

## XXII.

*The Same to the Same.*

Nov<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1745.

My Lord,—Whatever be the issue of this doubtful state of things, and however it may please God to deal with this distracted nation, the present Ministers, who have the confidence of His Majesty, and the conduct of public affairs, will be sure to have the approbation of all good men for their integrity and very singular patience, which certainly has been tried to the utmost. The great consolation I received at this fearful juncture arose from the prospect of our hearty unanimity, which certainly, if kept up to its first appearance, would have done its work without bloodshed. But that prospect is over, and long before this our enemies are convinced from London, that there are still people enow, that are either so weak or so designing as to help their cause much better than their faithful ally from France can do; for I do assure you such is the judgment of all good people here upon the late Divisions at W[estminster]. Nobody would much have wondered to have seen such behaviour in Jacobites, but that any man of sense of a better denomination should join such malcontents is beyond our comprehension here, more especially when we are told that the dependants of a certain very great man have lent an helping hand to ruin their Masters family. For my part, I can give but one reason for the conduct of some Whigs on this occasion, but that they really think that the danger is all over, and that they have nothing to do but debate *en gayeté de cœur*. It were well if those gentlemen would consider, that before we set about improving our constitution, they should be quite sure that we have any Constitution at all. I shall long to hear the result of the conference of the two Houses; for if a man is found, that can scruple to lend an helping hand to repress the insolence of the enemy in their public declarations, he should be furnished with accoutrements and *transire in castra hostium*.

I send your Lordship the enclosed, not from any new intelligence in it, but for the certainty of what is there. The writer is a very good

honest young clergyman, chaplain to the Royal Hunters, and his account is more consistent than any I have seen. The postmaster at Dumfries told me by Wednesday's post he feared he should be able to write no more, and by his silence on Friday I judge the rebels were at that town, and are now moving westward. For God's sake, my Lord, obviate as much as possible the notion that the enemy is contemptible, and Wade invincible; neither is true, the enemy is certainly extremely formidable. The enclosed, of which M<sup>r</sup> Yorke has a copy, is a proof of their spirit, and what shall we say, if they have advocates in S<sup>t</sup> Stephen's chapel?

We are extremely at a loss here to account for our hearing nothing of the President and Lord Lowdon. It is to me the more surprising, as every Scotchman I have seen, and I have seen and do see many, assures me that the K's friends there are at least six to one, and ready to unite at an hour's warning.

The enclosed appeal is a mark of the lion, before he is in power. It raised my indignation, and on Saturday I set myself to transpose it, and I submit it to your Lordship's judgment whether it is right it should be answered, and if it be, whether I have hit upon the proper method of doing it. If your Lordship approve of it, I have desired my friend M<sup>r</sup> Say of Ely House to attend your summons. His brother is a printer, and I can safely trust M<sup>r</sup> Say with the whole management. Your Lordship will please to inform me, that it came safe to hand. If I had more time it should not have come in so slovenly a manner. If Say has the answer, your Lordship may safely trust him with the printed papers.

I am ever, My Lord, most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

XXIII.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Nov<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1745.

My Lord,—I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for yours of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst.<sup>4</sup> on many accounts. It has given me a clear and right notion of my Scotch Bart. and a good key to his intelligence and his reasonings. I have received a letter from him since on his road to Sir James Grants, in Town, where he now is, but that contains so romantic a scheme of public defence at this juncture, that I begin to suspect his head, but I shall thank him for the civility of his letter. Another consolation I received from your Lordship was the assurance of so good a force marching to Lancashire, for I do believe the rebels have hopes—though groundless—from thence and Wales, and I hear from a very good hand, that there is a very unpromising coldness at Chester. I send your Lordship the enclosed more as matter of curiosity than useful intelligence, for the information is particular, and seems to be given *naivement*. We had repeated assurances yesterday, that Carlisle had within their walls 15000 able and resolute men, who would not submit tamely. Nothing in the world was more acceptable here than the vigorous and unanimous Resolution of both Houses. I observe no mention of the Declaration of the

<sup>4</sup> This letter is not in the collection.

Chevalier's Nobility, or of the Appeal to the People.—I suppose they were either not received, or nothing thought worth such solemn notice, but what had the sanction of J[acobus] R[ex] or P[ro] R[ex]. I think my scheme of an answer may very well be looked upon as superseded, or, if your Lordship judge it proper to go forth, I believe I need not intimate it must be anonymous, as I have told Say.

I thank the Colonel for his supposed emendation of the skull cap; that shall remain for a soup dish, and the velvet be converted, as was meant, into breeches. Mr Frankland left me yesterday, and purposes to be in town tomorrow. He will be proud to wait upon your Lordship, whenever you are pleased to signify that you have half an hour to spare.

I am with perfect sincerity, My Lord, your Lordships most obliged and affectionate Friend,

THO: EBOR:

I should be ashamed to show Dr Dunstan's letter to any one but yourself, and I send it now on account of its relation to Lancashire.

#### XXIV.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Nov<sup>r</sup> 20. 1745.

My Lord,—I thank you extremely for your last letter,<sup>5</sup> and the honour of your Lordships judgment with regard to the papers I troubled you with. Mr Say has my orders to commit them to the flames. I am going to York to a sheriffs dinner, and I dont know, but the Trouble-Feasts may spoil our stomachs, or make us scamper. If they come forward on the York Road, I will endeavour to take care of one, and march off Southward. We can certainly make no sort of defence against their depredations, for I cannot tell by what policy or what direction, but our Lord Lieutenants with their respective corps are all in their own Ridings, when, if they are like to be of any significancy, they ought, I should have thought, to have been together.

I heard last post that the Court have had an alarm of risings in Wales, Shropshire, and Chester. This makes me conjecture that the destination of these wolves is through Lancashire. It would be a satisfaction to me if your Lordship would order my good friend the Colonel to acquaint me what truth there is in this, and whether Sir W[atkin] is concerned in it.

It has blown all night, and threatens to blow a great storm. The rebel army lay last night at Penrith.

I am, with great truth and affection, my Lord your Lordships ever,

THO: EBOR.

#### XXV.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Nov<sup>r</sup> 22 1745

My Lord,—I am just returned from York, where I have been ever since Wednesday morning. It is very necessary that your Lordship

<sup>5</sup> Not in the collection.

should be acquainted with the true state of our City. I have informed myself, not only from my own observation, but from the best evidence, that York is in no sort of condition to make any resistance, if the rebels move this way, and therefore I have given it as my opinion to one of the principal Magistrates, that the best way is to let these people in without hesitation. I hope and believe that none except Papists (if they) are in a disposition to rise up against the King, and that the whole county are loyally affected, and all will be quiet. Upon enquiry of the Recorder, what care had been taken that the arms of the Militia should not fall into the Highlanders' hands, he told me very frankly, there were none of any significance in the City, and that the arms coming from Malton and Birmingham had been countermanded. Our people here are in strange apprehension of mischief from the Papists, and it has been proposed to me that the principal of them should be apprehended and secured. I opposed that for many reasons, but one in stead of every other; that it would be too nice and dangerous a point for us to set such a precedent, and that the necessity or propriety of it ought to come from the Administration. The rebels are come to Penrith, and we are told today that the most advanced party of them are on the Lancashire route to Kendal. It is not to be conceived, how frightful the hurry was in the City of York on Wednesday, while the apprehension was strong that they would take this road. They are a little quieted today by the hopes that they are turned toward Lancashire. If the next express differs from this, and they come this way, not a soul will stay in York that can move from it. If they plunder the City, the loss will be prodigious to the King's subjects, and yet perhaps even that would be better for the public than civil and cajoling usage from them. It is high time that a check was given to this insolence, but it will hardly be in the power of Wade to do it till they have advanced far into Lancashire, for they move with uncommon spirit and rapidity. Your Lordship is a far better judge than I am of the consequences of their getting York and Leeds in this road, or Manchester or Chester in the other. If I am rightly informed, Shrewsbury has shown an inclination to receive them. One thing I am quite sure of, that the attempts of a Militia or new raised forces to preserve these Towns are arrant folly.

Every sensible gentleman whom I converse with in this country sees this matter more in a light the most alarming, and if it be otherwise in London, it is an infatuation that will ruin us. I should think from some of my correspondents to day, that London is in great security, but for my part, I have so strong a sense of the public danger, as Wade is so far off, and so fatigued and encumbered, and Ligonier not come much forward, that, had I my Royal Master's ear, I should think it the duty of an honest man and good subject to tell him that his crown was in danger of being shaken, and that whoever at this juncture could give him contrary advice, either knew nothing as he ought to know, or meant to betray him. This is warm, my Lord, but uttered in no spirit of fear, but from the clearest and strongest evidence.

As to my own safety for the present, I will stay till the last moment, and if any scheme of defence of any likelihood can be formed, I will share in the common danger. If not, I know of no duty that obliges me

to run the hazard of being knocked on the head, or taken prisoner. I stand ready to escape at half an hour's warning, and shall endeavour to do so. This upon supposition that these ruffians take the York road. If they take the other, I am determined to fix my abode and wait the fate of, and as I may, serve, my country here. I have taken the best method I could think of to persuade the Lord Mayor, if he cant stand it out, to fly rather than submit to proclaim the Pretender.

I am, my Lord, your ever obliged and faithful friend,

THO : EBOR :

This morning Nov<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup>.

Express from Leeds brings certain intelligence that the vanguard of the Highland Army was on Thursday night at Kendal.

Lord Irwin is settled in the E. Riding and sends me word they are securing the persons of the Papists.

## XXVI.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24 1745.

My Lord,—I submit the paragraph under which I have drawn lines in the enclosed letter to your Lordship's consideration. It is a written letter sent hither every post to the Lord Mayor, and passes for their Gospel in politics. It is a very bad passage, and my Lord Duke of N. may possibly think it right to prevent the poison of it. Surely if it be false, it ought to be contradicted by Authority.

I trouble your Lordship too with an account from Sedbergh of the march and figure of these tatterdemalions, which, if true, would give a very contemptible notion of the well affected people in Scotland, and shows them as hardly worthy the notice of an English army. And yet, my Lord, this is not a time to lessen our sense of danger.

Our apprehensions here are gone, and for aught I know, York may for the ensuing month be one of the quietest towns in England, which, after a few sleepless nights, will be a great consolation to,

My Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate and faithful servant,

THO : EBOR :

If your Lordship please, send the enclosed story of the march to my brother of Chichester.

Wade is expected at Boroughbridge on Wednesday or Thursday.

## XXVII.

*The Same to the Same.*

Dec<sup>r</sup> 4. 1745.

My Lord,—Give me leave to thank you for your last most obliging letter. While the rebels were in the North, I might possibly sometimes give your Lordship some little new or more particular intelligence than you met with in public. The scene of action is now removed, and no

occurrences happen here at all worth your Lordships notice. Wade came on Monday night to Boroughbridge; halted there yesterday, and moves to Wetherby to day. I hear they have done encamping, and their troops are to be cantoned in the towns hereabouts. Fifty Swiss came last night to York. Mr Hill, my chaplain, who dined yesterday with Wentworth, brings a very good account of the health and spirits of the men, who are under no other apprehensions of fear, but from being sent back again into Scotland, and put upon the hard, and indeed intolerable service of encamping. Some of them have deserted, owing to a foolish report, conveyed to the army by Vane of Raby Castle, that all Lancashire was in arms for the Chevalier. Sure this could not be malice, but it might very well be folly in the reporter. Oglethorpe breakfasted with me, yesterday; as he travels in character, he filled my yard and my house with troopers and hussars, who were prodigiously welcome to my ale and bread and cheese. He complained much of the Dutch, and ascribed the start of our horse to a march to Newcastle at their solicitation, when they could have gone to Hexham directly through Durham, without any inconvenience at all. I heard afterwards that the people below stairs were free in their censures upon them, and speak of them broadly, as a dead weight upon our army, and a set of slothful, dirty, dastardly, pilfering fellows, and indeed Ogle told me, that if only our own people (with the Swiss, of whom all speak well) had been to march, they could easily have been at Manchester on Monday. I only hint these things to your Lordship, who I dare say thinks with me, that England can never be properly defended but by Englishmen. I thank God, they are all such in the D[uke's] army.

Last night eleven fellows were lodged in the Castle. One of them is a gentleman of Northumberland, Clavering by name; the rest are inferior people, one in the D. of Cumberland's livery, his servant in Flanders, another servant to the Lord Kilmarnock's son. They were pushing to their friends in Cheshire, but alarmed the town of Penrith with demanding billets for 1000 men, and went through to Lowther Castle. There they purposed to spend the night, but the militia in Penrith took heart, forty of them followed the gentlemen, attacked them in the house and stables, from whence the rebels fired, and took them, wounded three, eight escaped, among whom was Kilmarnock's son. They took all their horses.

I find Sir Rowland Winn has informed the D. of N. of the doings of one Burton, a physician in York.<sup>6</sup> He is in confinement in the Castle. His character of the worst sort, as to affection to the Government; his journey to Hornby Castle, where he said he was taken by the rebels, very unaccountable, and, as he explains it himself, full of dark and contradictory passages, two particularly of very strong marks of a good correspondence with them, for he sent up a letter to the Chiefs at the Castle, before they had attempted to seize him, and brought off a brace of geldings safe, each worth 20 guineas. This he owns himself. Mr

<sup>6</sup> The Dr. Slop of *Tristram Shandy*. Notwithstanding his excuses, he was detained in prison for fourteen months. His Jacobitism is sufficiently evinced by a curious pamphlet published at York in 1756 relating to a *fracas* between him and Mr. George Thompson of that city.

York has a small dialogue between him and Charles, which was literally as he delivered it to me and the Recorder. I enclose to your Lordship a letter he sent me from the Castle on Sunday night; I doubt it is the first time in his life that ever he made profession of serving K. George.

My Lord Mayor, I hope, is an honest Magistrate, though a weak one. As to the apprehension from the Pretender's having known that there were arms, I am told my Lord is clear of it, and that the caution dropped from Wood of Lincoln's Inn, who was at the consultation. I will endeavour to find the name of the Alamain Writer, and send it to your Lordship. But the Letter is forbidden for the future. I communicated in proper places your Lordships good account of the Fleet. The Whigs here are sometimes too violent, and take fire at stories of terrible appearance, but no reality. I make it my business to keep up their zeal but temper their prosecutions, and would willingly open my arms at this juncture to receive converted Tories. Your Lordship, I hope, knows better things. I do not like our intelligence from Scotland. Where are the nine, to one of the King's friends? But we hear little from thence, for the past is still under some interruption. I need not intimate to your Lordship that I gave no answer to Burton's letter, but that he was in the hands of the Civil Magistrate.

I am my Lord, your Lordships most obliged and faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Your Lordship will please preserve Burton's letter. Your Lordship should know Burton is a silly fellow of no mark or likelihood, and in my own mind I am in much doubt whether this journey of his had not as much or more folly than treason in it. He knows Perth and Maxwell, who was with Elcho at Hornby.

## XXVIII.

### *The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Dec<sup>r</sup> 11 1745.

My Lord,— . . . . Dr. Sterne<sup>7</sup> imparts a matter to the Duke by that post of real significancy, as it brings a proof that our physician D<sup>r</sup> Burton, so far as his influence reaches, is a dangerous and barefaced traitor, as well as he is a bad man. I think your Lordship has a letter of his, wrote to me out of the Castle, professing, in the most solemn manner, an attachment to K. George. How truly these professions were made, the information about him will leave out of all doubt. I am glad he has dropped the mask, for he was a sort of darling of the Party here, and had the direction of a printing press.

Your Lordship would laugh immoderately to see what a resort of people I have here every day. I can easily with a little self conceit fancy myself a kind of Lord President of the North. Now and then the Lords Lieutenants do me the honour to consult me upon their motions, and I have more than once been invited, by way of credit to the thing,

<sup>7</sup> Sterne's uncle, equally conspicuous as a politician and a pluralist: so ardent in the former capacity that, according to his nephew, he disinherited him for refusing to write paragraphs in the newspapers.



(God knows, as they say in Wales) to be present at a review. Expresses come to me with the previous alarm of a horn, from the North and South, and this very day I have had one officer from General Wentworth and another from Oglethorpe with intelligence. What they brought was what your Lordship knows by this time that Oglethorpe and a few hours after him the Duke had got to Preston yesterday, and Wade was marching to the North in three divisions, one by Richmond, the others by Darlington to Newcastle, where, the Officer told me, it was presumed the Dutch would stay, and the English march to Scotland, but that was conjecture. This Gentleman told me that the nobleness of the King to the poor soldiers in the shoes and stockings had been most wickedly abused, insomuch that neither of them, through the villainous job of the contractors, would last a soldier above a day, which, in the worst weather and marches, used to hold out a fortnight. This is horrible, and would mortify a good man exceedingly. The flannel from the Quakers is excellent. Here is a report, that four French transports have been taken and two sunk. I think I mentioned to your Lordship the irregularity of the Edinburgh post, though it has been open a long time, and it is certainly worth some attention to set it right.

I am ever, my Lord, your most faithful Friend,

THO: EBOR :

## XXIX.

*The Same to the Same.*

Bishop Thorpe Dec<sup>r</sup> 20 1745.

My Lord,—I enclose a copy to your Lordship of what I wrote today to Lord Malton by Sir Roland Winn. I did it in order to facilitate the execution of what the D. of Newcastle recommended to Lord Irwin with regard to our Yorkshire companies. There is no occasion for me to enter particularly now with your Lordship into every point of conduct with regard to our county forces and their application; I shall only say, that it was an infelicity to us, that they never could be put under the direction of some one head. For as the lords were distributed into their several Ridings, it was not possible to act, for reasons of distance, with that perfect steadiness and union which was to be desired. Besides that the irregular motions of the enemy, and their hanging so long on their march, over the skirts of the W Riding, the most considerable part of this County, made the councils and resolutions of our Gentlemen very fluctuating. These vermin have now passed our County again. I hope soon to hear that the defeat of their rear guard at Shap will be followed with the total destruction, if it please God, or at least dissolution of their whole force. The point now is to convert our companies to some immediate use to the public, and I will hope, if the Lords set earnestly about it, something may be done. I dare be confident the Lords will do their utmost, but as many of the new raised men are brought up to trades, and many of them sons of wealthy farmers, or such as in the country phrase are well to pass, it will be difficult to persuade them, unless their officers show them the example, which, I am told to day, many of them are inclined to do. As the turn of things has made me a

little confident by them, every ounce of weight that I have shall be employed to serve my Master. Lord Irwin has done us the honour with his seven companies to come to York. They were reviewed in my neighbourhood to day. I walked along their ranks with their colonel, and everybody says they were a set of fine fellows and performed their exercise to admiration. Their Captain did me the honour to dine yesterday at Bishop Thorpe. I am glad your Lordship approved of the cautious step of the Lord Mayor with regard to the gun.

I am ever, my Lord, your Lordships most obliged & faithful

THO: EBOR:

XXX.

*The Same to the Same.*

Decr 23 1745.

My Lord,—I send your Lordship a second letter which regards the disposition of our country forces, and hope what is proposed in it will not interfere with the contents of the D. of Newcastles last express to the Lords Lieutenants. Lord Irwin and his friends seem to think it right, and as Lord Scarborough did me the honour to breakfast with me this morning on his way to Hull, I showed it him, and have his approbation. His visit was so long, that I have only time to assure you that I am ever,

My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful

THO: EBOR:

All is safe yet, but I wish the D. had given over his pursuit of these Highwaymen.

XXXI.

*The Same to the Same.*

York Decr 23 1745.

My Lord,—Since I wrote to your Lordship in the morning I received the two enclosed letters. They amazed and grieved me much, and as my situation and concern in this business makes it necessary for me to do something, I really dont know what to do. I will endeavour to get as good a meeting at Pomfret as may be on Monday, where it will be, as of great moment, so of the greatest consolation in the world to meet the D. of Newcastle's and your Lordship's secretaries. If you approve of it, let them be directed to Lord Malton, with a copy for my private use, and by all means let a disbanding be prevented. I can neither describe nor conceive the hurt of such a measure here in this county, and such is the opinion of all the sensible gentlemen to whom I have imparted it. Your Lordship may be assured, that I will say or do nothing in this affair in the interim, but in consultation with Lord Irwin, Sir Conyers d'Arcy, and other gentlemen of the first weight. Indeed, my Lord, our friends must be advised rightly from above.

I am, my Lord, your Lordships most faithful friend,

THO: EBOR:

Perhaps the directions his Grace of Newcastle honours us with should be sent to the three L<sup>d</sup> Lieutenants in conjunction.

## XXXII.

*The Same to the Same.*Bishop Thorpe Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> 1745.

My Lord,—At the meeting on Monday, of which I gave your Lordship an account as soon as it was up, it appeared upon enquiry into the fund, that about two thousand pounds of the first call was in arrear, and little come in of the second, so it was pretty obvious and easily agreed to that nothing more should be done at present than publishing the enclosed advertisement. By this means, the business of disbanding and recruiting the King's army are *res integra*. I foresee by what dropped in the debate, that it may be made a question, whether the trust reposed in the Lords Lieutenants will justify the applying the subscription money by way of bounty, but this and every other consideration must be postponed till the subscription comes in, for if that fail, down drops every scheme at once. Though possibly some of the fellows may then be persuaded to 'list, and the officers will endeavour it, yet it must be considered that the greatest part of these men are above being common soldiers, and all of them 'listed for country service under a promise from the gentlemen that they should not be put under military discipline, or sent to the army. As these troops were raised here, with such uncommon generosity, and sure to great purpose, as the County has been preserved in perfect peace, it is my aim, and as they give me permission to speak what I think, it was my instruction to my friend at Pomfret, that for their own popularity and the public good, to which they are the sincerest friends, they would take care to dismiss these troops in such a manner that they may return home in the best humour, and be ready to engage again if ever they were called out on such an occasion, and at present we consider that danger is far from being over. Lord Scarborough with his regiment had got as far as North Allerton on march to the Marshal's army, but was countermanded. The corps is reckoned a good one, is regimented, and the only reason the Marshal gave against receiving them was that Newcastle was too full already; but they might have been cantoned near. The Marshal rejected too ten good men that offered themselves at Boroughbridge, because they were raw men. That is not understood here.

I wish your Lordship joy of the Royal Duke's conduct, which has gained the hearts of all this part of the world. We only lament his not overtaking these villains, which seems owing to some infelicities. Lord Higham is returned to his father, and the Earl is easy. He brought him to me at Pomfret on purpose to tell me the tale of his expedition, which the boy did very sensibly and gracefully, with one particular which the boy did not apply but I did. It was the answer of an old Highlander to the question, Why he brought his son, who was not above fourteen years, into the rebellion? The old fellow said:—'The laddie wonot stay at home, but his spirit was up, as soon as he heard the bagpipes.'

I enclose to your Lordship, to be conveyed, if you please, to the D: of N. a minute from Sir Rowland Winn. He desired, and it was not possible for me to decline it. The Duke knows his importance in this

county, and his steady and useful activity for the King. Pray God send your Lordship and the noble Duke a happier year than the last.

I am, My Lord, your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

XXXIII.

*The Same to the Same.*

Jan<sup>y</sup> 6 1745<sup>g</sup>.

My Lord,—It is easy to foresee that this Ministry will have many applications of the sort enclosed from Sir Rowland, as well as others, and I was very averse to beginning the trouble, but Sir Rowland's consequence in this county and his attachment to the King and his friends made it impossible for me to decline it. Will your Lordship give me leave through your hands to congratulate Lady Hardwicke on the removal of those ruffians by the activity of the Royal Duke; though my Lady would have had a fine opportunity of observing their descent from Highgate had they reached the capital, which I doubt would have been agreeable to the curiosity of some ladies. I hope in God, now they are there, effectual means will be found to keep these wolves locked up in their mountains, for in truth, should they get loose again, and overrun the country, despair and dejection of spirit would hurt the King much more than disaffection. The well affected in Scotland, from some of whom I hear often, grow extremely uneasy again, and complain of a want of Lieutenancies, of which I dont know the meaning. Our dragoons are in the highest contempt with these rascals, runaways are their constant language, and the boys and old women hiss them. I doubt their credit is sunk too in this country, since the infamous behaviour at St<sup>t</sup> George's, and Blanes at Clifton. That is our account, which I hope the aid de camp knows to be a false one. We are told they are mostly Scotch and Irish, and their misbehaviour, added to our just fears of the Dutch, is matter of some uneasiness to honest people. It is certainly a felicity that Wade did not engage.

Our castle is being full of prisoners, and of so low and dirty a sort, that when the wind sets fair, I can almost fancy that I smell them, as they do the hogs at a distillery. They are so many, that people begin to be apprehensive of them. Part of Oglethorpe's Georgians (he left a hundred here under a terrible captain) are appointed guard, for the Gentlemen of the County have not the best opinion of the Jailor, how justly I cannot say. However, so many persons ought to be well watched. Your Lordship will I am sure forgive me, if I suggest that Ibbotson of Leeds be thought a proper person for High Sheriff at a time that may be full of important business. He is young, healthy, rich, active for the king, prudent, and would like the office.

May the new year arrive upon us with peace and healing in its Wings!

I am, my Lord, your Lordships ever most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

## XXXIV.

*The Same to the Same.*Jan<sup>y</sup> 21 1745.

My Lord,—It is always matter of the highest satisfaction to me to find your lordship pleased with the situation of our public affairs, for then I am sure we are in a safe, at least hopeful way, and such as every honest and understanding man in the kingdom would wish. Mr Yorke is extremely good to me, in often obliging me with parliamentary views, and I dare say your Lordship will easily believe me, when I say I like the relation of things the better for his being the relator. I do in truth receive particular satisfaction in considering the part which he does bear, and the part that, in a course of years, he is like to bear in that great assembly.

The present system of politics, in having a proper regard to the affairs abroad, is very acceptable here, and there is the utmost confidence, that we shall neither overlook our concerns at home, nor stretch ourselves beyond our line, nor help those who will not help themselves. We are in hopes every day of good news from Scotland, and to hear of the arrival of the Hessians, for the Dutch are become extremely odious, and indeed hurtful to the country, and I am very well assured that in towns where their sick have been left, in Leeds particularly, they have spread very mortal distempers.

The Kings friends here are universally pleased with the nomination of our new High Sheriff. He dined with me today, and I find did not want the hint your lordship mentioned. He changes the Jailor for good reasons, and will set himself to the execution of his office with great alacrity, and I hope equal prudence. The prisoners here are many, and under the care of Oglethorpe's Georgians at present. If they should be withdrawn, Mr Ibbotson is apprehensive that he should want a military guard to supply their room. I doubt that could not be supplied here, for both the City and County forces will soon be disbanded. The money for the support of the first is almost at an end, and some people think there has been too much dilatoriness used in not disbanding the other some time ago. That is the point which indeed keeps me in the country, and I would willingly contribute to put an happy and popular end to this business. Lord Malton is in London, Sir Conyers not well, and wants much to be there, so that to be sure the county forces will soon be disbanded. There will be then a residue of eight thousand pounds or more in cash; that according to the resolutions at the first meeting should be returned to the subscribers, but if the gentlemen at a public meeting will come into it, I should think the best use of it will be that (and I have more gentlemen of the same opinion) which his Grace of Newcastle has intimated as agreeable to His Majesty and useful to the public, recruiting the King's Army. There is one objection to that stirring in the country, viz. that by advancing bounty moneys you dont benefit the public, but the recruiting officers; an objection that does not weigh with me, for I think it ungenerous, and, in spite of it, shall do what I can to promote the measure, but I think it ought to go with the public approba-

tion. For I am extremely solicitous, and think the nation is in some degree interested in it, that the Yorkshire affair be concluded with as much good temper and popularity as it begun. I have no interest in it at all but for that single consideration, and, but for that reason, would not have pestered your Lordship, at this time of infinite business, with my thoughts about it. M<sup>r</sup> Ibbotson tells me that six of their blue coats have listed into Barretts regiment, and I hear many more are disposed to do it. I wish our gentlemen may be able to make the King a present of 1000 men. I acquainted Sir Rowland with your Lordships goodness to him and his brother, and my own acknowledgments go along with theirs. I accept the noble colonels apology for the dragoons with great pleasure. The D. of Richmond had set me right in it before. I own it would mortify me to hear such men are in any sort of apprehension from a gang of thieves.

I saw poor Oglethorpe last night in York. He looks dismally, and I judged of the sore place by his falling instantly upon the affair of Shap.

I am ever, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obliged and faithful servant,

THO : EBOR :

The Secretary of States answer to the Popish Memorial is an excellent thing. Lord Irwin sent me word he had wrote to my Lord Duke of Newcastle with a proposal to form the men of his Riding into a regiment, but I fancied it would be at present an impracticable thing, as I suppose is so.

I was in hopes I could have regulated my Scotch correspondence without troubling your Lordship, but in fact I find I can't. My Northern letters go from Berwick to London, and back to York by Berwick. If an exception could be procured as to my letters at the Post Office at Berwick, I would make no ill use of the indulgence.

XXXV.

*The Same to the Same.*

Jan<sup>r</sup> 23 1745<sup>g</sup>.

My Lord,—We have had large accounts of the disappointments at Falkirk. It gives me some concern (as I hear it was known in town on Monday) that no history of the day has come from the Government. Our story is bad enough in all conscience, but this silence above makes one suspect more. That event proves if the enemy is not too brave or too numerous for us, he is at least too cunning, and it is for them an happy issue, of what here is appearance of an ignominious flight. I am not particular in my opinion, but from laying circumstances together I always thought, though I dared not declare it, that there was more of art than fright in their retreat out of England, and have thanked God twenty times that they did not turn upon the Duke, and it is a fact most certain, that they traversed Scotland more like conquerors than fugitives, and are now in great strength and credit, and though I dont believe the report which makes them twelve thousand, I am very much afraid those dont know their precise number who, one would wish, did. The behaviour

of Hamiltons dragoons is quite intolerable, and I have pretty good authority to say, that but three of all the foot regiments did their duty, and that some of them did not stand to fire once. It is a certain fact that the runaway dragoons, who have been the hissing and scorn of old women these three months, were at the gates of Edinburgh by eight o'clock on Friday evening, though the battle did not end till after six. I am afraid of meddling, but I cannot help observing to your Lordship on this occasion the ill conduct of the Gazette. It is certainly of public importance that that paper dont lose its credit. It has been found much fault with here, and yesterday more particularly, when people read there, that the whole body of the rebels was in the utmost panic and confusion at Stirling on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and on the 14<sup>th</sup> it appears they were in condition to attack and drive the King's whole forces.

I enclose a strange letter received yesterday from Ireland. The anonymous is ignorant, but I doubt speaks the true spirit of Popery, and shows they are making observations. Since that new incident from the North, I would beg leave to crave your Lordships judgment as to our county troops. I have by this post intimated to Sir Conyers, and Sir Rowland, and Lord Irwin, that the disbanding scheme had better be suspended, but if his Grace of Newcastle pleases to advise that still, and recommend the experiment of recruiting the King's army, I will with pleasure pursue those directions, but I fancy the Duke would mean it should be done with the approbation and good temper of the County, not otherwise. God forbid the story of a rising in Sussex should be true. It is not yet known here publicly, when it is, if it prove true, one would rather augment, if possible, than disband the county forces, for though they cannot oppose a regular force, they will employ indigent and idle people, awe the Papists, and are more than a match for any home commotions.

I am ever, My Lord, your Lordships most faithful and affectionate

THO: EBOR:

I am quite sensible of the impropriety of my meddling in these military matters, but as one Lord Lieutenant is in London, another laid up with the gout, and a third, to speak plainly, sick of the service, all differing in opinion, and all referring to me, I will do my best with my Lord Duke's and your Lordship's directions. The fund will maintain through three months.

I trouble your Lordship to turn over just to say that Count Nassau dined with me here yesterday; that he seemed aghast at the Scotch news; that he is coming to London for instructions, having left provisional orders for his lieutenant in case of danger. He blames Wade much for his halting so long at Leeds and Wakefield at the retirement of the rebels, and Wade, I have heard, lays as much blame on him. He said he was ready for action at all times and places. His men are recovering apace, and he told me 300 quartered at Guisborough in Cleveland were well, and, what I was pleased to hear, very acceptable to the people there. It was chiefly at Leeds that I heard they were much otherwise. Your Lordship will please to preserve the Irish letter.

N.B.—Wade and other officers of the old Army were grown sluggish and timid. The Duke's activity and mettle put another spirit into them.

## XXXVI.

*The Same to the Same.*Wetherby, Jan<sup>r</sup> 26 1745<sup>g</sup>.

My Lord,—Just before I sat down to dinner to day the Kings messenger came in with notice that the Duke would be here to night. I ordered my coach immediately to pay my duty to his R. Highness, and got here by six, about ten minutes before him. He is going to lie down for an hour or two, and does me the honour to take my coach to Boroughbridge about one in the morning. After I had kissed his hand and wished him a good journey, I took the liberty to desire him to take care of himself, and intimated, that we wanted no proof of his spirit and intrepidity.

My good friend the Colonel has just parted with me. He seems extremely well; is as confident as a modest man should be of success, and talks of the ragged enemy with a very cool contempt. I pray God grant that this expedition may put an entire stop to the mischief of this diabolical crew. That this harassed nation may come to itself again and enjoy a little, I mean a lasting repose. I have troubled your Lordship so much lately that I am ashamed to pester you by this post.

I am My Lord, ever your Lordships most faithfully,

THO: EBOR:

By my last intelligence from Edinburgh I learn that my friend Sir Arch<sup>d</sup> Grant brings up all his children Jacobites, and that one Jack, whom your Lordship once mentioned in a letter, is a man to be trusted with great caution. *Gens infida!*

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*The Records of the Commissione Feudale in the Neapolitan Archives.*

A COLLECTION of very great interest is that contained in the Archivio di Stato at Naples, in the division 'Interno,' section 'Commissione Feudale.' It comprises 96 printed volumes and over 5,000 bundles of manuscripts, all easily handled when once the key to the system has been discovered. They constitute the fundamental record of titles to land throughout what was formerly the kingdom of Naples, and are daily referred to by Neapolitan lawyers and a small staff of officials.

The history of this remarkable collection of documents is shortly as follows: In 1806 Joseph Bonaparte and Masséna drove King Ferdinand out of his kingdom of Naples. Napoleon's brother was shortly afterwards proclaimed king, and immediately began to reform the institutions of the country in accordance with the French system. Feudalism, though nominally suppressed a few years earlier, was still in full force,<sup>1</sup> and there was a congestion of

<sup>1</sup> See among other authorities Zurlo's *Rapporto* for 1808.



feudal litigation between the barons and the *università* or townships. One of the chief objects of Joseph and his ministers was to abolish extravagant feudal rights, to redeem reasonable ones, to free commerce and communications, and to transform customary occupation and long tenures into free peasant proprietorship. But to follow a strict legislative course of reform would clearly have been nugatory. The Neapolitan lawyers, according to Giannone and Ammirati, were the most subtle feudal lawyers in Europe, and there were already cases pending that had been in dispute before the numerous tribunals for very many years, in some cases for centuries. Merely to add new laws to those already existing would obviously have been pouring oil on the flames. Decrees were therefore issued, the first during the reign of Joseph Bonaparte, the last during that of his successor, Joachim Murat, constituting a special feudal commission. This court was to decide finally and without appeal all actions concerning feudal rights which were then pending before any tribunal, or which might be begun before it. It was to base its decisions on the laws of the French kings, regardless of all precedent, and these decisions were to be final. In cases of great complication, where endless delay might be expected, Count Zurlo, Joachim's able minister of the interior, instructed the court that it was to find some short cut to a conclusion that should do reasonable justice to both parties.

The feudal commission, presided over by Dragonetti, came into existence in December 1808,<sup>2</sup> and concluded its labours in 1811. During that period it disposed of over 5,000 cases, represented by the bundles of manuscripts now in the Archivio di Stato under the general heading 'Interno, 41, Commissione Feudale.' In view of the importance of the work of the court as resettling so many titles to land it was decided to place the record in print. In 1808 a beginning was made of printing the decisions in a series of volumes entitled *Bollettino delle Sentenze emanate della Suprema Commissione per le liti fra i già Baroni ed i Comuni*, and *Supplimento del Bollettino della Commissione Feudale*, Napoli, 1808-1859; 72 vols. 8vo. In addition to this the publication was begun in 1858, but was abandoned in 1867 at the letter L of the *Bollettino delle Ordinanze de' Commissarj Ripartitori de' Demanj ex feudali e comunali nelle Province dei R.R.DD. al di quà del Faro. In appendice degli atti eversivi della feudalità*, Napoli, 1858-1867, 24 vols. 8vo. These last-named volumes are a collection of reports made by the travelling commissioners of the feudal commission, among whom was that eminent jurist D. Winspeare, who has left some account of these matters in his useful book *Storia degli Abusi Feudali*. These 96 volumes are not to be found, so far as I know, in any library

<sup>2</sup> Decree, 3 Dec. 1808.

outside Naples; neither the British Museum nor the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a copy. The working key to the whole collection is vol. lxxii. (consecutive numbering); from this as a starting point every volume and every bundle of manuscripts can be conveniently handled.

The extraordinary range of the feudal rights covered in these cases may be partly realised from the two following facts: (1) that many of the bundles of manuscripts contain documents carrying titles back as far as original grants by the Norman dukes (for instance, *Supplimento*, xxxii. 12), and (2) that Zurlo ordered a schedule to be printed of 1,400 feudal rights specifically abolished under decrees of Joseph and Joachim. This list is now rare to find, but is reproduced in Winspeare's *Abusi Feudali*, where it may be readily consulted.

I have made partial use of this collection for the limited purpose of ascertaining the conditions existing at the period of the French conquest in 1806, but there is ample and apparently untouched material here for students more directly interested in the study of feudalism and the growth and character of feudal rights.

R. M. JOHNSTON.

## *Reviews of Books*

*Les Celtes depuis les Temps les plus Anciens jusqu'en l'An 100 avant notre Ere.* Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE. (Paris : Fontemoing. 1904.)

THIS little volume of 220 pages contains a course of lectures given recently at the Collège de France. Its subject is excellently described by its title : it summarises the history of the two branches of the Celts, the Goidels and the Brythons, or Gallo-Britons, down to the epoch when they come within the range of Roman influences and conquests. In the main it is an etymological study of proper names, combined with scattered facts known to us through archæology or written history, and it ought to be reviewed by a Celtic scholar rather than by a student of Roman history. It is, however, a summary restating in clear, terse fashion of the results obtained by its distinguished author in previous and larger works, and suitably to its character it is provided with few footnotes or references. It may therefore be permitted me to say that, so far as I can judge, it provides an admirable account of an obscure and difficult topic, and deserves the notice of those concerned with the Roman Republic. It also opens pleasant *aperçus*, as in the suggestion (p. xi) that 'there is probably much more Gaulish blood in Germany than in France,' reinforced, half a page further on, by the suggestion that, conversely, there may be more German blood in France than in Germany.

For English readers it may perhaps be interesting to indicate briefly what this pre-eminent Celtic scholar thinks the most probable account of the Celts in early Britain, though some of it is not unfamiliar. Two waves of Celts washed over Britain. The first, of Goidels, arrived in the bronze age about 800 B.C., in search of Cornish tin to make their bronze. They settled in both England and Ireland, and finding both agreeable, they named them the Equally Agreeable Islands, *Cassiteras*. Hence the product of Cornwall, tin, came to be called *κασσίτερος*, just as copper got its name from Cyprus. The second wave, Gauls of the Belgic stock, came six centuries or so later, somewhere about 150 B.C. They can be distinguished from the Goidels not only by well-known philological differences, but also by their habit of wearing pantaloons (*bracæ*). Their language was adopted by the Goidels and other inhabitants (if any) whom they found in England. Goidelic survived only in Ireland. England was Brython : even the Picts and the Silures, who have been considered fragments of pre-Celtic races, must be classed as Brythonic. But some

Goidelic elements survived, notably the whole Druidic system and the worship of the deities Nodons (at Lydney) and Brigantia (in north Britain). I will risk one or two criticisms on these views. And first one may doubt whether even MM. d'Arbois de Jubainville and Reinach have really solved the etymology of *κασσίτερος*. Their theory is quite possible. But if, as the book before me says (p. 19), the Phoenicians had already exploited the Cornish mines before the Goidels came, the name for tin should be Phoenician and not Celtic. And if the British Isles were once called *Cassiteras* it is strange that we have no other trace besides a Greek name for tin. Thirdly, the scanty archæological evidence hardly seems to justify either Phoenician trade or Cornish mining so early as B.C. 800. Indeed, I think the archæological evidence might be more fully regarded in a treatise which comes down to B.C. 100. The Late Celtic art had then arisen. Sites like the Glastonbury lake village were then inhabited, though the persistent omission, by those concerned with this village, to publish the results has so far made this particular discovery useless to science. In detail let me add that the list of the Brigantia inscriptions on p. 35 is incomplete, and one of those cited is needlessly put in Caledonia; the invasion of western Britain by the Irish can hardly be as early as the third century; the 'Periplus' of Avienus cannot safely be attributed to Himilco (p. 81), and the statement that the emigration from Noricum Ripense included only the rich (p. 134) does not fit the phrases of Eugippius.

F. HAVERFIELD.

*The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero.* By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. (London: Methuen. 1903.)

THIS is a book of great learning and painstaking accuracy. Mr. Henderson has not only made himself acquainted with all that has been written on the subject in ancient and modern times, but he has brought to the study of these materials independence of judgment and a vivid historic imagination. The style, which at first seems somewhat cumbrous, brightens up as he advances; and when he has to deal with striking episodes, such as the murder of Britannicus or of Agrippina, or the campaign of Corbulo, the writer's language takes fire and carries us along all the more completely because of a certain self-restraint which is never wholly lost. Military details are more than usually clear, and we know no better account of the Armenian question and Parthian war, or of the Jewish and British revolts. In the latter in particular the writer has taken an independent line, differing from Mommsen in maintaining that Suetonius did not remain at Chester, but marched on London, and from other authorities in placing the battle with Boadicea near Wroxeter rather than between London and Colchester. That he has proved this it would be too much to say, but he has at least made it appear probable by a narrative which is both reasonable and picturesque. The account of Nero's Italian and provincial administration is instructive, though to our mind too favourable to the emperor; but the discussion of his finance is less complete and certainly minimises its failure. The notes, which with appendices and bibliography occupy eighty-four pages, might in many

cases have been more conveniently placed at the foot of the page. They contain a full citation of authorities, with shrewd and often amusing comments. We do not always agree with them, but we are always interested. We are quite unable, for instance, to accept his interpretation of *qui fatebantur* in the celebrated Tacitean account of the Christian martyrs.<sup>1</sup> The confession seems to us clearly to refer to Christianity and not to incendiarism. We hold that this view is supported by the general run of the passage and by the similar language of Pliny, besides being in itself infinitely more probable and reasonable. If, as Mr. Henderson assumes, the fire was accidental, or if it was begun by agents of the emperor, why should they confess to incendiarism? Nor does it seem likely that vague talk about the day of judgment should have been mistaken for a confession of such a crime. Not even to extenuate Nero's revolting cruelty, by giving him the credit for an honest mistake, can such an interpretation be admitted.

This naturally leads us to the criticism of the book which will most generally be made and will probably excite the greatest interest. Mr. Henderson disclaims holding a brief for Nero, nor does he deny most of the actions or personal habits commonly attributed to him. Nevertheless the book is practically a vindication. He dwells again and again upon his early years, the golden *quinquennium*, his fair promises to the senate, the sagacity of his provincial administration, the stern repression of dishonest or tyrannical government in the provinces, his wise modification of fiscal burdens, the absence of executions at Rome, and the discouragement of informers, his insight in selecting able men and successful officers, his courage and resourcefulness in confronting dangers in east or west. We are asked to believe that a boy of seventeen, without previous training or experience, suddenly developed a surprising genius for government, and for six years carried out the administration of a great empire with a success and a skill which would have done honour to the most accomplished veteran. Yet during these years of early manhood and of able rule occurred the cold-blooded murders of the young Britannicus (poisoned under the emperor's eyes at his own table), of his mother in circumstances of nameless horror, and of his aunt, soon to be followed by that of his neglected and persecuted wife. Nor were these things accompanied by any conspicuous devotion to imperial business. His passion for music, the stage, and the circus—harmless in itself—seemed to absorb his best energies. The pleasures of the table, the vanity of the literary dilettante, the flattery of mistresses and favourites were more to him than affairs of state. And yet in the intervals of this serious pursuit of pleasure or art he ruled an immense empire with courage, sagacity, and success! We venture to think that, if it was so, we are contemplating a miracle almost beyond imagination.

The sober fact is that, like other princes, Nero has been credited with what belonged to his ministers. It is easy to point out Seneca's weaknesses, his sentimentalities and inconsistencies, but after all he was wise and humane; while Burrus seems to have been one of those men who serve the state without the reward of fame, with a steady, silent fidelity. Against him the voice of slander even in Rome was hushed, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Ann.* xv. 44.

change which followed his death is an eloquent testimony to what the empire had owed him. But let the fact that Nero was wise enough to leave business to them be set down to his sagacity rather than to his idleness: let the success of these five years even be credited to him alone. Still merely as an administrator there remains much to be said against him. If he selected Corbulo he practically superseded him by the incapable Paetus. If he lightened taxation, or arranged it more equitably, he reduced the treasury to bankruptcy and was fain to have recourse to that last measure of financial ineptitude, the debasement of the coinage. If he protected the interests of the provinces by the stern punishment of peccant governors, he does not seem to have had any foresight or taken any personal interest in them until his attention was roused by some scandal or disaster; at any rate neither in Germany, nor Britain, nor Judaea were his appointments or his policy successful. Still in attributing successes to the emperor and disasters to his ministers and generals Mr. Henderson perhaps does not go beyond other hero-worshippers.

Unfortunately this requires the depreciation of opponents and victims. 'Nero has served the empire, and no prejudice can deny the fact,' is his general comment upon the foreign policy of the reign. This makes up for everything. The cause of Rome is the cause of civilisation: its triumph is a triumph over barbarism, violence, and crime. He has only a sneer for nations 'rightly struggling to be free,' whether Jew or Briton. The cause of Rome is the cause of Providence, and Nero worthily upholds it. This being so, the writer naturally decries all who seek to end the rule of such a prince. It is the old excuse of a despot mild, merciful, and righteous soured by useless and causeless opposition. We may regret his subsequent severities, but the victims had unfortunately taken up a false position towards a beneficent ruler and suffered accordingly.

We, so tender in our humanity, so righteous in our indignation, cry aloud in wrath *at the little stream of death, mainly of rebels and traitors*, which flows at the bidding of a prince turned tyrant by the traitors' baffled scheming, and we shut our eyes to the great river of sacrifice and bloody warfare, which had its sole source in that prince's death.

This is Mr. Henderson's summing up of the case, in which he skilfully minimises his hero's atrocities by contrast with war (as has often been done in regard to the Reign of Terror in France), and by implying unworthiness in his victims. But to support his thesis he has first of all to include all kinds of people, likely and unlikely, in the Pisonian conspiracy, Seneca himself being hardly allowed his *not proven*. Corbulo, again—on whose merits he is almost lyrical in the account of the Parthian war—is curtly dismissed at p. 388, not indeed with a positive statement of his guilty connexion with another plot, but with a clear hint that such is the writer's opinion.

There was a plot, and Corbulo's son-in-law was its mainstay. Nero had reasons for suspicion against Corbulo and others. Corbulo confessed that he might have known what would happen [a rather forced construction, by the way, of the historic *ἄξιός*]. Corbulo and the others were made to die.

What Mr. Henderson calls the 'Neronian legend' he attributes to the necessity felt by the Flavian dynasty of blackening the last of the

Julian line, and to the vengeance of the Christians upon their first persecutor. But Vespasian's principate was modelled expressly on the rights secured by the Julians, and the worst that we know of Nero comes from writers who had no sympathy with Christianity. This conjectural interpretation cannot shake the opinion that the facts as we know them do not admit of Nero's restitution to the ranks of ordinary humanity. Excuses may be urged on the score of youth, artistic temperament, the corrupting influence of absolute power, the moral decadence of the age, the bloodthirsty temper of the people of Rome, and the like; but all of these put together cannot alter the conviction that in a cruel age Nero was supremely cruel, in a corrupt age supremely corrupt, among despotic rulers pre-eminent for the abuse of power in wreaking private vengeance. Mr. Henderson pleads that detestation of private vices should not blind us to a man's excellencies as a ruler. But were they *his* excellencies? When the period of good rule coincides with the presence of certain advisers, of whom otherwise we have reason to think well, and at their disappearance is changed to a bewildering scene of bloodshed, suspicion, and tyranny, we have some reason to dispute Nero's personal share in the earlier and better period.

Mr. Henderson holds that Nero was really averse to bloodshed and with refined Hellenic taste disliked the brutalities of the arena. His passion for the theatre and his appearances on the stage, which scandalised his contemporaries, may be dismissed with a smile of half scorn and half pity for a third-rate artist posing as a genius, but the effect of this Hellenic refinement in softening the heart received a strange comment from the burning bodies in his gardens. By an old Roman law arson was punishable by burning, and public sentiment would not have been shocked by these Christians suffering for their supposed complicity in the great fire. But the most callous of rulers have generally turned their eyes from the actual execution of their cruel sentences. What is the refinement worth that could think of them as adding grace to an appearance in gala costume before his people? Family murders, we suppose, must be passed over lightly. They have not prevented much Christian laudation of a Constantine and a Philip II. But it requires something more than irritation at a sentimental Stoic opposition to excuse a score of executions that stained Nero's later years.

Against these crimes we are bidden to set his public achievements: his generals secured Armenia, Britain, Judaea. We must pass over what can be said in favour of liberty in view of the blessings of Neronian rule. The Britons must be regarded as the merest savages, the Jews as fanatics whose tradition of independence was a foolish and criminal dream. Nationalist risings in Gaul are useless rebellion against the providential order of the universe. Yet, if we would try to see with the eyes of contemporaries, there is something to be said for those who did not feel that their highest interests were being served by the presence of Roman legionaries, with their usual train of public and private outrages, for which redress was always difficult and often impossible. Standing outside these events, and looking back on the track of world history, we may perceive that the benefits of Roman domination exceeded its evils. To the conquered and harassed nations it was not so evident. It was at

least of supreme importance to them that there should be a firm central authority, determined to secure to them, if not freedom, yet an equitable, a bearable servitude. Nero's contribution to this was the punishment of a few oppressive governors with infinitely lighter penalties than were inflicted for an unfavourable criticism of his poetry or his voice, for an injudicious admiration of historical heroes, or for the possession of property worth confiscating. The celebrated grant of 'freedom' to Achaia was a freak of sentimentalism as injudicious as it was illusory. Personal vanity, the vanity of the third-rate artist and minor poet, had more to say to it than any gleam of statesmanship or any generous admiration for a once great people.

It will take more, in short, than such a measure, even with the addition of his promotion of the canal across the isthmus, which has been completed in accordance with his plans eighteen centuries after his death—it will take more than such evidence of foresight to convince us that the world has been wrong in attributing to Nero an incapacity and frivolity almost as marked as his viciousness and cruelty. When the danger arose which cost him his power and life, it is difficult to decide which was the more conspicuous—the want of any serious grasp of the situation or the want of courage in facing it. 'Such an artist too!' It was all that was wanted to make the grovelling wretch as ridiculous as he was odious. To relieve his memory of much that has made it an object of execration, Mr. Henderson has to adopt several well-known methods of whitewashing—denial of the facts, pleading evil influence, depreciating popular sentiment. Thus he scoffs at the story of the poisoning of Burrus and the fatal violence to Poppaea, both of which are regarded as true by all our authorities (though of the former Tacitus indicates a doubt). Other brutalities are attributed to the baneful influence of wife or minister rather than to the cruelty of the prince. Thus it was to the jealousy of Poppaea and the sinister influence of Tigellinus that Octavia was sacrificed; it was her own violence and ambition that were fatal to Agrippina; it was their unreasonableness sentimentalism that fixed the doom of the Stoics; it was their own want of caution joined to the ignorant passions of the mob that brought the Christians to the stake. In all such cases a clement and generous prince was acting against his natural inclinations. Lastly Mr. Henderson has a sneer ready for sentimental judgments in cases which now shock our common humanity. A conspicuous instance is his treatment of the story of the murder of Pedanius Secundus by one of his slaves, and the consequent execution, in accordance with an ancient law, of the whole household, amounting to 400 persons. This gives him the opportunity of deriding 'careless and hysterical tirades about the rights of man,' and of recording in complimentary or at any rate in complacent terms the emperor's firmness in resisting the popular demand for mercy, and in lining the road by which the 400 (men, women, and children) went to their death with imperial guards. No doubt Nero had with him in this case the feelings of the older and more conservative senators and the great mass of the men of property, who all owned slaves. No doubt laws are laws. There are some things, however, about which it is good to be even hysterical. Slavery is one of them, and above all Roman slavery. Mr. Henderson says: 'It is not to be doubted that very many slaves in



Rome had kind masters and lived happily enough. The very number and wealth of the freedmen prove that their chances of enfranchisement, as of riches, were not small.' This is an old paradox. In Rome the slave population largely exceeded the free. Of course there were kind masters, and of course the higher class of slaves, generally of Greek origin, being useful to their masters in a hundred ways, and possessing those accomplishments which ameliorate life, were apt from gratitude or convenience to be raised to a better status and to form a professional rather than a servile class. But such men, after all, were a small minority. The position of the great majority was miserable and hopeless. For the country slave there were shackles and the nameless horrors of the *ergastulum*; for all alike there was the chance of capricious cruelty for which there would be no redress, and of every kind of outrage from the rod to the scourge and the cross. It was not perhaps to be expected that Nero should rise above his age and show mercy; but neither was it worth while to regard it as a kind of princely magnanimity on his part 'sternly to rebuke' the threatening mob, the very existence of which shows that there was at any rate a widely spread dislike to such butcheries. It is the inevitable result of the wish to place such a man as Nero in as fair a light as may be that something must be done, not only to show that he was no worse than his contemporaries, but also that the worst institutions of his time have something to say for themselves.

Enough has been said on the points in which we differ from Mr. Henderson; a word must be added in conclusion on the excellences of the book. On the highly satisfactory nature of the chapters on the war in Armenia and in Britain we have already remarked; that on 'Philosophy and Pleasure' contains as good an account of Seneca's views as their nebulous nature admits, and there is a more than usually successful essay on 'Persius and Petronius.' The appendix on 'Christianity and the Government,' though containing some interpretations from which we dissent, is extremely able and remarkably concise, considering the great variety of views which the author discusses and the number of authorities to which he refers. The chapter which rests on these researches is less convincing. Perhaps it is impossible to formulate any account of early Christianity in Rome which would seem complete or self-evident. Mr. Henderson has done well to show the poverty of the evidence and the darkness which rests on the *origines* of Christianity. The appendix on the ancient authorities is in every way satisfactory. The illustrations, sixteen in number, are interesting. Among them are busts of Agrippina, Poppaea, Corbulo, Seneca, and six of Nero himself, which make it still more difficult to believe in his good looks or his good qualities.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

*Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Aurélien* (270-275). Par LÉON HOMO. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. lxxxix. (Paris: Fontemoing. 1904.)

THIS recent addition to the series of monographs published by the French Schools of Athens and Rome is the work of a scholar who has already contributed to the history of the third century A.D. a dissertation on Claudius Gothicus, to which the present volume forms

a natural sequel. We welcome it as a meritorious and painstaking study of a very important crisis in imperial history. The collection of inscriptions relating to Aurelian which is given in Appendix iii. is especially useful, and, so far as we can see, complete up to date; we should have been glad, however, to find greater consistency in the indication of details. Thus we find no note of the fact that Aurelian's name is erased in *C. I. L.* v. 4319 (Brixia), though a similar case in an inscription of Moesia (*C. I. L.* iii., suppl. 7586) is duly noted. The conventions of the *C. I. L.*, too, are not always strictly observed. The student of Aurelian's reign, however, while he must be grateful to M. Homo for his chapters, based as they are on a very thorough study of the monumental and literary sources, will not always find a decisive solution of the difficult problems which beset the historian of the third century. It may be well to note one or two such cases.

1. In the transformation of Roman society which, though consummated under Diocletian and Constantine, had long been in progress, an important landmark is furnished by the change in the position of the *collegia* or trade-guilds. From privileged bodies they gradually became transformed into corps of state servants, in which membership was hereditary and from which there was no escape—a development which exactly parallels that of the municipal senates. The final step seems (from the evidence of the Codex Theodosianus) to have been taken early in the fourth century; but there is good reason to think that Aurelian played an important part in paving the way. The evidence is to be found in a passage of John of Nikiou (p. 416, ed. Zotenberg) relating to the building of the walls of Rome, which appears to have escaped the notice of M. Homo. The great extension of the system by which food was distributed to the populace of the capital no doubt also led to the further regulation of the corporations in whose hands the supply lay, and it is probably true to speak of the reign of Aurelian rather than, with Liebenam, of that of Severus Alexander as marking an epoch in the history of these bodies. M. Homo does not discuss the question.

2. The precise nature of Aurelian's measures for the reform of the currency is exceedingly difficult to determine, and we can hardly blame M. Homo for his failure to produce a convincing solution of the problems involved. He writes, however, of the so-called *Antoninianus* in a manner which might seem to imply that no doubt existed as to the meaning and origin of the term, whereas the discussions of the question by Kubitschek (whom he does not name) and others have made it impossible to maintain the conventional view without due allowance for the conjectural nature of its foundation. Nor can we admit that M. Homo's view as to the relation between gold and silver coinage established by Aurelian (based on that of Mommsen) is tenable. It is not strictly true to say that the *Antoniniani* of 274 and later bear the mark of value 'XX or XXI,' which is explained as an approximation to the true value,  $20\frac{5}{8}$  (sc. *denarii*). XX·I is not to be explained as 21, but as  $20=1$ ; this is proved by the analogy of I·L. [50 aurei = 1 pound of gold] on the aureus Rohde, No. 25. The meaning of the equation involves a further question, but, however we answer it, M. Homo's view falls to the ground.

These instances will show that M. Homo's book cannot be said to satisfy all the demands which the student will make. We may also note that he assumes without discussion facts which cannot be called certain—*e.g.* that the Imperium Galliarum was no longer held by Victorinus on the accession of Aurelian, and that the title of Augusta (Σεβαστη) was borne by Zenobia previously to the convention of 270 between Rome and Palmyra. On the other hand, M. Homo shows that he is capable of a full and lucid exposition of disputed points—*e.g.* as to the separation of civil and military powers, pp. 145 sqq.; and we hope to see much valuable work from his pen on the obscure period which he has chosen as his subject of study.

H. STUART JONES.

*Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern.* Von D. KARL HOLL, A.O. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Tübingen. (Leipzig: Mohr. 1904.)

DR. HOLL, well known to students of patristic literature by his contributions to Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, as well as by other writings, has, in the course of preparing for a new and much needed edition of Epiphanius, been drawn into by-paths of doctrinal history, and one result is his conviction that historians have not made enough of the importance of Amphilochius of Ikonium.

Amphilochius, the cousin of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the intimate and trusted friend both of Gregory and of Basil, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting figures of an interesting period; and, in his brightly written account of the man's life and labours, Dr. Holl has succeeded in making him stand out even more clearly and strongly than Lightfoot did in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. He seems to us to establish his contentions in matters which have been previously disputed concerning Amphilochius—notably, let us say, in regard to the action taken by Amphilochius against the Messalians or Euchites. In the onslaught upon these strange ascetics Dr. Holl thinks that he was not, as Tillemont and Salmon and (more doubtfully) Bonwetsch have supposed, following the example of Flavian at Antioch, but rather the opposite; and his reasons appear to be adequate. But the importance of Dr. Holl's book lies not so much in his elucidation of points in the career of Amphilochius as in his contributions to the knowledge of Amphilochius as a writer. Hitherto, all that has been generally acknowledged as his are the *Iambi ad Seleucum*, an *Epistula Synodica* on the Macedonian controversy, and a number of *Fragments*. These fragments Dr. Holl has examined with a care which has never been exercised before, and the result is that a large proportion of them must cease to be regarded as coming from the hand of Amphilochius. But the reverse is the case with regard to the *Sermons* of Amphilochius. The critics have never been disposed to consider genuine the discourses ascribed to him in various collections. Lightfoot dismisses them 'all or most' of them as 'seeming to be spurious.' One point is interestingly brought out by Dr. Holl. It is that none of the extant *Fragments* is taken from any of the *Sermons* hitherto supposed to be by Amphilochius. This state of things is now changed. Dr. Holl has had the good fortune to discover in the library at

Munich one of the sermons from which extracts are given, as from Amphilochius, by Theodoret and by Facundus. It is a sermon on the prayer of our Lord in Gethsemane. The sermon is of importance as containing, worked out with greater elaboration—and perhaps more unattractively—than in any formerly known writing, the idea that our Lord feigned to be afraid of death in order to entice death or Satan to assail Him. With the help of this recovered sermon, Dr. Holl is in a position to vindicate Amphilochius's claim to the authorship of six of the other sermons. The grounds on which they have been condemned before are shown to be of a very slight character, and Amphilochius must henceforth take his place again as a considerable writer.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, Dr. Holl's researches have thrown light upon the antiquities of the Christian year. Amphilochius becomes the earliest witness for the festival of the Purification (2 Feb.) and of the *μεσοπεντηκοστή*, and makes it certain that Christmas (25 Dec.) had been lately introduced from Rome into Asia Minor.

The rest (more than half) of Dr. Holl's book is only of interest to the specialist in the history of doctrine; and here perhaps more exception might be taken to his conclusions. Although he points out how great was the debt of the Cappadocian divines to Origen—largely through the tradition established by Gregory Thaumaturgus—he does not sufficiently recognise that their teaching on the Trinity had very little novelty in it, and that such language as *μία οὐσία—τρεις ὑποστάσεις* had been used long before Basil was born.

A. J. MASON.

*Histoire de France.* Publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE.

Tome I. i. Tableau de la Géographie de la France. Par P. VIDAL DE LA BLACHE. Tome II. i. Le Christianisme, les Barbares, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens. Par C. BAYET, C. PFISTER, et A. KLEINCLAUSZ. Tome V. i. 1492–1547. Tome V. ii. 1519–1559. Par H. LEMONNIER. (Paris: Hachette. 1903–4.)

THE instalments published during the past academic session of M. Lavissee's co-operative *History of France* bring out with almost excessive clearness the wide view of the province of history which is a special characteristic of the modern French school. The first of the half-volumes before us is not narrowly 'historical' at all. In it M. Vidal de la Blache, the eminent professor of geography at the University of Paris, gives a very remarkable picture of the physical geography of France as the long-delayed first portion of the whole work. On the utility of such a geographical introduction to history it is needless to expatiate, and it is equally unnecessary to emphasise in any detail the masterly way in which M. Vidal has worked out in his most interesting and instructive volume the close relations between the soil of his country and its various inhabitants. Numerous and thoroughly workmanlike

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Holl may be glad to learn that a sentence from this sermon (Holl, p. 98, l. 21, foll.) is given without name in the string of comments on Luke xxii. 40 printed by Migne under the name of Dionysius of Alexandria. The compiler has changed the first person into the third, and substituted *θεικοῖς* (or his copyists and editors for him) for Amphilochius's *δειλοῖς*.

sketch maps break the general rule of the series against illustration, and lighten the not always easy task of following the closely packed details of M. Vidal's text. To many familiar with French historical writings this volume will seem written in what is to them almost a new language, and a larger knowledge of geology than falls to the lot of all students of history is desirable for its complete assimilation. It is perhaps permitted to confess that the present writer has found the descriptions easier to take in when they concern those parts of France with which he has fairly complete acquaintance than in those of which his knowledge is more superficial. And it may also be allowed to doubt whether M. Vidal has quite conclusively proved the thesis with which he starts his treatise, the doctrine namely that *La France est une être géographique*, whereby he strives to localise in scientific fashion Michelet's well-known dictum *La France est une personne*. After all, the characteristics of variety, the meeting-place of north and south, of ocean and sea, and so on, suggest that, like the nation itself, the lands which the French occupy are but assigned to them by a long series of historical accidents; and that the true geographical unity of France is more poetic than scientific.

The section of the history that, according to M. Lavissee's arrangement follows M. de la Blache's *Tableau Géographique* was, it will be remembered, the first portion of the work that was published. In it M. Bloch's elaborate account of Roman Gaul left out the whole history of early Christianity in France. This gap has been very capably supplied by M. Bayet, formerly M. Bloch's colleague at the University of Lyons, in the first chapter of the second volume now under review. But the forty pages thus absorbed in completing the former volume leave less than four hundred available for the whole history of France from the first barbarian settlements down to the accession of Hugh Capet, a period of nearly six hundred years. This is the one place where the admirable proportion generally observed in the series seems conspicuously to seek, and the result is that Merovingian and Carolingian times are dealt with in a fashion too brief and summary to be always satisfactory. The difficulty is made greater by the circumstance that M. Lavissee has here found it necessary to abandon the usual practice of assigning each half-volume to a single hand, and has called upon three writers to collaborate within its limits. M. Bayet, besides the chapter on Romano-Gallic Christianity, writes upon 'the Germans in Gaul,' carrying his story down to the death of Clovis. The same author has also written on 'the church, letters and art,' in the Merovingian period. Other aspects of Merovingian history are assigned to the historian of Robert the Pious, M. C. Pfister, of the Ecole Normale, who also treats of the 'last Carolingians' and 'the origins of the feudal system' in the last two sections of the volume. This apportionment leaves the mass of the book on the Carolingians to Professor Kleinclausz of Dijon. It is characteristic of the too restricted limits of space assigned to all three writers that M. Bayet allows less than two pages to the important problems involved in the British settlements in Armorica, that M. Pfister can only devote a chapter of fifteen pages to a whole century of Merovingian history, that M. Kleinclausz disposes in a little more than a page of the Breton monarchy and ecclesiastical reforms of Nomenoe,

and three pages to the whole ecclesiastical policy of Charlemagne. One advantage flows from this restricted treatment. Some of the still disputable doctrines which M. Kleinclausz emitted in his recent book on *L'Empire Carolingien*<sup>1</sup> are crowded out by sheer lack of space. There is no question of the authenticity of the letter of Louis II to the Emperor Basil when the relations of those two monarchs are altogether left out. We have searched in vain for a name so famous as that of Benedict of Aniane: but the absence of any index or detailed table of contents makes it hard to say whether the exploits of the monastic reformer may not lurk somewhere in the text. Under the circumstances, the writers are to be congratulated on emphasising the main outlines of their tale with so much force and spirit. Yet the best of editing will not make the work of three authors as much of an artistic whole as the book of a single writer.

With the two parts above described M. Lavissee's undertaking is completed from the earliest times to the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII. In the last two half-volumes now before us M. H. Lemonnier carries the story nominally to the death of Henry II, and in fact to the end of the sixteenth century for some aspects of his subject. It is rather a striking thing to an Englishman that the general history of the rivalry of France and Habsburg for Italy, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation, should have been entrusted by M. Lavissee to the professor of the history of art in the University of Paris and the Beaux-Arts, the editor of Louis Courajod's *Leçons*, and the author of *Les origines de l'art classique en France*. It ensures, at any rate, the artistic and literary side of the work being treated by a specialist of rare competence, whose contributions to these aspects of his study can only be criticised as sometimes going into detailed descriptions of individual works of art on a scale rather too extended for the purpose of these volumes. But we must hasten to add that the Reformation seems to us quite as competently dealt with as the Renaissance: while the ordinary political and military history, if not sketched in a very masterly or interesting fashion, is related with knowledge, intelligence, and sense of proportion. Perhaps it is in dealing with the relations of France to Germany or England or Switzerland, or even Italy, and also in some omissions as regards the bibliography of those sections, that one is most likely to realise that M. Lemonnier's main preoccupation is not 'history' in the old-fashioned sense of Ranke and Stubbs. The indications of this, though fairly numerous, are not of sufficient moment to be set down here.

M. Lemonnier, however, shows an utter disregard not only for chronology, but for his readers' convenience, in the arrangement of his matter. In V. i. M. Lemonnier begins, after the fashion of earlier volumes, with a succinct political history of the period 1492 to 1518 in a section labelled 'Les guerres d'Italie.' It is followed equally correctly by a book on the internal history of the same period, including a chapter on 'Les débuts de la Renaissance.' Then, for the rest of the half-volume, M. Lemonnier treats of the internal history, the 'social, intellectual, and religious evolution' of the whole reign of Francis I. It is hard to see how the average reader can take all this in, when he has not previously

<sup>1</sup> See *English Historical Review*, xviii. 344-6.

been informed of the political history of the period 1518 to 1547. The relations between political and intellectual history were never closer than in the age of the Reformation, and, as a matter of fact, M. Lemonnier has constantly to assume a knowledge of what he first published some months later in his second half-volume. Even when such knowledge is not necessary for comprehension, there are grave inconveniences in (*e.g.*) telling of Bourbon's revolt so far as it concerns France in one book, and so far as it concerns Charles V and Italy in another. Moreover V. ii. does not much mend matters. Though the earlier part of it only carries political history to the treaty of Le Cateau-Cambrésis, in the final and most excellent concluding portion dealing with 'la formation de l'esprit classique en France,' M. Lemonnier is forced, when treating of Montaigne and Goujon, Philibert de l'Orme and Cousin, Du Bellay, Ronsard, and the lesser stars of the Pléiade, to presuppose a general acquaintance with the reigns of the last three Valois kings. Things are made worse by the want of index and tables of contents, and still worse by some indications of carelessness in putting together the political chapters. Thus we are brought quite accidentally into contact with Clement VII, whose election is assumed, and whose family policy first comes in incidentally in such a fashion that only those who know him to be a Medici can be sure of it. The French general reader must be very much better informed than the English if such historical summersaults are permissible over the Channel. And even if they be, the method lends itself to a tendency towards detached essay writing rather than co-ordinated history, which is the bane of all joint-stock historical productions. From such faults M. Lavissee's collaborators have been as a rule so exempt that we may be permitted a complaint that some of them possess the defects of their qualities so long as we recognise at the same time the general high level of their work. It is, unluckily, not yet possible to write a general history of England for 'le grand public' in which such a broad view of history, as that which M. Lavissee takes, can be effectively upheld. And we must, it is to be feared, wait some time before we can find an English professor of geography able to prepare the way for our own history after the fashion of M. de la Blache, or an English professor of the history of art who is able to deal adequately with every aspect of the spacious days of the English Renaissance.

T. F. Tout.

*Alcuin: his Life and his Work.* By C. J. B. GASKOIN. (London: Clay. 1904.)

THE introductory chapters of this book, describing the schools of Wales, Ireland, and England, have the appearance of an afterthought, and give little or no information which is not to be found in standard works. Mr. Gaskoin is much more at home in dealing with the biography and literary work of Alcuin. His estimate of Alcuin's place in the history of thought is moderate and judicious. He has a due amount of sympathy for his hero's point of view, and at the same time acknowledges with perfect frankness the limitations of Alcuin's work and character. The sketch of Alcuin's theological position in chapter viii. may be specially commended for its accurate account of the Adoptionist contro-

versy, the most important in which Alcuin was concerned ; and although Mr. Gaskoin modestly disclaims the right to an independent opinion on the questions of liturgical and biblical criticism which he discusses in chapter x., he has provided a useful *résumé* of modern researches on such topics as that of the Alcuinian text of the Vulgate. That he should have little new to say about the scholastic work of Alcuin is only natural. The subject is one which has been admirably discussed by the scholars of three nations. But in chapter ix. we have a careful account of the part which Alcuin bore in his master's work of educational reform.

The biographical chapters would be more readable if they were less compressed. But their shortness is not due to insufficient mastery of the material. Mr. Gaskoin shows a thorough knowledge of Alcuin's writings and their modern critics ; and in dealing with the correspondence he has a number of independent suggestions to offer with regard to the chronological sequence of the letters which he uses. Among his more important modifications of accepted views we may notice the date of 799 which he assigns to the Synod of Aachen, commonly placed in the year 800. It is difficult to conceive that Charles had leisure to consider the heresies of Felix of Urgel in the latter year, and Alcuin's letters relating to the synod contain nothing inconsistent with the earlier date. But the general tendency of Mr. Gaskoin's narrative calls for more remark than his detail. He regards Alcuin as a scholar pure and simple, and can find no evidence of his interference on any considerable scale in political affairs. Even in the years 799 and 800 he believes Alcuin to have been no more than a passive and often ill-informed spectator of the events which culminated in the imperial coronation of his master. This conclusion has been independently defended by Ohr in a recent monograph on the coronation,<sup>1</sup> and we believe that it is substantially right. But the opposite view has been ably defended by Kleinclausz,<sup>2</sup> and calls for a fuller investigation than Mr. Gaskoin has seen fit to give it. He takes no notice of the distich prefixed to a letter addressed by Alcuin to Charles in March 799 before Leo's flight from Rome :—

*Det tibi perpetuam clemens in saecula salutem  
Et decus imperii, David amate, Deus.*<sup>3</sup>

This cannot be interpreted as anything but a prayer for the elevation of Charles to the empire. The couplet was written before any definite plans for bringing this result to pass can well have been framed. But it is thoroughly in keeping with the tone of the court poetry of the time, and it is hard to doubt that it expresses the hopes of those Franks who afterwards arranged the imperial coronation.

Nor can it be argued that Alcuin's opinion on such matters counted for nothing with his master. The abbot's well-known letter to his master on the subject of Leo's restoration was at once followed by an invitation to go with Charles to Rome.<sup>4</sup> It is unlikely that Charles would have responded in this way to advice which he resented or considered beneath

<sup>1</sup> *Die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen*, Tübingen, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Empire Carolingien*, Paris, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> *Alcuin*. Ep. 170, ed. Dümmler.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. 177.



his attention. True that Alcuin took no part in the conference of Charles and Leo at Paderborn, which followed immediately afterwards. This, however, is sufficiently explained by the ill-health which had already compelled the old scholar to decline the invitation for the Roman journey; and although Alcuin was not immediately informed of what passed at the conference, we need not suppose that he was permanently left in ignorance. Charles assented to a proposal that Alcuin should be asked to act as Leo's secretary in preparing the papal case; the king's reluctance to press that office on Alcuin is to be explained by the difference in their views about the proper means of rehabilitating Leo's character.<sup>5</sup> But radical as this difference was, it did not destroy the friendship of the king for his old teacher, nor make Alcuin's advice on the general situation less valuable. The visit which Charles made to Tours in the early part of 800 was undertaken, so Alcuin's biographer asserts, with the object of consulting the abbot. There were other questions than that of Rome in which both men were interested; but if we follow Mr. Gaskoin in transferring the Synod of Aachen to the previous year, there was no question so likely to be uppermost in the minds of both as that of the future protection of the papacy. This, in outline, is the case which might be stated against Mr. Gaskoin's view. Alcuin was a trusted counsellor in matters of ecclesiastical policy. There is reason to think that his views on the crisis of 799-800 were heard and weighed by his master; the idea of a Frankish empire had passed through his mind. On the other hand, it can be shown that the departure of Charles for Rome left Alcuin in complete uncertainty as to what would happen there. He did not know how the pope would fare. He did not expect that the coronation would take place on Christmas Day; for after the New Year, when he has occasion to write to Charles, he still addresses him as *David rex*. It would be strange if he had even a general suspicion that the Roman visit would sooner or later result in the assumption of the imperial title; for his confidential correspondence with Arno of Salzburg at this time does not contain the slightest reference to any such idea. H. W. C. DAVIS.

*Il Chronicon Farfense di Gregorio di Catino. Precedono la Constructio Farfensis e gli Scritti di Ugo di Farfa.* A cura di UGO BALZANI. (*Fonti per la Storia d' Italia.* Scrittori: Secoli ix-xii). Two volumes. (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano. 1903.)

ALTHOUGH none of the texts in these volumes is published for the first time, the necessity of a new edition is fully justified. No one, and least of all Count Balzani, would depreciate the immense services of Muratori; but merely to re-edit Muratori will not serve the needs of modern students. Even the prestige of the *Monumenta Germaniae* in its splendid range of folio volumes has not been able to stand against the demand for books more convenient to handle and more easy to buy. Its future issues are to appear in quarto; the existing quarto series is broken up into a number of distinct sections; and many of the works contained either in the folio or the quarto series have been republished in a separate form in octavo. The attempt to comprise all the histories of a given

<sup>5</sup> Ep. 179.

country in a single numbered set of volumes belongs, we are persuaded, to a past age. Such a series is not only beyond the means of the private purchaser, but it necessarily requires supplements. What is wanted is to edit each history or group of histories by itself, and above all to allow the books to be obtained separately. In the case of the Farfa chronicles there are special reasons for a new edition and for the inclusion in it of the works of several authors. In the first place both the *Destructio Farfensis* and the *Chronicon* were printed by Muratori from modern transcripts, while of the *Chronicon* the actual autograph exists, though Muratori was not permitted to make use of it. Secondly, the anonymous *Constructio* and the *Destructio* of Abbat Hugh, with its connected pieces, form an inseparable introduction to the *Chronicon* of Gregory of Catino. Thirdly, the *Chronicon* is written throughout with an eye for the territorial possessions of the monastery of Farfa; and it is only since the chartulary of the house has been published that it is possible to edit and illustrate properly the numerous documents inserted in the *Chronicon*.

Count Balzani devotes an interesting section of his preface to the life and writings of Gregory of Catino. Born about 1060, he devoted himself from 1092 onwards to the task of collecting and arranging all the materials he could find for the history of his monastery. His largest work is the chartulary or *Regesto*, famous as one of the two earliest works of its kind outside Germany now in existence, the other being the chartulary of Subiaco.<sup>1</sup> The Farfa book was edited by Count Balzani and Signor Giorgi for the Società Romana di Storia Patria in four volumes between 1879 and 1892.<sup>2</sup> After he had finished the *Regesto*, which comprised the evidences of the property of the monastery, Gregory proceeded to transcribe the documents relative to the lands which it had granted out. This he did in his *Liber Largitorius*, of which considerable use has been made in the present edition. Thirdly, he composed the *Chronicon Farfense*, now for the first time published from the original manuscript, which was in large part written by the author's own hand. Lastly, when he was about seventy years of age, he drew up, under the title of *Liber Floriger Chartarum Coenobii Farfensis*, an index to the chief documents contained in his other works, arranged under places. This, like the *Largitorius*, remains unpublished. Another composition, the *Orthodoxa Defensio imperialis*, which has been attributed to him and is printed under his name in the *Monumenta Germaniae (Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum, ii.)*, Count Balzani considers to be more probably the work of an imitator, perhaps a pupil, of Gregory than of Gregory himself (pref. pp. xxxiv, xxxv). Thanks to his intimate acquaintance with Gregory's *Regesto*, as well as with his other documentary collections, the editor has been able to annotate the

<sup>1</sup> *Il Regesto Sublacense*, published by L. Allodi and G. Levi for the Società Romana di Storia Patria in 1885. The two English chartularies of Worcester and Rochester (*Hemingi Chartularium* and *Textus Roffensis*, both edited by Thomas Hearne, in 1723 and 1720) are only separated from these by a narrow margin of years.

<sup>2</sup> Three volumes were noticed in this Review, vol. v. pp. 581-5 (1890). The last was reserved until the promised volume containing the introduction and indexes should appear. Unfortunately its publication is still delayed.

Chronicle from the local point of view in a manner which deserves our hearty gratitude. For the general history of the times with which it deals the Chronicle, as is known, does not possess great independent value, except in its latest portion, which is already accessible in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. Its sources are sufficiently indicated in the footnotes. The editor in his preface (p. xxxi) calls attention to a fragment of an abbreviation of the lives of the popes, preserved in Gregory's own hand in the Biblioteca Casanatense, which is yet another testimony to the monk's indefatigable industry. While the varieties of handwriting in the Chronicle and its documentary sources have been admirably explored by the editor, we regret that no indication has been given of the plan, if plan it can be called, upon which its contents were put together. Dates are indeed given, sometimes in the margin, sometimes in the notes; but we want some sort of tabular conspectus to enable us to find our way through the chronicler's innumerable digressions. To give an instance, the account of the twenty-second abbat, Peter, early in the tenth century, is broken off at vol. i. p. 234. Then follow an account of the general history of his time, a list of lands lost by the monastery, and an enumeration of grants to it omitted in their proper place, going down far into the eleventh century. In the midst of this, on p. 289, we find a brief notice of the triple abbacy of Adam, Hildebrand, and Campo, which belongs to about 953. The history of Abbat Peter is not resumed until p. 300. Even a numbered series of sections would have been some help.

Prefixed to the chronicle are the *Constructio* and the works of Abbat Hugh. The *Constructio* exists merely in a set of lections found in a Farfa book of the eleventh century. Count Balzani follows Signor Giorgi in regarding the text as incomplete, but whether it forms a conflation of a Farfa and a Volturno legend, or whether the Volturno account was inserted in his narrative by the Farfa writer, he leaves doubtful. Abbat Hugh's *Destructio*, familiar to many readers from the striking summary of it in Giesebrecht's *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, to which reference might have been made, is preserved in no copy earlier than the sixteenth century. It is to be regretted that Count Balzani has omitted the numbers of the chapters given in Bethmann's edition (*M. G. H.* xi.), and thus placed an unnecessary difficulty in the way of any one who wishes to verify references to the *Destructio* in works published heretofore. Hugh's three smaller tracts are included in Gregory's compilations, and the two of them which come from his Chronicle appear in this edition, with most of the footnotes, twice over (i. 55-70,<sup>3</sup> ii. 75-86); the third is taken from the *Regesto*. The annotation of Hugh's works leaves something to be desired. On p. 42 we miss a reference to Liudprand's *Antapodosis*, v. 5-8, which, however, is duly given in the parallel place of Gregory's chronicle, i. 333, n. 2. Much help is given by citations of Gregory's other works, but for the rest the notes are almost all confined to points of chronology, and these the editor rarely settles. We fully admit that the chronology of the earlier abbats of Farfa is extremely obscure, but we think that a resolute attempt to collect and sift all the

<sup>3</sup> The references to the folios of the manuscript in the margins of these pages are throughout incorrectly given.

data in a special excursus would have produced a more satisfactory result than the series of undecided notes which we find here. The suggestion on p. 33 (and in Gregory's chronicle, p. 301) that *non* should be supplied in the account of Rimo's appointment to the abbacy, *quamvis in canonicatu ordine esset quando hoc recepit*, appears to us more than doubtful. Count Balzani thinks the election was uncanonical because Rimo was nominated by his predecessor; but the objection as stated is not that he was uncanonically elected, but that he was *in canonicatu ordine* (or, as Gregory puts it, *in canonico ordine*): he was a canon and not a monk. On p. 39 the emendation *quod* for *qui* is almost certainly right: Hugh was personally acquainted with Odilo of Cluny and could not have spoken of Odo as still living. The mention of Odo raises a curious question. Gregory goes over the same ground in his Chronicle, but in the two places where one would have expected him to refer to the activity of the Cluniac abbat in reforming the monasteries round Rome (i. 307, 324) he omits all allusion to his name.

The book, like all the publications of the Istituto Storico Italiano, is beautifully printed; and a most ample index, the work of Cavaliere E. Bianco, is supplied.

REGINALD L. POOLE.

*Aemter und Zünfte: zur Entstehung des Zunftwesens.* Von Dr. F. KEUTGEN. (Jena: Fischer. 1903.)

ALTHOUGH in part polemical and concerned with a controversy that has not raged in England, this book is of the first value to students of the early history of our own commercial organisation. Following up his attack on the school of historians who saw in the town which was a bishop's see the typical ancient German borough, and were thus led to ascribe the existence of the borough-court to the ecclesiastical immunist, Dr. Keutgen now gives battle to the economic wing of the same school, the historians who ascribe the origin of guilds to the seignorial power. In spite of all that Dr. von Below has written the *hofrechtliche Theorie* has been gaining new allies; and the fact that Eberstadt's *Ursprung des Zunftwesens* has had some weight with the learned author of the *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Von Inama-Sternegg, has induced Dr. Keutgen again to go over the ground of contention. The controversy cannot be regretted that has led him to the present minute and penetrating analysis of the texts, whose whole range and import are probably known to him as they are to few, and that by reason of the arduous labour undergone in preparation for his *Urkunden zur städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte*. The first hundred pages of his new book are devoted to a demonstration of the baselessness of the theory that sees in the lords the makers of guilds, but Dr. Keutgen takes his principal joy not in the exposure of error but in the discovery of truth, and whether in the pursuit of his own or other people's speculations he never wanders far from the facts.

Here in England we are so lamentably short of texts descriptive of the organisation of the early English artisans that there has been a judicious avoidance of dogmatism. Professor Ashley has inclined to the view 'that some of the craft guilds of France and Germany were originally organisations of artisan serfs,' and thinks it may have been the case also in some

places in England,' 'but no evidence has yet been adduced to show that it was so.' In England more could be done than has been done to collect the evidences of early English trade and handicraft, to display the variety of skilled professions known to Englishmen before the Conquest. But even on the estates of the largest monasteries, where there were undoubtedly groups of handicraftsmen, we may question whether any gild-like organisation would be discovered as the reward of further inquiry. That in many crafts helpers were needed, who were likely to be in a subordinate position to the 'masters' of the craft, is certain; many trades could not be carried on by an individual without help; but the existence of *magistri artium* no more points to an organisation of the masters of a single craft than the presence of a master butler in the lord's household points to the existence of a gild of butlers. To the supporters of the *hofrechtliche Theorie* the words *Amt*, *officium*, *ministerium*, *magisterium* in their early uses all indicate organisation in gild-like union under a master, and the organising power that thus groups the artisans is assumed to be the lord's. When the needs of his household have been fully satisfied, the servile craftsmen are supposed to have had leave to dispose of their handiwork to their own advantage; their free labour made them able to secure independence, and when independent they made effective use through their autonomous guilds of the power of union which they had been taught in servitude. Text after text that might be taken to point to gild-like unions on the early monastic or rural estates is quoted by Dr. Keutgen and the baselessness of the interpretation demonstrated.

For the true origin of trade guilds he would look entirely to the market and the borough, to merchant law and borough law. He would leave less to the Germanic 'associative impulse' than some of his colleagues have allowed. He feels that there has been a weak place here which the opposing school have been quick to seize, and points out that the Strassburg *Aemter* could not possibly be ascribed to a free impulse to union in fellowships. He sees the supposedly 'servile' handicraftsmen as *mercatores*, persons who work for market, who have a law of their own, merchant law, which protects their persons and their goods, wherever they may be, men who, whatever their personal dependence upon their lords, are economically independent. The early texts that tell of the *ius negotiale* are not as numerous as could be wished, but they are sufficient to prove the antiquity of merchant law. The manor in Dr. Keutgen's view was not that completely self-sufficing unit which is sometimes set before us; many lords found it needful to make some of their men *mercatores*, in order to supply home needs. A man could not gradually come to be a *mercator* any more than a village could gradually come to have a market; he was made *mercator* in virtue of a legal act. For instance, in 1075 Abbot Ekehard conceded to Allensbach *omnibus eiusdem oppidi villanis mercandi potestatem, ut ipsi et eorum posteri sint mercatores, exceptis his qui in exercendis vineis vel agris occupantur*. The *mercatores* were no 'homeless traders who travelled in caravans,' in a continually migratory condition. In England we very much need a fuller recognition for this class of market workers, a class scarcely less important than the burgess class, and a fuller study of the early market law, which gave us our 'law merchant.'

In respect of their weights and measures the rural community, the market, and the borough are carefully analysed and differentiated by Dr. Keutgen, and he points out that the 'equal' measures ordered by the capitularies did not mean that local measures should cease to be, but that the same measure must be used for selling as for buying, for giving as for receiving. There may be a custom requiring the bushel of the corn-render to the lord to be 'heaped,' and the bushel of the seed-render from the lord to be 'razed,' but to use a different bushel for the two purposes is that 'falseness' of measure which the law forbids. The inspection of measures is not the work of public officials directly, but of communal officers who have a responsibility to the state. Out of their duty of inspection comes their jurisdiction over measures. Out of the market control, and in particular borough market control, of measures, prices, workmanship, matters of direct interest to the welfare of the market, comes organisation of trade. The grouping of trades in their 'rows,' in their specialised street markets, might be as much an arrangement of the communal or burghal authorities as the result of a free impulse of association. *Aemter* resulted from the ordering of markets, whether the market-place were the lord's land or not. The trades had their three *ungebotene Dinge* in the year, and these assemblies were important opportunities for the development of gild autonomy. Held at first under the officers of the borough in control of the market, the craftsmen sought the right to choose their own *Amtsmeister*, that they might be quit of the chicanery of the 'foreign' official. These are some of the things which Dr. Keutgen sets forth, not in general terms, but from the evidence of the texts. The English evidence, where there is any, points to the same thing: the guilds can be seen here, paying for leave to have self-government, as the borough paid to be quit of the sheriff. The act of payment in both cases may be one of the first conscious acts that witness to and strengthen the associative impulse. The 'lot' in the common bargain, the law which allowed every merchant present at the making of a bargain to claim a share, should also not be overlooked as an element in the making of trade guilds.

We are directed to the borough rather than the rural market in search of the early organisation of skilled handicraft. The rural market, being concerned only with a few dealers, regarded the wares merely as vendible commodities, and was not capable of laying down rules as to how they should be produced. The borough, with its large resident population, could divide the denizen from the foreign elements, make severer rules for the control of the market and of the wares, and regulate the processes of production by inspecting the permanent stalls and workplaces. Soon the market found that it had a reputation to keep up which was a profitable asset: then none were admitted to the market but those who were skilled in their trades; and the cloth, stamped with the borough mark, must be made in a particular way, in pieces of fixed size, that wholesale traders, knowing what they buy, might be encouraged to buy. The lord of a manor had none of that personal interest in the handicraft of his tenants which impels to all this elaborate control. Dr. Keutgen points this out, but it might perhaps be added that there were some fines for breaches of trade laws in which he took a strong interest.

In England his assizes of bread and beer, or of victual, point to the existence of rules, though these may well be customs in whose maintenance the tenants themselves had an interest.

Dr. Keutgen does not stop at the point where guilds can first be dimly seen, but analyses the shades of difference between *Amt*, *Zunft*, *Gilde*, *Innung*, *Brüderschaft*, and then in bold outlines points out how, where the principles of self-government were wrongly applied, the guilds went the way to destruction. The book is suggestive and stimulating in many ways, but its speculations never outrun its learning. MARY BATESON.

*Early Yorkshire Schools*. Vol. II. Pontefract, Howden, Northallerton, Acaster, Rotherham, Giggleswick, Sedbergh. By ARTHUR FRANCIS LEACH. (Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series. Vol. XXXIII., for the year 1903.)

In this second volume of researches into the history of early Yorkshire schools Mr. Leach has been able to support his well-known thesis of the 'antiquity and ubiquity of secondary education in centuries long anterior to its hitherto reputed beginnings.' Mr. Leach places the origin of Pontefract as far back as 1100; Howden, about 1265; Acaster, about 1470; Rotherham, 1480. The grammar school at Northallerton Mr. Leach dates back to 1322, Giggleswick to 1507, and Sedbergh to 1527. Mr. Leach thus makes good his case that these schools are not to have their origin identified with the foundations (if such there be) of Edward VI. The first volume on *Early Yorkshire Schools* included the account of still earlier schools, viz. York, Beverley, and Ripon. It is a pity Mr. Leach does not leave the interesting statement of educational facts to count for what they are worth; for they are worth a great deal. By claiming the 'antiquity and ubiquity of secondary education in centuries long anterior to its hitherto reputed beginnings,' there arises in the reader's mind the suggestion that it is necessary to wait for further proof than even two volumes on *Early Yorkshire Schools*, including some half-score or dozen remarkable examples of early schools, before committing oneself to so strong a term as the 'ubiquity' of secondary education in those earlier times. The accumulation of documentary evidence such as this of Mr. Leach is of the highest value. What we want is still more of the material for English educational history. We may then come to Mr. Leach's conclusions, or we may have to accept them in some modified form, as determined by the additional weight of further and wider investigations in connexion with other schools in other parts of the country. That there was a more general education in the times before the Reformation than afterwards was supposed to have existed every one must admit. Richard Mulcaster, in his *Positions*, published in 1581, says there is 'great reason why order should be taken to restrain the number that will needs to the book.' And he gives the 'great reason:'

While the church was an harbour for all men to ride in, which knew any letter, *those needed no restraint, the livings there were infinite and capable of that number*, the more drew that way, and found relief that way, the better for that state, which encroached still on, and by *clasping all persons*, would have grasped all livings. The state is now altered, that book maintenance maimed,

the preferment that way hath turned a new leaf. And will ye let the fry increase, when the feeding fails?

Mulcaster's view is important, because he is so comparatively near to the time of the Reformation, and his view clearly appears to be that formerly secondary education was more extensive before the Reformation than after. But the question arises, How extensive was it in fact? The more details we get from such documents as those which we gratefully receive from Mr. Leach's research the more exactly founded will be our view on the matter. But it hinders rather than helps when we are told vaguely, in Mr. Leach's treatise preceding the documents, of the 'ubiquity' of schools.

The schools in the list given above as to which Mr. Leach submits the most considerable documentary materials are Pontefract, Rotherham, and Sedbergh. The Pontefract school, he shows, originated in a foundation for the Hospital of St. Nicholas, but he points out that it does not, unfortunately, appear how many poor secular clerks were to be thus provided for. In a warrant of the commissioners under the Chantry Act of 1548 the incumbent of the chantry of Corpus Christi is described as 'put in' by the mayor and his brethren to say 'morrow mass.' This, Mr. Leach explains, was 5 o'clock mass, and such an incumbent was willing sometimes to undertake further work, such as acting as highway surveyor, 'while he not unfrequently eked out his time by teaching the early rising schoolboy, and so not a few grammar schools owe their origin to the morrow mass.' It would be interesting to have some other examples. Mr. Leach gives us the foundation of the Rotherham school, which was the main part of the provision of a college, or, as Mr. Leach puts it, a small, a very small Winchester or Eton. The college was to consist of a provost, a preacher of God's word, three fellows, teachers of grammar, song, and the art of writing, and six boys. The provost, Mr. Leach remarks, is paid 10*l.* a year, the same sum as the head masters of Winchester and Eton. The provision appears to have been originally for six children on the foundation, but the grammar master had to teach all those sent to him by the provost, and the song master to teach every one coming from all parts of England, with preference for the diocese and province of York. An account is given of Thomas Rotherham's library as given by him by will to Rotherham College. Sedbergh Grammar School was founded by Roger Lupton, a lawyer cleric, between 1523 and 1525. After his power it was founded, says Mr. Leach, as a smaller Eton and King's, being connected by the founder's scholarships with St. John's College, Cambridge. Readers of Mr. Leach's treatise introductory to the documents will be glad to have the accounts of the two school-founders, Thomas Rotherham and Roger Lupton. Mr. Leach's descriptions of Northallerton School and Sedbergh School under the Commonwealth open up the important question of the state of the schools under the Commonwealth. Northallerton had during the Commonwealth a schoolmaster called Smelt, and there were seldom less than eighty boys in the school of this small town, whom he taught without any assistance.

Mr. Leach gives his views as to the public schools and grammar schools, regretting the distinction which has grown up in the use of these terms—one, he says, with 'no foundation in history, law, or any-



thing but snobbery.' 'The country gentleman,' he says, 'resorted to Chichester Prebendal School, or Sedbergh, or Warwick, or Stratford, just as much as to Harrow or Rugby.' Godwin in his *History of the Commonwealth* showed the interest of Cromwell's government in education. But the government would seem to have had, I am inclined to think, a special interest in Winchester. In a manuscript of the British Museum it appears that the educationist John Dury had been sent to Winchester 'to reform that place.' In the Sloane MS. 649, p. 54, dated 4 and 7 May 1646, are the heads of matters to be thought on concerning the education of nobles and gentlemen. It is an interesting speculation whether these 'heads' were given as lectures to the Winchester College authorities. But the fact that Dury was sent to Winchester 'to reform that place' suggests a more than ordinary interest in that particular 'grammar' school. Mr. Leach maintains that Eton School is the grammar school of the College of St. Mary of Eton, 'just as Rotherham was the grammar school of the College of Jesus of Rotherham, or Sedbergh the grammar school of the chantry of Roger Lupton of Sedbergh.' This view may perhaps be compared with that of Edward Leigh in his *Foelix Consortium* (1663), in which he says, 'There are in England many trivial schools in towns and cities; amongst the most famous are Eton, Westminster, and Winchester.' Leigh, however, adds in a note that Westminster, with forty scholars, sends as many yearly to both the universities as Eton and Winchester both, though they have each of them seventy scholars. This seems to confirm one of Mr. Leach's contentions that the importance of a school largely consisted in the man who was at the head rather than any particular *status*; for when Leigh praises Westminster at the expense of Eton and Winchester combined it was the redoubtable Richard Busby who was the head master. The 'many trivial schools' in England, of which Eton, Westminster, and Winchester were 'amongst the most famous,' is substantially the same as the 'grammar' schools.

It is not possible in the space of a review to follow up all the suggestive questions which Mr. Leach raises, and which would further arise from a close exposition of the documents he has brought forward. But there is certain material to which Mr. Leach himself refers with admiration, and the introduction of this material for the history of schools would alone constitute a title to attention to the book from all who are interested in the history of teaching. I refer to the section in the documents concerning Rotherham Grammar School headed 'Rotherham School Curriculum about 1630,' and the further extracts in 1636. These extracts are taken from Charles Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School*. Mr. Leach says 'it gives a complete picture of an ordinary English grammar school in the time of the Civil War or immediately after.' I hardly think we can say an 'ordinary' school. Hoole had been under Robert Doughty at Wakefield School, a schoolmaster who taught for fifty years and had, as Mr. Leach quotes, 'as many and those as well approved schoolmasters his quondam scholars as any one man in England.' From a grounding by such a man, as well as by his own varied experience and enthusiasm for schoolmastering, probably Hoole's statement of what he expected a scholar to acquire in his school represented a standard far higher than the average. I agree with Mr. Leach when

he says that the school curriculum laid down is an 'amazing picture.' But it is surely going too far to conclude 'we are bound to believe that, published as an actual course of study by a practical schoolmaster, it was not only possible but actual.' It may be an ideal curriculum, grounded upon suggestions from actual and very varied experience. The *New Discovery* is a remarkable book. As Mr. Leach says, 'the amazing and interesting parts of Hoole's book are, first, the marvellous lists of school books he gives, which, he says, should be in every school library; and secondly, the extraordinary amount the boys were to assimilate, and the extraordinarily early age at which they were expected to do so without any trouble.' This is the impression the book gives, but it gives more. It makes a reader realise that the aims of masters like Hoole were to give a real and high mental discipline, for which there are very adequate materials and resources of instruction. These old methods of instruction are likely to be underrated in our time, because they have not been considered in detail.

Mr. Leach's introductory sketch consists of eighty-seven pages. His documents occupy 489 pages. There is an excellent and valuable index. It is a book which has involved steady, self-sacrificing labour, of the sort that is apt to bring comparatively slight credit to the author, whilst it eases enormously the work of those who come to traverse the wider tracts of general educational history. I recall the words of Mr. Leach which I quoted in reviewing vol. i.

I would venture (he says) to appeal to owners or custodians of ancient documents to search them, or have them searched, or give facilities for search by competent persons, for references to the school, or a schoolmaster, or scholars, to payments for teaching or repair of school buildings, especially before the reign of Edward VI. . . . It is only by the accretion of a large number of scattered facts and references, in themselves perhaps of no great interest or moment, that the lost history of English schools can be recovered.

This is the spirit which carries within it the possibility of a history of school education in England. Mr. Leach has not only stated it. He has himself given important illustrations of how such salvage can be collected, and if he seems, as he does to me, sometimes to have too keen a readiness to press *a priori* views, yet the presentation of his documentary material leaves the student free to gather impressions for himself, whilst few, if any, can fail to be grateful for his guidance in the exposition of the documents as he illuminates them, with instances and criticisms gathered from his wide experience in other researches.

FOSTER WATSON.

*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche* (1166–1199), éditée pour la première fois et traduite en français, par J. B. CHABOT. Tomes I, II. (Paris: Leroux. 1899–1904.)

THE vast work of Michael the Syrian was, fifteen years ago, known only in a short and corrupt Armenian epitome. A complete Arabic version was, however, obtained by the British Museum in 1890, and part of this also exists in a Vatican MS.; while a few years later the original Syriac was discovered by Archbishop Rahmani, and is now being edited, with

translation and commentary, by M. Chabot. Of this great undertaking the first two volumes, containing two and three fascicules respectively, have now appeared, bringing the history down to the year 776. Of these, the first three fascicules contain matter drawn from known or legendary sources and are therefore of little historical value. The fourth fascicule comes down to about 580, and in it the author draws largely from John of Ephesos; but, since the contents of the lost second part of John's work were already in great measure known to us from various sources, the gain in historical knowledge is not as great as might be expected. It is therefore with the fifth fascicule, in which the author deals with the obscure history of the seventh and eighth centuries, that the real historical importance of the publication begins. Not only does Michael give us a minute history of the Jacobite church, in which many original documents are preserved, but his work also throws considerable light upon the sources for Byzantine history. The series of literary historians, existing whole or in fragments, which begins with Eunapius, ends with Theophylact Simokatta; and from 603, where his work ends, to about 780, where Theophanes becomes an original source, we have no contemporary Byzantine historian properly so called and are obliged to depend almost entirely upon Theophanes and Nikephoros, who wrote at the beginning of the ninth century. All research must therefore begin by an attempt to determine the character of the sources used by these writers, upon which they give no information whatever; and in this the text of Michael, with the regular references to Theophanes in M. Chabot's notes, will be of much greater assistance than the Armenian version or the epitome of Barhebraeus. That Theophanes uses a Western source which was used by Nikephoros and an Eastern source which was not used by Nikephoros is obvious; but, as Theophanes is much the fuller of the two writers, it does not follow that everything that is not in Nikephoros comes from the Eastern source; nor is the absence of the Byzantine method of dating by indictions a conclusive test. When, however, we find a narrative given by Theophanes occurring in the same shape in Michael, its Eastern origin is evident. Hence, to take two instances only, we know from Michael that the comparison of Constantine Pogonatus and his brothers to the Trinity and the story of the manner in which Justinian II sent to fetch his wife from the Chazars come from the Eastern source: while the value of this source where it deals with Western affairs may be inferred from the cases in which we have the two narratives side by side, as in the account of the rebellion of Apsimar, where Michael's story (p. 473)<sup>1</sup> is wholly fictitious. As it is not likely that Theophanes could read Syriac, or that a Syriac writer would be translated into Greek, it must be presumed that the Eastern author wrote in Greek and was therefore a Melchite; but the questions when and where he wrote, and what the character of his work was, had better be deferred till the appearance of M. Chabot's next fascicule. But whatever answer to these questions may be found, it will henceforth be impossible to write the history of this period without reference to Michael, or to treat all the statements of Theophanes as of equal authority.

Of the manner in which M. Chabot has performed his laborious task

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the translation.

it would be hard to speak too highly. Errors and omissions of course there are ; but, considering the immensity of the work and the short time in which it has been done, it is matter for astonishment that there are so few. For criticisms of the translation this is not the place ; but I may remark that p. 431, l. 8, seems to require a note, since Euchaïta is nowhere near Cilicia, and that at p. 479, l. 2, it should have been clearly explained that Toranda is only a conjecture (no doubt a correct one), the text having 'Tibranda.' Again, the name 'Gargarun,' which follows this, is surely Gangra,<sup>2</sup> the statement in the translation that it was in Cilicia being, as M. Chabot explains, taken from the Armenian, and having no resemblance to the Syriac text. That Gangra was taken by Marwan, not by Maslama, is hardly an objection.

The remaining volumes will no doubt be of great value for Eastern affairs, especially ecclesiastical ; but they are not likely to have the same importance for Byzantine history as the part which has just been published.

E. W. BROOKS.

*Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia.* Arranged and edited by FRANCIS A. GASQUET. Vol. I. (London : Royal Historical Society. Camden Series, 1904.)

THE Abbot-president of the English Benedictines has augmented the debt in which historical students already stand bound to him. He has added to the long series of the old Camden Society and its successor a volume which may be said to open a new window through which we may regard the monastic system of the middle ages. It is not difficult even for the lay reader to penetrate the walls of a single monastery, St. Edmund's or St. Alban's, but here we are admitted into the secrets of an entire province of a great order.

The two volumes of Bishop Redman's book of letters and precedents, which constitute this collection, have had widely different fates. One was transcribed by Francis Peck, who methodised the documents which it contained, and is now lost. The other survives among the Ashmole MSS. at the Bodleian. Abbot Gasquet has reunited the two halves of the register, and prints the whole series according to the system adopted by Peck in his transcript. This was certainly a tempting plan, as there seemed to be no object in reconstructing the missing MS. from Peck's transcript, but it involves certain disadvantages of its own. Peck's system was to divide the documents into *Generalia*, arranged in chronological order, and *Specialia*, arranged alphabetically under the names of the houses concerned. The present volume consists of the first part or *Generalia*, but the editor has further subdivided them into six sections ; I. Relations between Prémontré and the English Houses ; II. Documents relating to Elections ; III. Provincial Chapters ; IV. Visitations ; V. Forms of Letters, Citations, &c. ; VI. Miscellaneous. This is no doubt a convenience, though a subject-index in vol. ii. would answer the purpose better ; but it unduly separates No. 31 from Nos. 139-141, which came near it in the original register and Peck's transcript, and help to explain some of the allusions in it. In the same way the contention between

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. 193, 199.

Abbot Redman and the abbot of Begham, the rival commissaries of the abbot of Prémontré, must be searched for in Nos. 38-40, 78-80, and 144. So also Boniface IX's grant to Easby, which appears to be the beginning of the great 'Rochet' question, is in Section VI., while the various decrees of the chapters provincial dealing with the question are in Section III. There is, no doubt, less difficulty in finding any particular document than in Peck's original plan, but it seems questionable whether the balance of advantage is in favour of the new arrangement.

In the matter of grammar and spelling the text of the volume would have been none the worse for a little more emendation. The editor warns us of the imperfections of Peck's transcript, and a comparison of the documents from the Ashmole Register will show that they are often, though not always, errors of the transcriber. The pious accuracy which reproduces the blunders of the original scribe is certainly a fault on the right side, but the volume would be more agreeable reading if the principles laid down on p. xix of the preface had been drastically carried out. The text would then have gone on all fours, and the oddities of Peck and of the writer of the Ashmole MS. might have been relegated to the foot-notes. A few instances will serve to illustrate this. Line 1 of p. 2 should read 'Cum nuper per vos,' not 'per nos.' P. 4, last line, 'monitioni pariant' might have been spelled *pareant*. P. 7, ll. 23, 24, 'et super ipsius intellectu; [ut] universi' might be better emended by changing *et* into *ut*, and leaving out the semicolon. P. 16, ll. 22, 23, should read 'pastoris,' not 'pastores more fovere.' Such slips are hardly worth perpetuating in print. Again, p. 22, l. 25, 'asserens quod dictos dominos suos,' &c., can be almost certainly read *asserensque*, and the blame for the bad grammar shifted on to Peck's shoulders; and *minime* is a tempting conjecture for *nimirum* on the next page, l. 6 from the end. On p. 57, l. 18, 'securus viarum; quia discrimina' . . . should probably be 'securus, viarumque discrimina,' &c. On the other hand, some of the emendations attempted might be improved. *Quendam* for *quemadmodum* on p. 19 is unnecessary; the English was probably 'holding as it were a book,' and *cedant* is a more satisfactory reading than *spectant* for the *sedant* on p. 79. So, too, 'qui post mortem manducavit' on p. 82 is a quaint periphrasis for 'Christ,' and need not be altered to *manu ducat*. *Liberalem* for *liberales* on p. 102 involves a false concord; *demum* is an easier emendation of *domum* than *Domini* on p. 127, and 'concorditer et in solidum parere' seems more natural than the editor's *insolite* for the *insoliti* of the text. It would be tedious to extend this peddling criticism, but it must be urged that a medieval text, if printed at all, should be printed as accurately as possible, having regard to the condition of the manuscripts.

The earlier documents are mainly concerned with the circumstances which led to the compromise between Abbot Adam of Prémontré and the English houses in 1316. These are well discussed in the preface, which reproduces a paper already printed in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, and a completely new complexion is put on the story. The letter of the proctors at the Papal Court is very amusing. The mysterious 'Cardinalis Biteiceus,' whom they mention, may possibly be Benedict Fredoli, bishop of Béziers, but the text is clearly

corrupt. A pair of later documents, 35 and 36, is concerned with the devastation of the neighbourhood of Prémontré by war in France, and the consequent necessity of contributions from England. The editor dates these conjecturally as of the year 1354, but the mention of the duke of Orleans, a coming general council, and the holding of a chapter at La Fère seems to fit better with 1408 or thereabouts. The council of Pisa began on Lady-day, 1409, and another Peter was then abbot of Prémontré, from which he seems to have been expelled a few years after. The later documents deal with Bishop Redman's personal activities; but except his dispute with the abbot of Begham and with Prémontré, they are mainly occupied with questions of dress, ritual, and discipline. There seems scarcely enough evidence for the editor's statement that the white canons adopted *black* habits. We hear of black hoods and hats on p. 129, and on p. 152 of black hose, under-garments, and sleeves, black hats and caps (*galeris*) being permitted. The most serious question was as to the right to wear rochets. This practice had been sanctioned at Easby by Boniface IX, but the bull of A.D. 1400 which is known from the papal register does not appear to be the same as that given here.

A few minor points claim attention. The abstract of No. 52 divides the canonical modes of election into 'compromission, inspiration, and postulation,' instead of the more familiar 'quasi-inspiration, compromise, and scrutiny,' but on consulting the document we find 'postulationis' is bracketed. The abbot of Dale's 'household at "Koosters"' on p. 112 is not an unidentified place in Derbyshire, but the 'costers' or hangings surrounding his chamber (*camera*). No. 240 names the Medici bank at Bruges in 1468, possibly the same house which they are known to have occupied in 1479, and which was recently in existence in the Rue des Aiguilles. The reform of music in the English houses in 1489 is mentioned on p. 164, 'spreto prorsus antiquo illo tono ab aliquibus usitato.' This should be of some interest at the present moment.

CHARLES JOHNSON.

*La Politica Orientale di Alfonso di Aragona.* Per FRANCESCO CERONE.

Estratto dall' Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane, XXVII. i.-iv.,  
XXVIII. i. (Naples: Pierro. 1903.)

THE occasion for this volume was afforded by the gift of transcripts from Aragonese documents in the archives of Barcelona to the Società di Storia Patria. They are of interest as illustrating diplomatic and financial aspects of Alfonso's reign, but they scarcely form a sufficient foundation for the superstructure which the author has built upon them in which to enshrine his hero. The scope of the book is the supposed scheme of Alfonso to found a vast lordship on the ruins of the Greek empire, a bulwark of Europe against Asia, an avenue of commerce between the two continents; an immense colony, of which Naples should be the powerful and wealthy metropolis. This offensive aim was, the author continues, diverted by the fall of Constantinople to an almost equally ideal project for the defence of the East through the East—for a combination of the lesser powers of Asia Minor, Greece, and the Islands (Turkish, Greek, Latin, or Albanian) against the Sultan. Such wide conclusions are scarcely supported by the evidence. The author gives 120 pages to

a great North African combination with Egypt, Ethiopia, and Tunis. In the two former cases this reduces itself to a safe-conduct for an Egyptian envoy, who is not known to have utilised it, and the despatch of two missions to Prester John in answer to his request for skilled artisans. Intercourse with Tunis was brisker, as might be expected from old relations and close neighbourhood, but even here the reciprocal embassies are merely concerned with the usual complimentary gifts of horses, lions, and brocades; there is no hint of a political alliance.

Alfonso's claims, whether as king of Aragon or of Naples, upon the Morea and Northern Greece were too fresh and considerable to be entirely waived by a nature so ambitious, but it is to these rather than to decisive action against the Turk that his attention is directed. Yet even this interest was academic. Thus in 1444 he urged his claims to the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, but they were never pressed. From this time onwards there were intermittent negotiations with the despots Demetrius and Thomas with projects for intermarriages. The author prints the text of the treaty of 9 Feb. 1451 between Alfonso and Demetrius, showing that Zurita's abstract of it was essentially correct; but this was directed rather against the emperor than the Turk, and led to no practical results. With Northern Greece and Albania the connexion was a little closer. Scanderbeg acknowledged Alfonso's suzerainty, and the recognition of the house of Tocco in Leucadia and Cephalonia granted by Ladislas was revived. Yet of actual intervention there was no sign. The four galleys promised to the emperor never sailed, nor did the two ships laden with corn which the besieged city bought from Alfonso himself—an interesting example, as the author well points out, of the private trading which made Alfonso's son Ferrante so notorious. After the tragedy Alfonso's measures for defence were equally ineffective. The author, indeed, bases a vast naval combination on the despatch of three galleys to Tenos, while Scanderbeg did actually receive the support of a handful of Neapolitan troops. But such correspondence as there is with Rhodes and Cyprus and Crete, with Morean and Servian despots, with the descendants of Mohammedan emirs and relations of the sultan, is absolutely trivial, though page upon page is devoted to missions in search of falcons under which some deep political scheme is supposed to be concealed. The languor of Alfonso's intervention in the East was due, as the author has frequently to confess, to his absorption in Italian politics, to his inability to spare a man for distant and dangerous enterprise. And these Italian complications in Liguria, in Tuscany and Lombardy, were largely due to Alfonso's acquisitive nature, though the author with some success defends him from Dr. Pastor's charge of deliberately encouraging and prolonging Piccinino's raid, with a view to hampering the pope.

It is difficult to acquit the author of exaggerating the importance of his hero, and the documents, hitherto unpublished, which relate to him. The book is too long for its theme and too discursive. On the other hand, the industry with which illustrative matter has been amassed is most praiseworthy, and the reader will find in the digressions and the notes abundance of interesting information relating to the Oriental powers, and not a little bibliographical assistance.

E. ARMSTRONG.

*Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber, commonly called the Court of Star Chamber, 1477-1509.* Edited for the Selden Society by I. S. LEADAM. (London: Quaritch. 1908.)

THIS is a big book, and there is so much in it that a reviewer may well feel embarrassed. Mr. Leadam might have earned our gratitude by publishing, even with a very modest preface and annotation, the original documents of these 'Select Cases,' extending as they do, with a small appendix, to 288 pages in quarto; but he has also written a learned introduction of 154 pages, and has appended a threefold index, the first part of authorities cited, the second of subjects, and the third of persons and places, so that the student has every possible facility of turning his labour to account. Yet we have scarcely done justice, even yet, to the very composite character of this work; for the introduction itself is not an undivided whole, but consists of two parts, the first being an elaborate essay on the jurisdiction of the court of the Star Chamber, the second a commentary on the leading cases in the volume.

The history of the jurisdiction of this celebrated court is certainly an obscure subject on which many misconceptions have prevailed. That it was not constituted, as commonly supposed, by an act of Henry VII is abundantly evident; but in what manner it was affected by that act no one certainly would have imagined from the words of the statute itself. The accounts given by Hudson and Coke as to its actual constitution when at work raise difficulties of their own; and the original records here given show that the statutory composition of the court was not in practice adhered to. From the statute it would be supposed that three great officials—'the chancellor and treasurer of England for the time being, and keeper of the king's privy seal, or two of them'—were the most essential part of the court, and that they were to call in a bishop or temporal lord of the council, and the two chief justices, of the king's bench and of the common pleas, or two other judges in their absence. These justices moreover, it is clear, were only to give advice when their opinion was asked; they were not to be judges of the court. The decisions of the court were to be given by the three great officials after consulting them. But it was to be a decision of the council, not of the justices. Strange to say, however, in actual practice not the presence of the three great officials, nor of two of them, nor even of one of them, was treated as essential to the constitution of the court. Hudson, who, as clerk of the court, had the records before him, says expressly that about the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years of Henry VII cases were more often heard before the president of the council than before those three officials; which, he says, proves clearly 'that the court then sat not by virtue of that statute, but sat as they antiently had done, and by as antient if not more antient authority than any court in Westminster Hall.' The president of the council never obtained statutory authority to sit with the three other great officers till the twenty-first year of the following reign; yet he actually sat in that court—and even sat without them—about the tenth or twelfth year of Henry VII, that is to say, some eight or ten years after the act was passed by which the constitution of the court seemed to be defined. In short, one would think the act really made little change in the practice of a court which had always existed and was



always ready to hear cases whenever a just pretext could be made out for not applying to ordinary tribunals. A decision of the king's council sitting as a court was the highest possible authority : and the exact constitution of that court was only a matter of minor importance when whoever sat in the seat of judgment always took the highest professional advice. As Mr. Leadam himself says, the constitution of the court set forth in the act of Henry VII was only a counsel of perfection, and Hallam has been quite led astray in regarding the language of the act as proving that the court was a tribunal distinct from the council itself. The main object of the act of Henry VII was, in fact, not to constitute a new tribunal, but to bring a number of specific abuses which were the growth of disorderly times under the cognisance of the king's council ; and there is reason to believe that it was very effective for its purpose.

The whole of Mr. Leadam's introduction is a marvel of research ; but we cannot say that the second part of it is altogether so satisfactory as the first. Here even the extent of his researches, while seeking for general views, has, it appears to me, led him astray to some extent and obscured the natural deductions that would have been formed from a closer study of the documents themselves. Yet the documents themselves are generally very interesting, and certainly furnish evidences of some things, although the contradictory statements made on opposite sides do occasionally give us pause. That we cannot pronounce safe judgments on the merits of some cases makes it all the more regrettable that none of the judgments pronounced by the court are attainable, for, as is well known, they have all disappeared. I do not suggest, however, that Mr. Leadam has attached too much importance to *ex parte* statements. His error, I should say, is rather in making too little of the documents he has himself brought to light while expatiating at considerable length on evidences derived from other sources.

In some of these excursions I forbear to follow him. How far monastic houses on the eve of the Reformation clung to an ' antiquated land and stock lease system ' is a subject rather too deep for me. Nor will I venture altogether to dispute that even large monastic houses were sometimes badly managed. But a statement like the following about Malmesbury invites a little inquiry, not only from the sweeping character of the general assertion but from the definite charge of immorality which it contains :—

The house was evidently in the latter half of the fifteenth century, like that of Bath, a scene of waste, dissoluteness, and incapacity. From the fact that Abbot Aylie, as we see in the case of *Culford v. Wotton*, had provided for his natural son on the abbey estates, the morals of the rest of the community may be inferred. Despite its large income it was encumbered with debts, and appears to have failed to discharge its pecuniary liabilities in the nature of annuities, corodies, and the like. So notorious was its anarchy that on 27 Nov. 1476 the crown interfered. It took possession of the abbey, its cells, manors, lands, and rents, and committed them to the custody of the prior of Bath, to be administered by him for five years. We have already had a glimpse into the methods of administration of the priors of Bath. Possibly the crown was made acquainted with the injudiciousness of its selection ; more probably it became aware that by interfering with an exempt house it was

trenching upon papal prerogative; at any rate on 28 Dec. following a precept was issued to the prior of Bath to stay execution of his commission.

Here are one or two facts and a good deal of speculation. The fact about the king committing the custody of Malmesbury Abbey to the prior of Bath, and the fact that the prior of Bath a month later was ordered to hold his hand, are both derived from the unquestionable authority of the Patent Rolls; and moreover the reason there given for the custodianship is 'because the abbot is blind and cannot govern.' This at least does not make him a very bad man if we do not know it otherwise, and Mr. Leadam himself admits that he was not removed from his office. But is it true that he provided for his natural son on the abbey estates? I wonder if there is any similar case on record; for it strikes me that, though an immoral abbot is not an impossibility, such a mode of providing for him ought to have attracted the notice of ecclesiastical authorities. On examining the case of *Culford v. Wotton*, however, I confess I have some doubts whether the abbot had a natural son at all. Let me give a brief description of this case, which Mr. Leadam has not done in the remarks he has made upon it.

John Culford of Brinkworth brings a complaint against John Wotton, monk and kitchener of Malmesbury Abbey. The petitioner says he came into the manorial court of the abbey at Brinkworth on 12 April 1473, when he became tenant to the abbot and convent, 'and took by copy of the said court, like as Thomas Culford, his father, did,' holding a messuage and lands described. In short, he was his father's heir to a copyhold. Wotton was charged to receive his rent, but, finding that he had made considerable improvements, sent some of his servants with bows and arrows, swords, clubs, and other weapons violently to oust him from possession. They threatened him and his wife, broke open his doors, turned out his goods, and flung his child into the fire, so that it was even then in peril of death; and they still detained from him certain loads of hay and corn, and put him in such fear that he could not come back to his wife, &c. To this Wotton replies that the bill of complaint is malicious and 'insufficient,' *i.e.* that the case might have been heard by an inferior court; that he was not guilty of the alleged riot and taking the child from the cradle, &c.; and as to having entered Culford's messuage, he says 'that the said John Culford held the said mese of his father, the abbot of Malmesbury, at will by copy of court roll,' &c. Mr. Leadam seems to understand from these words that Wotton, the kitchener of the abbey (a very important official of the house), was actually Abbot Ayleie's natural son, and, from the complaint made against him, 'that he continued under his father's successor a course of presumption and contempt which had been tolerated by his father.' Surely a much more credible explanation is that a word has been carelessly left out in the above passage. Wotton intended to have written 'that the said John Culford held the said mese of his father (*i.e.* his father's messuage) of the abbot of Malmesbury.' The wording of many of these bills and answers is at times a little confusing to a reader not accustomed to the style; but it is not easy to imagine that the only reference in these pleadings to a very gross scandal partly affecting one of the parties should be a mere incidental mention of the fact by the party who was himself affected.

Mr. Leadam's error on this point has quite naturally coloured his view of 'the morals of the rest of the community' and the administration of the monastery.

There are other instances besides this in which I think Mr. Leadam might have given a little description of the cases which he annotates ; but I will refer only to one more. The case of Powe and another *v.* Newman is interesting, as Mr. Leadam says, 'as illustrating the history of the ancient archiepiscopal court of audience ;' but it is strange that while devoting nearly five large pages to a dissertation on the nature and history of that court he says so very little about the case itself. I do not complain of the general remarks, by which the reader will see that the jurisdiction of that court belonged to the archbishop of Canterbury, not as archbishop but as *legatus natus*, and it was really an anomaly that it was preserved after the Reformation, holding its sittings in London and with the power of citing men from other dioceses. But the interesting thing in this case, which somewhat staggers Mr. Leadam as apparently against the rights of the church, is that a spiritual officer seeks, by application to Archbishop Warham, a remedy at the hands of the council for ill-usage in the execution of his duty. Whether this was an irregularity or not I do not venture to discuss ; but I should hardly think so when Archbishop Warham was appealed to. The pleadings were briefly as follows : Thomas Powe and Thomas Towker presented a bill to the archbishop. Powe complained that he, having a suit against John Newman in the court of audience, obtained letters from the auditor suspending Newman 'out of the church ;' and Thomas Towker was charged with letters of execution for the parson to denounce the culprit in his own parish church. Towker accordingly carried down the letters and delivered them to the incumbent of Combe-Hay, near Bath ; but Newman, knowing this, attacked Towker and had him arrested and sent to prison like a felon, with his hands bound behind him, and also arrested the cattle of Thomas Powe and his father. Newman in his reply says he was not within ten miles of the church when the letters were brought in, and he had Towker arrested for violent conduct towards himself on previous occasions. As to distraining of Powe's cattle, he only did his duty as bailiff to Edward Stradlyng, whose tenant Powe's father was.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

*The Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. III. The Reformation.  
(Cambridge : University Press. 1903.)

WHEN twelve competent writers combine to tell the story of the Reformation in eight hundred ample pages, we have good hope of learning exactly what it was that happened at that crisis. The ground has been cleared for them in the previous volume, and we expect to find an account not only of the agents and the process of change, but also of the new systems which have been established and are to exert their influence upon the future of the nations. The strangest point about the present volume is that it is just in this constitutional point that it is defective. Except for Scandinavia, where the bishop of Gibraltar has traced the formation and organisation of Lutheran churches with admirable completeness, we have

no systematic account of that system. Switzerland, at any rate as far as Zwingly's influence reached, is well treated; a somewhat ideal and generalised sketch of Calvin's plan is given by Dr. Fairbairn, and we cannot quarrel with Dr. Maitland because he has not thought fit to describe the actual working of the English church under the Elizabethan settlement. But the book itself is full of good and interesting work. Mr. Stanley Leathes's chapters are excellently thought out and proportioned, and it is not his fault that Bishop Stubbs's account of Charles V, suggesting inevitable comparisons, should have been published almost simultaneously. Mr. Leathes's pages would be a little improved if they were free from names which convey no meaning to an ordinary reader. Gattinara, for instance, is mentioned once or twice in an allusive way. Mr. Dyer, with no more occasion than Mr. Leathes to dwell upon the person, tells us his origin and his office. This surely is right; a general history should be complete in itself, so far as it goes. The choice, however, between omitting names and filling space by describing the bearers is difficult to make, and others of the contributors to this volume have compromised the matter after Mr. Leathes's fashion. When we turn to Germany, the most important scene of the history, we find an exemplification of the disadvantage of divided responsibility. We begin with an article, full and sympathetic, upon Luther's antecedents and early career. Dr. Lindsay sets before us a religious movement; we are led on to the time when the protestant organisation of Germany is becoming inevitable. But Dr. Lindsay leaves us when Luther disappears into the Wartburg; and henceforth we may almost say that Luther leaves us too. The thread is snapped; the remainder of the story is told not only from a different point of view, but in a different spirit. It does not gain by the change. After all, powerfully as the spirit of particularism may have worked, though not more powerfully in Saxony than in Bavaria, the German Reformation was a religious movement, and he who would make the changes it wrought in the nation intelligible must treat it from that point of view.

Mr. Pollard is far too political, and his indifference to the other side of the matter has betrayed him into actual error. He tells us that John Frederick of Saxony forced Amsdorf into the see of Naumburg. This is a very misleading account of what was on Luther's part an interesting and important theological experiment, mere robbery as it may have been on that of the Elector. Small though the diocese was, according to the German scale, it covered parts of the dominions of several princes; Luther and his patron combined to consecrate an evangelical superintendent who should have jurisdiction over so much of the diocese as had been under the secular rule of the bishop and was now seized by the Elector. The whole historical question of church government was involved, and Luther, by his act, publicly repudiated the ancient system. It was not, what Mr. Pollard says it was, the intrusion of a bishop; at least, we ought to have been told, and it is important that we should know, that the title was now being employed in a novel sense. This is not the only instance where Mr. Pollard should have imparted the knowledge which no doubt he possesses. And if it may have been difficult to find room for incidents, at any rate the process, in some of its

varieties, by which the new systems of church government were introduced, should have been described. Bugenhagen, to name but one agent, deserved as large a space as has been allowed to the dull and confused campaigns of the Peasants' War. Yet here we are disappointed, and Scandinavia has to supply the defects of Germany in this respect, as also in regard to the constitution of Lutheranism. As to the system of the Reformed churches, so far as it differed from pure Calvinism, we receive no information at all. And in a narrative which is only too political we look in vain for an account of the territorial changes which were among the most important results of the German Reformation. We are not told which were accomplished by direct annexation and which by legal fictions, nor what states, and in what proportion, profited by them. The student who seeks to discover how, for instance, Frederick duke of York was reigning bishop of Osnabrück till dispossessed by Napoleon will justly resent his failure to find enlightenment in so spacious a history. No doubt the peace of Westphalia will give the opportunity for reviewing this series of changes, but they would have been more in place if directly connected with the revolution that caused them.

It seems ungracious to dwell at such length upon omissions in what is a careful and compact record, with few wasted words or unimportant facts. The same praise may be given to the annalistic treatment of English history. It is very conscientious and concise, with touches of picturesque and sometimes familiar detail, as when Bishop Fisher's cook appears in Dr. Gairdner's chapter. But while the other English chapters are written, and written admirably, in the usual spirit of history, Dr. Maitland has tried the experiment of being commentator as well as historian. With all his characteristic cleverness, with wide knowledge, with abundant humour (of which it would be unfair to take his division of our Reformers into 'Knoxians and Coxians' as an average specimen), and with an absolute want of sympathy, he narrates the Elizabethan settlement. No reader can fail to be the wiser for Dr. Maitland's instruction; perhaps, if he has approached the chapter in a more normal frame of mind, he may end it with a clearer knowledge than Dr. Maitland's own. It is a pity that Scottish affairs are combined with English. Both nations suffer, and Scotland is in the worse case.

The other chapters which deal with national reformations are all excellent, though it would have been well to spare a page or two for the beginning of that in Hungary, which had its share in paralysing the nation and could not be omitted when Dr. Collins has to relate its Unitarian development. In regard to Switzerland it might have been worth while to mention the causes, so far as they can be determined, which induced each canton or league to take its side; no great space would have been required for an addition which would have made the record more complete and more interesting. Of the biographical chapters the only one that raises doubt is Dr. Fairbairn's. Does it represent the real Calvin? Has not the psychology mastered the history, and does he not read the growth of the church that Calvin founded into the purposes of the founder? We ought surely to have been told that in practice he and his followers were the most clerically minded of men. But it is noteworthy that we might read this volume through without learning how

professionally jealous were the reformers at large, and how resolute to surrender as little as possible of the inheritance into which they had entered. There is one chapter which might surely, when so much is omitted, have been justly curtailed. The efforts after a protestant reform in Italy and Spain led to nothing. It is a touching story, and not much more; had it been cut down and a good deal of the last chapter, in which Dr. Fairbairn summarises the views of many mere eccentrics, been similarly reduced, there would have been more room for a comprehensive survey of the whole reforming current of thought. Dr. Fairbairn, sticking less closely to his Calvin than the other writers to their subjects, has shown how broad and interesting a generalisation he could have offered. Of the remaining chapters, that by Dr. F. X. Kraus is rather material for thought than formal history, and Mr. Lawrence's account of the Council of Trent is most judicious in keeping to a direct narrative and avoiding those theological questions which had ceased, after the first stage of the Reformation, to be essential factors in the dispute. The Tridentine definitions, with their emphatic recognition of the fact that cleavage was complete, belong rather to the later history of the Roman communion than to that of the Reformation.

The volume, as a whole, does tell the reader who will seek for them most of the facts he will wish to know. But he must be diligent in his search. The history of France, for instance, has to be collected from Dr. Fairbairn, Mr. Leathes, and Mr. Tilley, and the student who would master it must do his share of the historian's work in combining the scattered information. This, however, is an inevitable result of Lord Acton's scheme, and we must be grateful to the writers for the excellent and trustworthy work that they have accomplished, and not least for the bibliography. It is true that some of the lists are encumbered with obsolete or superficial books, and that some are obviously defective. But others, and notably that for Germany, are admirably comprehensive.

E. W. WATSON.

*Notes on the Authentic Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots.* Based on the Researches of the late Sir George Scharf, K.C.B. Rewritten in the light of new information by LIONEL CUST. (Murray: London. 1903.)

THE nature and scope of Mr. Cust's book are set forth in the title. The author does not pretend to discuss the vexed questions of the queen's life, which, he thinks, 'seem to be no nearer a definite settlement than before.' Most of them are settled fairly well, but the public which forms its own opinion on tradition will never know it. In the same way, evidence will never shake the belief of Scottish families in their own portrait of the queen given by her to their ancestor. You vainly point out the date and the name of the artist on the canvas—a name and a date of the eighteenth century. The oldest aunt replies that the late painter merely 'restored' the piece, which, with its legend, travels about to loan exhibitions. Usually, the queen holds a white rose in her hand, though the white rose, of course, became a symbol of loyalty about a hundred and thirty years after her death. Mr. Cust naturally begins with coins and medals. The marriage medal of Mary and the Dauphin,

1558, shows a rather insignificant-looking girl, with not bad features, who develops into the really graceful and handsome portrait of the wife of Darnley, 'his Majesty's dearest mother with the naked craig'—that is, *décolletée*. The enthusiast who wants evidence for Mary's beauty need not look further. There is no genuine portrait in oil of Mary in France: the Windsor miniature is apparently based on a chalk drawing now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The French artists could not render what we call 'charm'—the portraits, though accurate in contour no doubt, are stiff and dull. A miniature at the Uffizi (plate vi., fig. 1) in a *toque* seems to us be the nearest extant relation to some authentic portrait of Mary in a *toque* and white plume. A descendant of the original, really pleasing, is in Lord Haddington's collection at Tynninghame, and we understand that a document proves it to have been given by James VI., with a portrait of himself, to the Lord Melrose, later earl of Haddington, who long governed Scotland after the union of the crowns. There are countless variants on this early original. Nobody can detect beauty in the drawing of Mary as dowager of France, in white mourning, with the sidelong glance inherited by the Chevalier de St. George (James III and VIII). Many old portraits descend from this drawing, which naturally cannot exhibit 'the exquisite pallor of the queen's complexion.' This brilliant pallor, with red lips, red-brown eyes, hair of a bright brown, and constant mobility of expression, with a finely formed neck and figure, and a tongue that

Could sing fish out of the water,  
And water out of a stone,

a fascination that her foes acknowledged and feared, were all the weapons of Mary in the long and hopeless struggle of her life. We have little confidence in the bronze bust in the Louvre (plate xi.). In Scotland there was no native painter, and we know not any portrait of Mary done in Scotland by a foreign artist. Of the various repetitions of the Sheffield portrait that in the collection of the duke of Devonshire seems to us probably the most characteristic (plate xiv., date 1578). The portraits at Hardwick, Cobham, Hatfield, and the National Portrait Gallery are, we agree with Mr. Cust, probably contemporary copies in large of a miniature done at Sheffield in 1577, for the queen's faithful ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow. The Morton portrait, after the Sheffield portrait, but without 'idolatrous' emblems, is by the best artist of all. In 1577, when Mary was certainly sitting for her portrait at Sheffield, Morton said that he 'would rather serve her and her race than any of the world, as God was his judge,' so Lord Ogilvy reported to Archbishop Beaton, for whom Mary's portrait of 1577 was done. Beaton may have gratified Morton with a copy by a Parisian artist, to encourage his repentance, in which the queen did not believe.<sup>1</sup> We make Mr. Cust a present of this suggestion. Mr. Cust deals agreeably with the many false portraits, of which the Fraser Tytler example is so like the Mary of Mr. Hewlett's novel, *The Queen's Quair*, that we reject it with regret. But, alas, the eyes are blue, which is fatal. The tiny Penicuik miniature, in a gold jewel,

<sup>1</sup> Hosack, *Mary Stuart*, ii., Appendix B, from a manuscript of the Scots College.

not mentioned by Mr. Cust, is a genuine gift from Mary to one of the Mowbray ladies.

Mr. Cust's book entirely succeeds in fulfilling its purpose, and ought to be in every Marian library. A. LANG.

*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1578-9, preserved in the Public Record Office.* Edited by ARTHUR JOHN BUTLER, M.A. (London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1903.)

MR. BUTLER, having once started with his *Calendar*, is proceeding with it apace, and barely a year has elapsed between the publication of his first and that of his second volume. At this rate the foreign calendar for Elizabeth's reign will be completed in less than a quarter of a century, and younger students of the Tudor period may reasonably hope to have the materials for a judgment on Elizabeth's foreign policy accessible before they die. No such felicity apparently awaits the student of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; for, unless parliament grows more liberal with its grants, or a different plan is adopted by Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte, one or two centuries must still pass before posterity will be in a position to write the history of the later Stuart or of the Hanoverian diplomacy. Seriously, we would ask the deputy-keeper of the Records whether it would not be possible to start some one on the Foreign Calendar at 1603 and a third editor at 1688 or 1714.

The present volume relates almost exclusively to affairs in the Netherlands, where things were going from bad to worse for England and prosperously for no one. Seldom has there been in any country a more confused welter of intrigue. Don John was standing at bay in the south, surrounded by three hostile forces, the Prince of Orange, the German Duke Casimir, and the French Duke of Alençon. Elizabeth's professed aim was to induce Philip II to grant the Netherlands local liberties and the insurgents to recognise the sovereignty of Philip; she dreaded equally their conquest by the Spaniards and their 'liberation' by the French. Finding her mediation powerless to achieve this end, she practically withdrew her countenance from the Netherlands, and apparently trusted to a flirtation with Alençon to protect her from the probable effects of the success of Spain.<sup>1</sup> Her conduct seems to have disgusted almost all her council—not merely the forward party of Leicester, Walsingham, and Davison, but Burghley and even Sussex and Hatton;—one would like more light on her advisers in this course. She defied their remonstrances in a fashion which proves her strength of will, though not her wisdom; for her conduct must be regarded as one of the two chief causes which so nearly brought the rising Dutch republic to grief and permanently divided the Netherlands into two not very friendly states. The other cause was undeniably religious intolerance on the part of the Netherlanders themselves. In the autumn of 1578 their cause seemed almost won, when a violent outburst of the Calvinists of Ghent against the catholics alienated the Walloons and the majority of the Flemings. The death of Don John prevented Spain from immediately reaping the advantage, and at first war seemed probable between Alençon as the

<sup>1</sup> See Walsingham in no. 584.



champion of the Walloons and Casimir as the Calvinist protagonist. Neither was, however, very capable; and Alexander of Parma soon began to gather the catholics around his standard and make head against the protestants. 'The war which is about to begin,' wrote a sagacious observer, 'will be a war for religion' (no. 523); theological hatreds had shattered the national movement against Spanish tyranny. Fortunately for the Dutch they were a stubborn race; half a dozen battles, wrote the prophetic Walsingham (no. 90), will not 'put the king of Spain into possession of these countries, which perhaps to some will seem a paradox, but in time they will learn to be of another opinion.'

The score or so of letters relating to France are not of great importance, though Poulet has perceived by 1579 that the design in France was 'to root out religion by all means possible.' It is extraordinary to find not a single document on England's relations with Spain during this year; the correspondence of Mendoza is, of course, in the *Calendar of Simancas MSS.*, but it appears to be a fact that while Mendoza was ambassador in London there was no English representative at the court of Philip II, and we are unable to supplement Mr. Butler's *Calendar* by any references to the Spanish documents in the British Museum. As in the case of the previous volume there are, however, over a hundred letters, of which Mr. Butler takes no account, relating to Flanders, 1578-9, in Cotton MS. Galba, C. vi., some of which are indispensable for the understanding of this volume. So far does the exclusion of the British Museum materials go that when Mr. Butler notes a version in Kervyn de Lettenhove of a Museum document he does not give the reference, but merely says 'from another copy.' Except for the splendid lapse of the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, the gaze of the editors of *State Papers* is rigidly confined within the four walls of the Record Office, and Mr. Butler himself has a plaintive remark (p. xxi) that Kervyn, 'being a foreigner, was able to utilise the English documents without regard to their place of custody.' No one, therefore, can master the diplomatic history of the Netherlands and England in this year without recourse to the British Museum, to Kervyn de Lettenhove, and to Muller and to Diegerick, as well as to this *Calendar*.

We have no space for detailed criticism. The proofs have been read with much greater care than before, and the list of errata appears to be almost exhaustive. The notes at the end of no. 77 are not 'for a letter home,' but for a reply by the English government, probably no. 91. In no. 32 the 'wanns of Harwich,' which puzzle Mr. Butler, should be 'Wands,' and he will find an explanation of the phrase in a note to Dr. Gairdner's *Calendar* for 1544, no. 249. As a whole the calendaring is done thoroughly well.

A. F. POLLARD.

*Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company.* By H. G. ROSEDALE, D.D.  
Published under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature.  
(London: Frowde. 1904.)

THIS volume contains a few interesting despatches from Sir Edward Barton at Constantinople during the year 1595 relating to the accession of Sultan Mehemet III, and the present which the accession of a new sovereign obliged the English ambassador to make. It gives also a

very curious account of the delivery of this present to the sultan in 1599. But the *pièce de résistance* is a narrative of the death of Murad III and the circumstances attending the accession of Mehemet, with character sketches of both sovereigns. This narrative was written by a curious Jew in Italian, and a twelve-page facsimile of it, admirably executed, is inserted. The document does not deserve this honour, for it is, on Dr. Rosedale's own showing, merely a corrupt copy, or perhaps a duplicate, of the original. The editor speaks of it as a piece of doctored or spurious historical literature used to influence the action of Queen Elizabeth and her council by Barton. According to him it was simply one of many clever schemes devised by Barton to gain time before asking the Turkey Company for a present for the new sovereign, a demand which was likely to meet with considerable opposition, as they had just sent one to the deceased Murad III. Its object was to awaken the interest of the queen and her advisers in favour of the new sultan, and to induce her to supply these propitiatory offerings; and it was eventually successful. The evidence adduced by Dr. Rosedale is not sufficient to prove his theory. The document cannot be fairly described as 'spurious,' even if, like other newsletters of the kind, it contains erroneous statements, and the events it recorded were quite of sufficient public interest for the ambassador to forward it to his government without any other motive than to inform them of events in Turkey. There is nowhere any proof that the production and transmission of the narrative were dictated by the underhand diplomacy suggested. In short, Dr. Rosedale is much too ingenious to be convincing.

The book is beautifully printed, and illustrated with portraits and facsimiles in large numbers. The expense of its production is out of all proportion to the value of its contents, and it is to be regretted that the Royal Society of Literature, if it intends to publish historical documents, should not spend its money on work of some real value to historians. The editorial work is not well done. It is absurd to describe a document vaguely as in the possession of the Record Office or the British Museum. Two documents are cited from Hakluyt's *Voyages*, but no proper reference for either is given.<sup>1</sup> Some mention should also have been made of the paper by Mr. Pears on the Spanish Armada and the Ottoman Porte, published in this Review for July 1893, which illustrates the subjects dealt with in Dr. Rosedale's book.

C. H. FIRTH.

*Les Infortunés d'une Petite-fille d'Henri IV, Marguerite d'Orléans, Grande-Duchesse de Toscane (1645-1721).* Par E. RODOCANACHI. (Paris: Flammarion. s.a.)

*La Mission de M. de Forbin-Janson, Évêque de Marseille, plus tard Évêque de Beauvais, auprès du Grand-Duc et de la Grande-Duchesse de Toscane, Mars—Mai, 1675; Récit d'un Témoin.* Par C. DOUAIS, Évêque de Beauvais. (Paris: Picard. 1904.)

MARGUERITE D'ORLÉANS, granddaughter of Henri IV and grand duchess of Tuscany, was not unlike her half-sister, 'la Grande Mademoiselle,' in energy, talkativeness, vivacity, and strength of will, and was besides

<sup>1</sup> See Hakluyt, ed. 1599, ii. 303, 311.

a famous beauty, compared even in middle life to the statue known as the 'Venus of Arles.' She was married in girlhood to Cosimo, son of Ferdinand of Tuscany, who afterwards became grand duke as Cosimo III. An unwilling bride, for her fancy had already been captured by the gallant, handsome prince, Charles of Lorraine, she had been educated with a view to pleasing the young king, Louis XIV, to whom Duke Gaston fondly hoped to marry her. She was an enthusiastic horsewoman, devoted to hunting, dancing, and music, and just fitted for the gay, unfettered, frivolous life of the French court. She had hardly arrived in Florence before she discovered that her husband was priggish, prudish, and pompous, repulsively ugly, ruled by his mother and the priests who had educated him, rigidly following the dictates of a superstitious, over-scrupulous, and misdirected conscience, without any sympathy for the social pleasures which Marguerite loved. The Tuscan court was a model of frigid etiquette in the Spanish style; Marguerite's most innocent frivolities were looked upon with disapproval by the severely pious grand duchess, who had long lived as a nun, apart from her husband, whose scientific pursuits she considered dangerous to salvation. The grand duke took an interest in literature and science, and Marguerite found him more tolerable. To please her, and obtain the grandson for whom he longed, he tried to enliven the court, but Marguerite did not make the slightest attempt to accommodate herself to her surroundings. She was determined so to disgust the Tuscans that they would be thankful to send her back to France. She flouted and mocked her husband, gave crown jewels to her French serving-women, and carried on a clandestine correspondence, afterwards discovered, with Prince Charles; in fact, she was said to *faire le diable de cent façons*. Finally she refused altogether to live with the prince, declaring that she would rather go to hell without him than to heaven with him. However, after a considerable period of solitude, her resolution failed her and she returned to court, but only to quarrel with her husband once more and plan an escape to France, disguised as a gypsy. Cosimo went on his travels for a time, and she behaved better when Ferdinand's death made her grand duchess.

Finding herself however excluded from any share in the government by her mother-in-law, Marguerite fled to one of Cosimo's villas and refused to return. French envoys, letters from Louis XIV, even a bishop armed with papal threats and exhortations, failed to move her; she was kept in strict confinement, but preferred a prison to a penitentiary such as the court had become under Cosimo and his mother. Cosimo had at first been really in love with her, so far as his flabby nature could sustain such a sentiment; but he was now tired of her, and, when she declared that their marriage must be invalid, because it had been concluded against her will, his scrupulous conscience took fright and he was glad to be rid of her. Declaring that she wished to live in retirement and devotion, she was allowed to return to France and reside in the convent of Montmartre. But her pious aspirations were short-lived; her liveliness and misfortunes secured for her the favour of the chivalrous king and his gay court, and she plunged into its dissipations, scoffing at Cosimo's remonstrances and holding him up to ridicule. She travelled where she pleased, got deeply into debt, and, when she could not be at court, amused herself

with the company of a series of grooms and valets, to whom she permitted compromising familiarities. Cosimo worried himself continually about her; all her actions were reported by his spies, and he made himself miserable with jealousy and wounded pride. Marguerite kept up a secret correspondence with her eldest son, Prince Ferdinand, whose character resembled hers, and who, consequently, was on very bad terms with his father. For years she continued to be a thorn in Cosimo's side, but age at length sobered her; she lost her influence at court, devoted herself to good works, wrote affectionate letters to Cosimo, even embroidered a screen for him, and lived in complete retirement until her death, at the age of seventy-six, in 1721.

M. Rodocanachi's book forms an interesting study of an unusual type of character, and throws many side-lights on life and on the sometimes remarkably unconventional manners of court and convent in France under Louis XIV, with entertaining glimpses of that king, Mademoiselle, and other notable personages. As a monograph on a princess of not first-rate importance it is perhaps a little lengthy, and Marguerite's flirtations with her valets become tiresome before we have done with them.

Monseigneur Douais' interest in a former bishop of Beauvais has led him to study the diplomatic mission to the court of Tuscany with which this prelate was charged in 1673; and he has obtained possession of a *Relation* of that mission written by one of the bishop's suite, M. de Faur-Ferriès. Monseigneur Douais gives an account of this *Relation* which supplements M. Rodocanachi's narrative of this mission. Faur-Ferriès's sympathies are naturally all given to Marguerite. He states that Cosimo's mother had set her son against his bride even before her arrival, and draws a most unflattering portrait of the prince, emphasising his ugliness, stoutness, bigotry, and stupidity. Cosimo is described as one of those people who are amiable abroad and sulky at home; he 'never speaks except on business;' 'usually drives out alone, the better to maintain his dignity;' 'instead of laughing when the grand duchess tried to chaff him, he only showed annoyance.' Soon after the marriage he was mortally offended because in fun she cut off one of his big hanging sleeves. Marguerite, on the contrary, is altogether beautiful and charming; she won the Frenchman's heart by her gaiety and spirits, in spite of adverse circumstances, and by her love of music and delicate flattery of his musical performances. One point perfectly characteristic of Louis XIV and his school of diplomacy must not be omitted. The bishop's final and most important argument with Marguerite was that she should submit and return to her husband in order that she might have the honour of exercising her talents to the advantage of French commercial and political designs.

The book contains some letters illustrative of the mission drawn from the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.

K. DOROTHEA VERNON.

*Catalogue of the Pepysian MSS.* Edited by J. R. TANNER. Vol. I. (Navy Records Society. 1903.)

MR. TANNER'S volume consists of an introduction to the catalogue and two lists. It is to be followed by a full calendar of the fourteen volumes

of Admiralty Letters in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, and, it is to be hoped, by some catalogue of the miscellaneous naval papers in the same collection. The introduction is based on a series of articles published by Mr. Tanner in the *English Historical Review* in 1897 and 1899 (xii. 17, 679, xiv. 47, 261), but the articles have been enlarged and revised, so that the introduction contains much new information. Mr. Tanner follows the Pepysian papers very closely, summarising the evidence they supply under eight heads—government, finance, men, pay, victuals, discipline, ships, and guns. He arranges his matter in an extremely clear and methodical manner, and succeeds in concisely stating a great number of exact facts and details in the comparatively small space of 250 pages. The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of English naval administration, and serves as a continuation to Mr. Oppenheim's work on the period before 1660.

The net result of Mr. Tanner's introduction is to prove that the statesmen of the Restoration were far better administrators than they are usually represented as being. The period from 1660 to 1688 was on the whole, in spite of certain disgraceful episodes, a period of progress. Certain improvements in administration initiated during the Commonwealth and Protectorate were now incorporated into the permanent system of the country, and improvements in shipbuilding were also introduced. Mr. Tanner points out that this progress was partly due to the interest taken by Charles II in the development of the navy, of which he collects some evidence, and still more to the industry and zeal of the duke of York (pp. 245-7). James left his mark on the organisation of the navy, for the instructions issued by him as lord high admiral in 1662 remained in force until the admiralty was reorganised at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were based upon instructions issued by the earl of Northumberland in 1640, revised and improved by the duke, probably with the assistance of Sir William Penn (p. 20). Macaulay goes too far when he sneers at James as a man 'who would have made a respectable clerk in the dockyard at Chatham.' He was certainly much more than this, and showed himself a capable administrator. Wellington, reviewing another part of James's official career, judged him as favourably as Mr. Tanner does. 'He was a very weak fellow,' said Wellington to Lord Stanhope, 'but he had great skill nevertheless for the head of a department. His arrangements at the ordnance were excellent. When I was master-general I brought it back very much to what he had made it.'<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tanner rightly praises the services of Pepys himself. 'We may fairly claim for this great public servant that he did more than any one else under a king "that did hate the very sight and thoughts of business" to apply business principles to naval administration.' The volume is appropriately dedicated 'to the memory of Samuel Pepys, a great public servant.'

Mr. Tanner prints two documents only in this instalment of his catalogue, but they are both lengthy and of great value. One is a 'Register of the Ships of the Royal Navy' from 1660 to 1688, showing their burden, their force, when and where they were built, and what became of them. To this he adds a 'Register of Sea Officers,' giving the

<sup>1</sup> Stanhope, *Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington*, p. 66.

dates of the commissions of all officers of the navy, from flag officers to lieutenants, during the same twenty-eight years. It is a very great advantage to any one interested in the history of the reigns of Charles and James to have these two lists placed at his disposal. In conclusion one error of omission on the editor's part must be pointed out. Mr. Tanner does not seem to realise how large a part of the manuscript collections of Mr. Pepys are in the Bodleian Library now. He refers, it is true, to the summary account of them given by Dr. Macray in his *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, but he forgets to point out that these papers are described at length in the *Catalogue of the Rawlinson MSS.*, published by Dr. Macray in 1862. Five-and-twenty volumes of the miscellaneous correspondence of Pepys are there catalogued and indexed, and about as many other volumes are more briefly described. One of those volumes is a list of officers similar to that printed by Mr. Tanner.<sup>2</sup> Another contains two versions of the 'Register of the Ships in the Royal Navy,' one extending from 1660 to 1675, the other continued down to 1686.<sup>3</sup> It is apparently to the first of these lists of vessels that Pepys refers in the letter quoted by Mr. Tanner in his preface, complaining of the difficulty he has experienced in compiling such a table. Though the Bodleian collection of correspondence is of very much less value than that contained in the Pepysian Library, it is of so much value that the existence of these supplementary letters and duplicate documents should have been pointed out by Mr. Tanner, especially as they are fully catalogued, and can be consulted with much more ease than the papers at Magdalene College, Cambridge. With the exception of this omission, which Mr. Tanner can easily repair in his later volumes, no fault can be found with his editorial work.

C. H. FIRTH.

*The Popish Plot: a Study in the History of the Reign of Charles II.* By JOHN POLLOCK, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: Duckworth. 1903.)

THIS noteworthy and in many ways brilliant book is an illustration of the influence which can be exerted by a really eminent scholar. When Lord Acton was appointed to the Cambridge chair, it was forecasted that, whether successful or not as a lecturer, he would at any rate set people to attempt the solution of historical conundrums. To Mr. Pollock, who dedicates his book to Lord Acton's memory, was propounded the triple conundrum: 'What was going on between Coleman and Père la Chaise, how Oates got hold of the wrong story, and who killed Godfrey?' and, though few may assert that he has succeeded in finding the correct answers, yet, in making the attempt, he has given a lucid and very readable account of a most difficult and intricate period of English history.

One of the ablest chapters of the book is that in the first part which describes the Roman catholic designs. That after the Restoration the Roman catholics had confident and not unreasonable expectations, not only of a relaxation of the penal laws, but of an eventual recovery of ascendancy, is proved by the history of the treaty of Dover and of the

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson MS. A. 199.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 197.

reign of James II. These expectations were for the time disappointed by the revocation of the Declaration of Indulgence, the passing of the Test Act, and that vacillating foreign policy which appeared at last to lean decisively to the protestant side when the Princess Mary was married to William of Orange. It was in the highest degree natural that bitter disappointment should find expression in indignant denunciation of Charles II as ungrateful to loyal subjects and as a deserter of a cause to which he was regarded as committed by conscience and conviction. In striking contrast to the conduct of Charles was that of his brother. James's first wife had died a convert to the faith; he had incurred odium by his second marriage with a loyal catholic; he had sacrificed an office in which he had won high distinction rather than take the test; and he had endangered his personal safety and his prospects of succession by absenting himself from the services of the established church and by resolute resistance to the efforts of Anglican prelates to bring about his re-conversion. Both in England and abroad, Roman catholics looked forward to the accession of so loyal a prince, and hot-headed enthusiasts may well have desired to hasten the auspicious event.

It is not strictly relevant to Mr. Pollock's argument that the Roman catholics may have been mistaken in their estimate of Charles's policy, and that he had been forced to dissemble rather than to alter or abandon his previous policy. Their opinion was based upon his obvious actions, not upon his unknown motives or intentions. But Mr. Pollock does not seem to admit the possibility of a mistake. He deliberately asserts that 'from the moment when he revoked the Declaration of Indulgence the catholics had nothing to hope from Charles' (p. 30), and again, that Charles 'had definitely adopted a policy adverse to the catholics' (p. 69). These statements are not only unnecessary to support his main contention, but they seem to involve a misreading of an important period of the reign. Danby endeavoured to revive the alliance of the crown with the cavaliers which had existed in the early years of the reign, and to detach from the country party those loyalists who had been driven to join it by their distrust of the king and their hatred of the policy associated with the ascendancy of 'the Cabal.' This scheme failed, says Mr. Pollock, but he hardly grasps the real cause of its failure. The fact was that Charles did not cordially adopt this policy or make it his own. The king and Danby were never in complete or cordial agreement. If they had been, there is no reason to suppose that they could not have been successful. But Charles had not yet been sufficiently convinced of the impossibility of founding a strong monarchy upon the alliance of Roman catholics and protestant dissenters, and of the paramount importance of securing the unhesitating and unqualified support of the Anglican church. This conviction was supplied by the stormy events between 1678 and 1681; and when once Charles had learned this great lesson, he had no difficulty in crushing all opposition. The resolute abandonment of all idea of a Roman catholic revival or of a policy of indulgence was a result rather than a cause of the Popish plot.

It is as well known to us as it was to Oates that in 1678 there was general discontent among Roman Catholics, and that extreme malcontents, whether rightly or wrongly, blamed the king for having first encouraged

and then thwarted their aspirations. That there were schemes afloat for the furtherance of their interests, and that these schemes were based upon the expectation of foreign assistance, is proved by the extant correspondence of Coleman. It is true that the more important letters do not go later than 1675; but, in spite of Coleman's asseverations, it is impossible to believe that later letters were not intentionally destroyed, and they were presumably more incriminating than those which were left. The disappearance of these letters, though it failed to save Coleman from contemporary and from posthumous condemnation, makes it impossible to give a satisfactory answer to the first of Lord Acton's questions. And it also helps to obscure the second problem. Supposing that there was a Catholic plot, either full-grown or in process of growth, what relation did it bear to *the* plot as divulged by Oates? If there was open discontent against the king, was there a conspiracy against the king's life? If Oates knew so much, why did he not know more? Above all, why did he blunder about the central and most important episode in his story, the Jesuit 'consult' on 24 April 1678? There unquestionably was a 'consult' on that date, but the meeting and its business had nothing in common with Oates's description. It was held at St. James's, the Duke of York's residence, and not at the White Horse tavern in the Strand: it was not a specially summoned meeting, but the normal congregation of the province, which was held every three years and was attended by forty members, consisting of certain officials and the senior fathers of the province. The minutes, drawn up by the secretary, are still extant, and a translation from the Latin has been published by Father Gerard, S.J., in the *Month* for September 1903 (vol. cii. pp. 311-316). No doubt the minutes are not necessarily exhaustive, but when added to the meeting-place and to the character and composition of the meeting, they are enough to convince any unprejudiced reader that no such business as Oates alleged was discussed at this assembly. It might, of course, be urged that another meeting of Jesuits, not necessarily of the same members, was held on the same date at the White Horse, and that Oates confused this with the regular 'consult' of which he may have heard at St. Omer. But there is no evidence for such a second meeting, and the conjecture is needless except for the impossible task of vindicating Oates's veracity. And if the conjecture be rejected, it is needless to cavil, as Mr. Pollock does, at the evidence adduced to prove that Oates was at St. Omer at the date of the congregation. If he were not present, which Mr. Pollock asserts, he could invent imaginary proceedings at St. Omer just as well as in London.

It is to the third of Lord Acton's mysteries, the death of Godfrey, that Mr. Pollock has devoted his keenest attention; and his attempt to solve the apparently insoluble has excited a good deal of interest among historical students. His views may be briefly summarised. He holds that Coleman, when Godfrey communicated to him the substance of Oates's depositions, was led by his eagerness to prove their falsehood to betray the secret that the 'consult' of 24 April met at St. James's Palace. James subsequently admitted to Reresby that if Oates had known this 'he would have cut out a fine spot of work for me.' The Jesuits, learning from Coleman his fatal indiscretion, determined to avert the imminent



risk of disclosure by removing the innocent but untrustworthy confidant. This supplies the often-sought motive for Godfrey's murder. But Mr. Pollock does not stop here : he is prepared to identify the actual perpetrators of the murder. Prance, he says, brought false evidence against innocent men. But this evidence was that of a man who knew the real facts and must have been an accomplice. And Prance, in spite of his perjury, or even in consequence of it, continued to enjoy the favour of the Jesuits. Hence Mr. Pollock concludes that his evidence against Green, Berry, and Hill was a deliberate effort to screen other persons ; these must have been the men accused by Bedloe, and they were therefore the real criminals.

It is impossible in these pages to analyse at length this suggested solution of the mystery. But it is obviously rather ingenious than convincing. There is no evidence for Coleman's supposed disclosure to Godfrey, which is as purely conjectural as the most famous of Bentley's emendations of Horace. It is not certain that Coleman knew the secret about the 'consult,' and if he did he must have been a very poor conspirator to blurt it out on such comparatively slight provocation. For there was no reason at the time to regard Oates's story as involving any serious danger, and there is less reason to think that Coleman so regarded it. Nor can it be proved that Coleman, after making the initial blunder, tried to redeem it by confessing his folly to the Jesuits. And yet it is upon such unsupported hypotheses that the whole case against the Jesuits depends. Nor does Mr. Pollock improve his case by his naive confession of the methods by which he reached his conclusions. He appeals to a rather misleading metaphor, suggested by the late Mr. S. R. Gardiner, of the search for a key to open a locked door. A door may frequently be unlocked by several keys, which are not necessarily identical ; and the fact that one of them serves the purpose by no means proves that it was originally made to fit the lock. Medical evidence at an inquest often proves that a wound might be inflicted in several different ways ; but this does not help to prove that it was actually inflicted in one particular way. The evil of a preconceived theory is that it almost unconsciously leads the inquirer to read the evidence so as to fit it into the theory. The death of Godfrey remains an unsolved mystery. Suicide, not improbable in itself and the favourite theory of Roman catholic writers, is negatived by the medical evidence, and by the description of the corpse given by the majority of those who saw it. There is neither evidence nor probability to favour a contention that he was murdered by personal enemies or for private ends. That the crime was committed in order to stimulate popular belief in the plot and indignation against the Roman catholics, is an *ex post facto* conjecture of the wildest kind. The informers were not at the time either numerous enough or sufficiently organised to carry out such a far-sighted and ingenious crime. The balance of probability, but nothing more, favours the view that ignorant and hot-headed catholics acted on the belief that their cause could be served by the death of the fussy and ill-fated magistrate.

On one minor but not insignificant point Mr. Pollock is inclined, and probably with justice, to give Oates the benefit of the doubt. Many writers, following L'Estrange and accepting a statement of Simpson Tonge, have stated that Oates and Tonge conspired together to concoct a

false charge against the Jesuits as early as 1676, and that Oates spent the intervening time in a deliberate search for material out of which to build the story of a plot. The evidence of Simpson Tonge is worthless, and he more than once contradicted himself on this point. So far as it has any importance it affects character rather than facts. If it were true, it would make Oates an even more deliberate perjurer than he was, and it would make Tonge more of a villain and less of a dupe. Neither conclusion is necessary to discredit the evidence subsequently produced. It is infinitely more probable that Oates wilfully confused together the loose talk of catholic malcontents with the traces of a plot which he believed he had discovered at St. Omer, and that once embarked in his career he was led on by egregious vanity and an ingrained passion for lying to erect the monstrous edifice of preposterous untruths which has excited at once the wonder and the horror of later generations.

Mr. Pollock's later chapters are not without interest, but they will probably arrest less attention than those on Godfrey's death. His sketch of the political history from 1679 to 1681 adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the period, and his analysis of the evidence produced at the various trials for treason is chiefly noteworthy for his vindication of the impartiality of Chief Justice Scroggs. The interesting ethical questions raised by the attitude towards the plot of Charles II and of the opposition leaders are passed over with comparatively slight notice. It is true that he rejects the assertion of Dalrymple that the plot was an invention of whig politicians, but it is so palpably absurd that it hardly needed refutation. Far more important is the question as to how far Shaftesbury and his colleagues intentionally stimulated public credulity in a story which they themselves disbelieved, and deliberately hounded innocent men to death in order to serve the interests of their party.

R. LODGE.

*Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Prime Minister (1710-14).*

By E. S. ROSCOE. (London: Chatto & Windus. 1902.)

IN a pleasantly written volume, illustrated by twelve portraits, Mr. Roscoe has said all that can be said for the most enigmatic of English statesmen. Benevolent interpretation is certainly called for in the case of a politician who belonged to all parties and to none, who by personal influences rather than upon grounds of principle attained the highest position in the state, and who, when he fell, fell never to rise again, having failed even to command the loyalty of a personal following. The author is not positively enamoured of the subject; no one could be. His volume is a constant plea of extenuating circumstances, a not unnatural attitude for the biographer of a man who, apart from politics, had a human and pleasing side to his character.

In estimating Harley as a political force the personality of Anne has to be taken into account. Who really governed England during the successive periods of her reign? Was it the duchess of Marlborough, or Lady Masham, or Harley, or the queen herself? Clearly, if the last, the importance of Harley is reduced to that of a mere placeman. Mr. Roscoe in one part of his book follows a recent tendency to ascribe to Anne an

individuality of will which operated as a 'powerful factor' in the evolution of politics. Consistently with this view he concludes that 'in following the fortunes of the statesmen of the age of Anne personal contests and court intrigues have been too much considered' (p. 42). The examples of Anne's independence usually relied upon are her appointment of two high-church bishops in 1707 without consulting the ministry, the nomination of the duke of Shrewsbury in place of the marquess of Kent as lord chamberlain in April 1710, and the dismissal of Sunderland. Mr. Roscoe is probably quite right in saying that, in the case of the appointment of the bishops, 'considered at the time by the whigs as certain evidence of Harley's influence with the queen, there is not the smallest doubt that she acted entirely on her own opinion.' He is a little chary of citing authorities, or he might have supported this conclusion by the letter of Godolphin to the duke of Marlborough of 27 June 1707. But this appointment is of the nature of the exception which proves the rule, for Anne admittedly entertained strong high-church sentiments. It is true that the queen disliked Sunderland, but so did Harley, and Mr. Roscoe notes that his fall was a personal satisfaction to Harley as well as to the queen. The duke of Shrewsbury was the statesman whose turn of mind and political career most nearly resembled Harley's, and we know from Lord Raby, a contemporary diplomatist, that it was Harley who recommended him to the queen. When we come to the dismissal of Harley himself, Mr. Roscoe tells us truly that Lady Masham's influence 'was the final factor in Harley's fall, as it was in his rise to supreme power' (p. 165). Elsewhere (p. 170) he says, 'Like Godolphin his (Harley's) political life was finally destroyed by Lady Masham.' When two out of three of the prime ministers of the reign, to adopt the anachronism of the title-page, admittedly succumbed to the hostile influence of a woman of the bedchamber, can it be said with accuracy that 'personal contests and court intrigues have been too much considered'? It was through the effectiveness of his intrigues that Harley became a political force. He had the talent of selecting agents, and he would scarcely have agreed with Mr. Roscoe in calling Lady Masham 'an ordinary woman' (p. 95). The epithet 'straightforward' applied to her (p. 96) is still more astonishing and scarcely harmonises with the description of her 'influence veiled under the attractive guise of friendship' (p. 165). On the other hand the affection of Lady Masham towards the queen, like that of the duchess of Marlborough, was 'often tinged with something akin to contempt' (p. 95). Such an attitude on the part of the two people who knew the queen best was not likely to be assumed by two discerning politicians towards a personality which was a 'powerful factor' in political evolution. And if contemporaries can judge of the causes determining current events it is impossible to overlook the dominant place in men's minds and in the discussions of Godolphin's ministry occupied by bedchamber influence.

The fact is that Anne's predilections were personal rather than political. She had, before Lady Masham became powerful, a personal affection for Marlborough and Godolphin. She liked Somers, though he led the junta, because he was ceremonious. She would have hated Sunderland, even if he had been a tory, because he was brusque and

overbearing. She equally disliked the profligacy of Wharton and St. John, and they were of opposite politics. Cowper was a whig, yet he so won her heart that she thrice replaced the seals in his hands on his resignation in 1710. Lastly, the reasons alleged by her for the dismissal of Sunderland, Godolphin, and Harley were the same : they had been guilty of personal disrespect. Harley, as an acute observer, played up to her idiosyncrasy. In this sense there is something to be said for the proposition that he 'never attempted to form a middle party' (p. 43), that is, a party with definite political principles. St. John's personal claims were too powerful to be overlooked, but Harley's ministry in general, as the case of Cowper showed, was to be composed of members personally acceptable to the queen. What Harley did was to form a group of dependents who at first acted as a new 'flying squadron' and subsequently settled down into a ministerial party. But since he could only recruit from the two great parties and was by nature, as Mr. Roscoe justly insists, a man of moderation, his party became in effect a middle party. Neither is the author's dictum easily reconcilable with his suggestion that Harley, in opposing the Peerage Bill of 1719, 'might not be without hope that . . . a union of dissatisfied whigs with the tories might place him in power' (p. 192). Certainly he could never look for systematic support from the extremists of either party. As a matter of fact his supporters were tories. What ruined Harley was his character. Nobody trusted him. His passion for intrigue was the subject of pasquinades before Anne's accession. Marlborough, who rarely gave rein to his feelings, wrote of him to the queen as 'false and treacherous' in his proceedings. Mr. Roscoe rather fails to emphasise this determining factor of his nature. Though he says that after 1713 Harley involved himself in nothing less than a 'tissue of duplicity,' he adds, 'yet the foundation of it all was his desire to act on principles of moderation.' At any rate, as he admits, 'whigs and Hanoverians, tories and Jacobites alike had doubts of his good faith' (p. 155).

The early part of Harley's career might have been given us in more detail, especially if the author had followed the accounts of parliamentary proceedings by the foreign residents, with whose despatches Carl von Noorden has familiarised us. For instance, his first appointment as secretary of state in May 1704 receives little more than incidental mention, though if L'Hermitage is to be believed it was the outcome of an undertaking by Harley to bring over to Godolphin and Marlborough a certain number of tory supporters. Harley's conduct as speaker in the great constitutional struggle known as the Aylesbury case is also passed over, although it is a good example of that moderation of temper which the author claims for him. The social and literary sides of the man are well depicted. His manners seem to have been as varied as his politics. According to his biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, they were 'cold and formal.' The queen declared that he 'behaved himself toward her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect' (p. 167). On the other hand the author speaks of 'the ease and courtesy of Harley's manner' (p. 27). There is authority for all these views. Similarly it was, as Mr. Roscoe reminds us, his capacity for business that elevated him to the speaker-

ship of the house of commons; but the queen declared 'he neglected all business' (p. 167). It may be confidently inferred, and the Greg episode leads to the same conclusion, that perpetual engrossment in intrigue did not leave him much leisure for the duties of his department. The book is an interesting contribution towards the life of a unique personality.

I. S. LEADAM.

*Arnold's March from Cambridge to Quebec.* By JUSTIN H. SMITH.  
(New York: Putnam. 1903.)

THE interest of this book is not strategic, but geographical. Arnold's march was part of a combined movement for the conquest of Canada. Whilst he was struggling through the wilderness out of the Kennebec valley into that of the Chaudière a larger force was also moving towards Quebec by an easier but longer route—by the Lakes and Montreal. The author might have treated the subject from a military point of view, and have asked whether the Americans were wise in dividing their forces and adopting two distinct lines of invasion. He might have examined the causes of the failure of a plan which promised far-reaching results and seemed to hold out reasonable prospects of success. But he has not adopted this mode of treatment. Instead he invites the reader to follow the progress of an adventurous expedition through a wilderness, traces the successive steps of its advance, weighs in the balance the different views of the route followed, and terminates his narrative somewhat abruptly when he has brought the little army to the north bank of the St. Lawrence, in sight of its goal.

The idea of utilising the valleys of the Kennebec and Chaudière for military purposes was no new one. It had been suggested by Frenchmen at the end of the seventeenth century. It had been talked of by Englishmen during the Seven Years' War. Early in 1775 apprehension was felt both in Maine and Quebec lest an invasion should be attempted by either combatant along this line. A good deal was already known vaguely about this route from the reports of Indians, hunters, missionaries, and surveyors. Montresor, an English engineer officer, had been despatched in 1761 to explore this region, and had produced a map and journal, both of which were used by Arnold. But though the route was thought to be available for an armed force it was reserved for Arnold to be the first to make the attempt and to demonstrate that it was just practicable, but attended with enormous difficulties. But he encountered no resistance from the enemy till he reached the St. Lawrence. The only obstacles which he had to face were those which nature placed in his path, and in the light of his experience the English government abstained from attempting a counter-invasion on this line. Washington entirely underestimated the difficulties of the march. He writes to the Continental Congress on 21 Sept. 1775, 'I made all possible inquiry as to the distance, the safety of the route, and the danger of the season being too far advanced, but found nothing in either to deter me from proceeding.' The event proved that the lateness of the season was a very serious obstacle. The first order for the expedition was issued on 5 Sept., but it took time to equip the troops for the march, and they did not begin to leave Cambridge till the 11th. Their total strength was 'almost exactly

1,050,' but neither artillery nor heavy baggage accompanied the expedition; the information available made it plain that troops so encumbered would have no chance of success.

The author has vividly described the difficulties of the march. These may be said to have commenced when the army reached the Dead River. Early on 22 Oct. the river rose suddenly in flood, submerging some of the camps and temporarily obliterating the landmarks. On the 25th the 4th division turned its back on the other three and started homeward, taking with it the reserve supplies. Enos, its commander, was tried by court-martial on his return to Cambridge and 'honourably acquitted,' but the verdict has but little value, as the only evidence available at the time was that of his own officers. Very possibly Enos's defection was the cause of the expedition's failure. The hardest task for the historian is to trace the course followed by Arnold from the Upper Dead River over the 'height of land' to Lake Megantic, whence issued the Chaudière. The evidence is conflicting and various hypotheses have been suggested. The author closely follows Arnold's journal, 'apparently written day by day or not long after the events,' which he finds agrees reasonably closely with Montresor's map and his own experience. He has been at great pains to ascertain the exact truth, having himself crossed the 'height of land' seven times. Arnold with an advance party was somewhat ahead of the rest of the expedition, and it is not certain that all the divisions took the same route, but the probability is that they followed in Arnold's steps. The greatest difficulties encountered were during the march round Lake Megantic, where almost the whole expedition was in danger of 'complete extinction,' whilst the attempt to descend the Upper Chaudière, a feat which no boatman of the present day would undertake, proved fatal to the remaining *bateaux*. Of the 220 with which the expedition started only a very few were carried over the long portage, estimated to be from four and a half to six miles across the 'height of land.'

It is an interesting question how far the expedition was in danger of starvation. That danger was probably aggravated by Enos's retreat, and some of the narratives give a piteous description of the privations of certain troops. The author reckons that with proper care the army should never have been on less than half-rations, but it was impossible to persuade the men to husband their stock of food, and his conclusion is, 'There is ample evidence of hunger to the verge of starvation: only we must not think of every soldier as undergoing this extreme suffering.' The only journal which goes into detail on this point estimates the loss in the wilderness at from seventy to eighty. But that figure is questionable, since the writer of the journal overestimates the original strength of the expedition, and underestimates the numbers of the force with which Arnold crossed the St. Lawrence on 13 and 14 Nov. Arnold himself in an official report states his force before Quebec at 675, which exceeds the estimate of the journal by 165.

W. B. Wood.

*Mémoires du Général-Major Russe Baron de Löwenstern (1776-1858).*  
Annotés par M. H. WEIL. 2 vols. (Paris: Fontemoing. 1903.)

As the number of memoirs of Russian soldiers and statesmen is comparatively small, a welcome may be accorded to all that deal with this

great period of their history. Löwenstern's memoirs take the form of notes, jotted down in a simple easy style, concerning the events in which he took part. Unfortunately they were written down, as is shown in the 'Avant-Propos,' as late as the years 1842-50. Interrupted for a time by the command of the emperor Nicholas I that they should be sent to him, Löwenstern nevertheless resumed his task, as he recorded in private letters of that period. He also drew up a French version; but, although a Parisian publisher offered a large sum for his manuscript, he decided to keep it in the family. This manuscript M. Weil has now edited.

The charm of these *Mémoires* is their naturalness. The writer modestly says—

Tout le monde peut écrire des mémoires; on n'a qu'à vivre longtemps. Les faits arrivent d'eux-mêmes; l'habitude de l'observation, de l'investigation, de la critique se gagne: mais peu de personnes se donnent cette peine.

He also claims to have told nothing but the truth. The remark is not without parallel. But we note, as showing the bent of his mind, a sentence in a private letter of 1853: *Dieu, Alexandre, la nation et Koutousoff ont sauvé l'empire lors de l'invasion des Français en 1812.* Those who remember Kutusoff's conduct during the pursuit will find that sentence significant; and it scarcely accords with the writer's own criticisms of the prince's actions at that time. There is little of interest in Löwenstern's early career. For a short space of time he served under Suvoroff, whose character and genius he depicts in the most glowing terms. Not content with extolling his magnanimity and humanity in war, he claims that *il était sans contredit le plus grand capitaine de son siècle, toujours victorieux, jamais vaincu.* The statement and its justification alike show that age had not brought moderation to Löwenstern. For Korsakoff, who fared so badly at Masséna's hands at Zürich, the writer has nothing but censure. He was *fat, arrogant, présomptueux. . . . Il portait en lui-même le principe de sa défaite. Il s'était placé dans une telle situation que Masséna était forcé de le vaincre.* Either Löwenstern did not know or he passed over in silence the difficulties in which Korsakoff was involved by the almost complete withdrawal of his Austrian allies, and by the need of struggling on, so as to lighten the pressure of the French on Suvoroff on his march northwards from the St. Gothard. The editor should here have added a note qualifying Löwenstern's very one-sided remarks. The young Russian had some share in the operations intended to cover Korsakoff's retreat; but this did not qualify him to pass judgment on the Swiss campaign as a whole.

On his marriage Löwenstern determined to leave the army, but after the death of his wife in 1809 at Vienna he asked permission to take service in Napoleon's army as a volunteer; it was granted. He therefore took part in the campaign of that year; but his descriptions lack the clearness and fulness of detail that lend value to memoirs. He accuses the Austrians of losing a great opportunity after Aspern, owing to *tiédeur et hésitation*; but apparently he knew little of the practical difficulties that then faced them. He likewise exaggerates the weakness of the French after that defeat. The description of Napoleon at Wagram is more detailed: the manner in which the staff was managed by Berthier and Duroc, Napoleon's picking nosegays and destroying them

during the fight on the evening before the great battle, his loud call for the artillery of the guard on hearing of the success of Davoust's turning movement, and his falling asleep on a piece of carpet stretched out for him by his Mameluke after the battle—all this has the sharpness of outline always to be desired. The same may be said of the account of the stampede of the French camp-followers and reserves on the approach of the archduke John's army in the evening. Clearly, from Löwenstern's account, the panic seized no small part of the victorious army and produced the wildest confusion. Two generals finally fired cannon on the fugitives and brought them to a stop. Among these cannon Löwenstern states that there were some Portuguese guns and gunners. He probably meant Spaniards. At a later time, when describing this panic to the emperor Alexander, he was expressly forbidden to speak about it in St. Petersburg.

Löwenstern's pages show the license and extravagance of Russian society at that time. He describes the war of 1812 as popular, for every Russian of spirit felt degraded by the last five years of subservience to Napoleon. During the war Löwenstern was closely attached to Barclay's staff, and entrusted with a message to Murat, of whom, as of Sébastiani, he gives a lifelike account. In fact as a rule the sketches of men in these volumes are far better than those of battles and events; the latter are of little worth; but the notes respecting Barclay, Bagration, Toll, Rostopchin, and many others are distinctly valuable. Löwenstern suffered disgrace for a time owing to suspicions that he had given news to the French; and while under surveillance at Moscow he saw another officer arrive from the main army with despatches, only to be forthwith arrested and sent to Perm. Löwenstern, however, was reinstated and returned to the front shortly before the battle of Borodino, when Barclay, *le Fabius moderne*, was about to be replaced by Kutusoff. He states that Barclay, though convinced of the soundness of his strategy, was glad to be relieved of the enormous responsibility that weighed on him. In the battle Löwenstern led on a battalion of the Tomsk regiment to recapture (for the first time, as it proved) the Rajeffsky redoubt, and succeeded in driving out the enemy with the bayonet. Shortly afterwards he was wounded twice in quick succession, but refused to go to the rear. He heard Barclay say that he intended to press for the employment of a mass of cavalry from the Russian right, and that that move would be decisive if made with vigour, but that if Bennigsen were entrusted with it his jealousy would paralyse everything. In point of fact that charge was not made with energy, a fault for which Löwenstern held General Ouvaroff to be guilty. All the same he pronounced the battle, 'if not gained, certainly not lost,' and as being terminated by *un épais brouillard!* Löwenstern throws no light on the vexed question of the origin of the fires of Moscow; but his account of Murat's defeat at Tarutino is detailed and graphic: the conception of that affair he ascribes to Bennigsen and Toll, while he says that Kutusoff's sluggishness made the success less decisive than it might have been. The account of the French retreat and of the affairs at Viasma and Krasnoë and the Beresina is, on the whole, disappointing. At the last place he blames Wittgenstein for giving too much attention to Victor's corps and thus letting Napoleon and the main



body escape. He says that the Russians had fully expected to capture the French emperor and his army there. The division of General Partouneaux, which had to lay down its arms, was found to be in good condition, far different from that of the French army as a whole. The Russians were also in a miserable state: *le froid rend les soldats pusillanimes*; once in a well-warmed cottage there was no moving them on.

We have no space in which to follow Löwenstern through his notes of the second volume, on the campaigns of 1813 and 1814. The parts which best repay perusal are those which deal with the capture of Soissons, in which he played an important part, or the sanguinary fight of La Fère Champenoise. In method and style the memoirs recall those of Von Boyen; but, except for their portraits of men and sketches of society, they are of less merit.

J. HOLLAND ROSE.

*Marengo.* Von Dr. ALFRED HERRMANN. (Münster: Aschendorff. 1903.)

THE study of the military events of 1800 has been made much easier of late years by the appearance of two very important collections of materials—that of M. de Cugnac<sup>1</sup> from the French archives and that of Professor Hüffer.<sup>2</sup> But though the work now under review owes a great deal to these collections, and was to a certain extent suggested by their appearance,<sup>3</sup> it has a considerable independent value. Dr. Herrmann has not only made excellent use of these materials and of the other published sources; he has himself searched the archives at Vienna, and is able to add several important documents to those included in Dr. Hüffer's work. The result is a most useful contribution to military literature. The problems connected with the battle of Marengo are clearly stated and sanely discussed without unnecessary minuteness. The evidence is handled with a judicious impartiality. The criticisms are severe, but for the most part well deserved. The narrative is forcible and interesting, and the whole work is obviously the result of great knowledge of the subject and careful study, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Herrmann may carry out his project of writing the history of the whole war of 1800.

The opening chapters deal with the French and Austrian armies in 1800. These are very useful, though possibly rather too much is made of the defects in the French organisation and administration;—indeed, the author almost admits as much himself later on (p. 231). Then the French plan of campaign is sketched, and an account is given of the movements of the two armies down to the eventful 14 June. This part of the work might with advantage have been made a little longer, and hardly enough attention is given to the great effect of the appearance on the Italian theatre of action of the troops under Moncey detached from the French army in Germany. The actual battle of Marengo teems with contentious points, both of tactics and of evidence, which could only be adequately discussed in some detail, so that it is impossible here

<sup>1</sup> *Campagne de l'Armée de Réserve en 1800* (Paris, 1900-1).

<sup>2</sup> *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kriegs von 1800* (Leipzig, 1901); see the *English Historical Review*, April, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Preface, p. v.

to go into all the points raised by Dr. Herrmann's account. As to the net results it may be sufficient to say that he shows plainly what a very 'near run thing' (to use the duke of Wellington's phrase<sup>4</sup>) the battle was, and how much Napoleon owed to Desaix and Kellermann, whose initiative and energy extricated him from a very critical predicament, and turned apparently a hopelessly lost action into a complete victory. That the decisive stroke was Kellermann's charge, undertaken on his own initiative and responsibility, is clear. Desaix's resistance had checked the Austrian advance, and so gave the cavalry their opportunity, but his division were themselves wavering and the Austrians were all but in among Marmont's guns (p. 183) when Kellermann came crashing in upon their flank.

On the convention of Alessandria Dr. Herrmann has a most interesting chapter. He would apparently agree with Count Neipperg's description of it as 'dictated by arrogance and accepted by pusillanimity.' He is certainly most emphatic in pronouncing it absolutely unnecessary. The situation of the Austrian army was, on his showing, far from hopeless, nor were the French in a position to justify their expecting such a sequel to their Pyrrhic victory. That Melas was bluffed into capitulating is to Dr. Herrmann the most convincing proof of the veteran general's unfitness for his high command and the worst of all his many errors. Dr. Herrmann, it may be noticed, does not seem to share the general tendency to make the unpopular Zach the scapegoat for all the shortcomings of the Austrian army. Dr. Herrmann is strongly of opinion that even after Marengo it would have been possible for Melas to do what he should have done on June 14 instead of fighting, namely, to escape by the inadequately guarded line of retreat down the left bank of the Po. He dismisses with hardly sufficient consideration the alternative line of retreat by the Bochetta Pass to Genoa, where Lord Keith and the English fleet would have provided their allies with a safe way of escape; he does not seem to realise the full possibilities of the English command of the sea. He is evidently enamoured of the idea of a dash down the left bank of the Po, and, even if a little over-sanguine in his estimate of the chances of success, still adduces good reasons for his contention that it was quite practicable and that Napoleon could not have stopped it. But there was an element of the incalculable in Napoleon which Dr. Herrmann seems rather to have overlooked. True, he had not been at his best at Marengo, but what was impossible to a lesser man was not as a rule impossible to him. Moreover, such an effort required something which was not to be found in Alessandria on 15 June 1800—energy and resolution in the Austrian commander. And we cannot but think that Dr. Herrmann has neglected to give full consideration to the very definite statements as to the unprovided condition of the fortresses of Piedmont.<sup>5</sup> The most striking feature about the whole work is the relative insignificance of Napoleon. Momentous as was the effect of Marengo on his subsequent career—for it was not military success only for which he was indebted to Kellermann and Desaix—of all Napoleon's great victories Marengo was probably the success to which he himself contributed least. But possibly Dr. Herrmann has unduly minimised Napoleon's share; for he seems to have a

<sup>4</sup> *Creevey Papers*, i. 236.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hüffer, *op. cit.* p. 355.

slight tendency to overthrow the received version wherever he can just for the sake of doing so.

A very complete bibliography deserves mention. The two maps repeat rather than supplement each other; the second should certainly show more of the whole theatre of the campaign. C. T. ATKINSON.

*Le Général Fabvier : sa vie militaire et politique.* Par A. DEBIDOUR.  
(Paris: Plon. 1904.)

THE career of General Fabvier certainly deserved a monograph, and the present volume, based on his private papers, on a number of documents in the collection of the 'Ιστορικὴ καὶ Ἐθνολογικὴ Ἐταιρεία of Athens, and on various printed sources, gives an unbiassed and unvarnished account of his romantic life. A soldier of Napoleon I, a conspirator, a Philhellene, and a peer of France, Fabvier played many parts, and if he was not always successful, his participation in the Greek War of Independence, which is the main incident in this biography, has secured him an honourable place in the history of that movement. Fabvier gained his first experience of the Near East during the French occupation of Dalmatia, and he gives in one of his letters an amusing account of Ragusan society in the last years of that ancient republic's existence. In 1823 he arrived in Greece, put Navarino into a state of defence, and, after a year of obscure work, left the country, but returned in 1825. He became chief of the τακτικὸν σῶμα, and, by learning the language and wearing the costume, gained considerable influence over the Greeks. Unfortunately, he was an intractable man, 'notoriously deficient,' as Finlay said, 'in temper and prudence;' his jealousy of the English in general, and of Sir Richard Church in particular, knew no bounds; he quarrelled with Karaiskákēs, and he loathed Capo d'Istria, whom he regarded as a Russian agent. He was accordingly ordered to leave Greece in 1829. At the same time, he rendered an immense service to the cause by enabling the Greeks to hold out so long as they did in the Akropolis, and this should be set against the unfortunate expedition to Chíos and his failure to take Kárystos. He considered, not without reason, that the character of the modern Greeks resembled that of the ancients, but his plan for settling the Eastern question and check-mating Russia by creating a great Greece, which should include Epiros and Macedonia, left out the important factor of the Balkan Slavs. After his departure from Greece he wrote a pamphlet on this text; he corresponded with Koléttēs, and remained a firm friend of Hellenism to the last. He disapproved of Otho's appointment, and thought that Greece should first be pacified and organised by himself, and then handed over to a French prince.

His biographer has made a few errors from lack of local knowledge. Thus the monastery of Daphní can scarcely be called the *point dominant de la chaîne*; Chasiá is not north-east of Athens; the Orthodox calendar is not now '12 days behind the Gregorian;' mistakes in Greek occur on pp. 270, *n.* 2, and 371; and 'Vostitza' should be read on p. 334. In recording the gratitude of the Greeks to his hero, the author omits to mention the little white marble tablet let into the Odeíon of Heródes

Atticus, which commemorates his defence of the Akropolis. He also ignores the fact, recently demonstrated by a Greek writing in the *Néon Asty*, that Fabvier owed his first interest in Greece to his Greek fellow-student in Paris, Dorótheos Próios, afterwards murdered with the patriarch Gregory V at Constantinople. The volume contains an excellent portrait and a full bibliography.

W. MILLER.

*A History of the Greenbacks, with Special Reference to the Economic Consequences of their Issue, 1862-5.* By WESLEY CLAIR MITCHELL. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903.)

IN this book a pattern is supplied of the way in which economic history should be written. Its plan is so plain and simple that the reader is enabled to make his way by easy stages through a mass of complicated facts, and rises from the perusal of the successive chapters with a sharp impression graven on his mind of the reasons and results of the elaborate inquiry through which he has been induced to travel. Nor is this satisfactory conclusion gained by any lack of industry in the search for original material, by any lazy reluctance to probe to the bottom the significance of every particle of relevant evidence that can be produced or found, or by any perverting anxiety to prove a special thesis. On the contrary we doubt whether the important if limited period of economic history comprised within the book will ever be subjected to a more diligent, thorough, or candid examination than that which it has here received. In some respects, no doubt, the author is favoured by the nature of the particular task essayed; for the narrative occupies the brief space of a few isolated years, and the phenomena described do not extend beyond the operations and results of a single conspicuous cause. But, on the other hand, the difficulty of disentangling its effects from those of other causes with which they are intermingled is so arduous that we feel admiration for the skill of the craftsman rather than envy of the work undertaken. A broad generalisation, resting on the large movement of economic tendencies through a considerable space of time, is, of course, rendered impossible in this case by the nature of the problem to be solved. But although the range of observation is reduced to manageable limits the facts necessary to a right judgment are not easy to discover, and are even less easy to interpret accurately when they have been found. The book furnishes, indeed, a lesson in statistical method as well as a model of economic history. We can see how incumbent it is on the statistician to prepare himself by long and patient training for the business of wresting from unwilling figures the truths they are reluctant to surrender. This last consideration leads us to call attention in conclusion to one other qualification which the author of this book possesses for successful work in economic history. He is an acute observer and he is familiar with statistical technique. But he also exhibits an acquaintance with economic theory. We are sure that without such assistance it would have been hopeless to endeavour to penetrate the mazes of the perplexing tangle which surrounds the issues of the greenbacks during the American civil war.

The book consists of three parts. In the first the history of the

Legal Tender Acts is given ; in the second the economic consequences of the acts are shown ; and in the third the statistical material on which the reasoning is based is presented in detail. The history is marked by exact impartiality. The actual position of the government before the expedient of inconvertible paper was adopted is examined, the leading arguments of the debaters in congress on the measure are cited and reviewed, and the real motives and alleged reasons for the successive steps taken by the responsible authorities are produced and scrutinised. In the second part, which deals with the economic consequences of the issues, the author's quality is more conspicuously displayed, and the history narrated in the first part may be considered a necessary preface rather than the real substance of the book.

The effects of the greenbacks on the circulating medium are investigated in an early chapter. We realise here how complicated the American currency was at this as at other times, and we note that the inconvertible paper did not merely, as we might have supposed, drive the gold and silver money from the country, but that, as its value sank, further inconveniences arose in connexion with the minor coins and the fractional currency. Nor were the other forms of paper money simultaneously in circulation, which in some cases had been issued previously and in others were emitted subsequently to the greenbacks themselves, unaffected in certain curious ways. The specie value of the greenbacks forms the subject of the next chapter, and the rare ability of the author is here shown in the combined pains and skill with which the different factors affecting the gold price of the paper are separated and appraised. The course of the depreciation is traced during the four years covered by the volume ; and we see how vicissitudes in the fortunes of the war and changes in the condition of the finances left their impress on the value of the greenbacks. In the fourth chapter the actual movement of prices is subjected to the most diligent and discriminating scrutiny, with the result that sufficient evidence is forthcoming to demonstrate the predominant influence of the paper issues. But the attentive reader will admire the dexterity with which the defective material alone available is improved into a form in which it can be treated as a basis for legitimate deduction, and he will appreciate the scrupulous anxiety shown not to press conclusions further than they can be taken without straining the reasoning by which they are obtained. In the succeeding chapters the effects of the paper currency on wages, rent, interest, and profits, and on production and consumption generally are discussed. In many of these cases the statistics are scanty and inadequate, and even when they exist in sufficient quantity and tolerable quality they are not easy to interpret. But our author is not readily discouraged or deterred. With remarkable skill results are reached which are no less instructive than they seem to be trustworthy. That wages failed to rise as fast as prices, that rents and interest were adversely influenced, and that the 'residual claimants,' who might be regarded as receiving profits, derived an advantage which was not freed from counteracting loss, are some of the broad deductions yielded by the evidence. A stimulus to production was, no doubt, supplied, although even on this point the evidence does not tend uniformly in one direction ; and similarly if the consumption

of some classes was increased that of others was diminished. Finally, the effects of the issues of the greenbacks on the finances of the government itself are investigated in the concluding chapter, which, like the rest of this book, exhibits the scrupulous anxiety of a judicial mind not to exaggerate or underestimate the meaning of such actual facts as can be ascertained.

That the greenbacks were the outcome of a pressing emergency which could not have been met by any other expedient that would not have produced a worse result, is not the opinion of the author of this book. Nor is it shown that on the balance the finances of the government were otherwise than injured by a recourse to inconvertible paper, while the consequences to the community as a whole were probably more disadvantageous than beneficial. But none the less care is taken to attach due weight to opposing considerations, and the reader is supplied with material for forming a judgment of his own and with the necessary implements for accomplishing this arduous undertaking. We believe that the book will take a permanent place as an able conscientious contribution to American economic history. The monetary student in other countries will derive from its perusal the rare advantage, seldom secured from economic study, of observing the ascertained results of a practical experiment, separated so far as circumstances admit from their surroundings. He is enabled to measure the degree in which theory is or is not confirmed by fact. He can appreciate the aid which statistics, skilfully and fairly used, can render to the solution of an intricate economic problem. L. L. PRICE.

*Jules Ferry.* Par ALFRED RAMBAUD. (Paris: Plon. 1903.)

M. RAMBAUD relates the public life of one of the most courageous, clear-sighted, and disinterested of French statesmen with the skill of a practised historian and the special knowledge of a friend and official subordinate, for he was at one time the *chef de cabinet* of M. Jules Ferry. The history of Jules Ferry's career is the history of the foundation of the French republic, of a republic no longer distrusted by the rural classes as the reign of restless adventure and agitation. No man was the object of more virulent abuse during his lifetime. Before his death the prejudices with which the rancour of his opponents and the misrepresentations of an unscrupulous press had inspired too many of his fellow-citizens were indeed beginning to yield to a more just appreciation of his services; but how great those services were has even now scarcely been realised by his countrymen, and still less by foreigners. M. Rambaud's most interesting book is likely, therefore, to raise the reputation of his friend, as well as to be a valuable contribution to the history of the latter part of the nineteenth century. It would have been strange had Jules Ferry been very popular. He had neither the arts of a demagogue nor that sympathy with public feeling by which some statesmen are half unconsciously led to adapt their policy to the wishes of the multitude. A liberal and a republican by conviction, he was essentially a man of order, opposed to extreme courses, hating intolerance and oppression when exercised by the will of the sovereign people not less than by the arbitrary caprice of a despot.

M. Rambaud has well brought out the most salient points in the career of Ferry and the essential principles of his policy. He entered upon public life as one of the small band who first in the press and afterwards in the chamber of deputies organised the opposition to the second empire. As mayor of Paris during the terrible days of the siege his intrepid self-possession and resourcefulness prevented the triumph of the *communards* on 31 Oct.—in other words, the establishment of a government in the capital hostile to the rest of the country and the consequent paralysis of all further resistance to the invaders. Nor should it be forgotten that if Thiers in March 1871 had listened to Ferry's protest against the withdrawal of the garrisons from the forts, and to his offer, if a few hundred troops were put at his disposal, to hold the hôtel de ville and the neighbouring buildings for an indefinite time against the rioters, the second siege of Paris would, even if not altogether averted, have contributed a less tragic and blood-stained page to the annals of France. The greatest and most permanent benefit which Jules Ferry conferred on his country was, no doubt, the organisation of the national education on broad and liberal lines: yet the colonial empire which he founded would by itself be a sufficient title to the reputation of a great statesman and to the gratitude of France. And in both cases he pursued the policy which he believed to be the wisest, unbiassed by ambition or by any regard for personal popularity. By attempting to carry a clause forbidding the members of unauthorised congregations to teach, and when this was rejected by putting the law in force against the Jesuits and other illegal religious associations, he excited the formidable and lasting hostility of the clerical party, while his determination to respect all religious convictions, to prevent a secularist propaganda and the conversion of every schoolmaster into an *anti-curé* alienated much liberal support. So also his colonial policy was far from popular. The people hated expeditions which exposed their children to perish in inglorious skirmishes or pestilential swamps. The radicals were averse to all schemes of colonial expansion, although the necessary corollary of the protectionist policy approved by the electorate. The conservatives bitterly criticised, even when at heart they approved, the policy of 'the persecutor of the church.' It was a specious cry that while the Mekong was being conquered the Rhine was forgotten. *Le Tonkinois, le Tunisien* were terms of bitter reproach, although now, when France is so proud of her new colonies, they might seem titles scarcely less honourable than the Africanus or the Asiaticus of a Roman proconsul. Perhaps the most flattering testimony to the patriotic insight and energy of Ferry may be found in the frantic efforts of all mischievous and selfish factions to prevent his election as president. Jacobins and ultramontanes, Bonapartists, Orleanists, and followers of the 'music-hall Saint-Arnauld' took counsel together to prevent the elevation of the man who more than any other had given to republican institutions the stability and moderation which disarmed the suspicion of *bourgeoisie* and peasants.

M. Rambaud has performed his task with great judgment, and he has by extracts from speeches and correspondence made the statesman to a great extent the exponent of his own views and policy. He has touched on his private life only slightly and with delicate reticence, yet he has

lifted the veil just enough to enable the reader to see that Jules Ferry, when among his family and his friends, possessed that sympathetic amiability in which as a public man he was perhaps wanting. M. Rambaud justly emphasises the fact that, although a consistent liberal, Ferry was, as has already been said, far from being a radical or a Jacobin. He desired a strong and influential senate, and a chamber of deputies composed not of delegates but of representatives; he believed the 'masses' to be more ignorant of their own interests and not less selfish than the 'classes,' and he was convinced that it was the duty of a statesman not to flatter and follow but to educate and guide the people. The study of the career of such a man is as interesting as it is profitable, and it is well that the task of describing that career should have fallen into hands so capable.

P. F. WILLERT.

*A History of Northumberland.* Vols. VI. and VII. By JOHN CRAWFORD HODGSON, F.S.A. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Co. 1902, 1904.)

UNDER the guidance of the Northumberland County History Committee the history of that county is being written on a scale more extensive than has been attempted for any other English county. The work was really begun so long ago as 1820, when an industrious northern antiquary, the Rev. John Hodgson, published the first volume of his well planned but never finished history. Between that date and 1840 he issued three quarto volumes of records relating to Northumberland from public and private sources, including the Pipe Rolls from 1130 to 1272, and three similarly sized volumes of parish history of parts of the county, the last of which contained his valuable treatise on the Roman Wall. To these a further volume, treating of the general history of the county, was added in 1858 by Mr. Hodgson Hinde. The parish history commenced by John Hodgson had only covered one-fourth of the entire area of the county, and the work remained in this incomplete state until 1890. In that year Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, at a meeting of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, suggested that the work should be proceeded with, and that the history of the entire county should be rewritten on the lines laid down by John Hodgson. The suggestion was favourably received; a committee was formed, a guarantee fund raised, and upwards of 700 subscribers were obtained for the publication. Under these favourable auspices seven further volumes of parish history have been issued, each containing about 500 quarto pages of printed matter, with numerous plates and other illustrations. Vols. i. and ii. of this new issue were edited by Mr. Edward Bateson, vol. iii. by Mr. Allen B. Hinds, and vols. iv., v., vi., and vii. by Mr. John Crawford Hodgson. The first five volumes relate to Bamburgh, Warkworth, Hexhamshire, and other districts. Of vols. vi. and vii., now under review, the one treats of the parishes of Bywell St. Peter and Bywell St. Andrew, with the chapelry of Slaley, and the other covers the parishes of Edlingham and Felton, and the chapelries of Bolton, Framlington, and Brinkburn. Whilst, in the south of England, parishes and townships are for the most part conterminous, this is not the case in the northern counties, where the ancient parish generally



includes many townships, a fact which was recognised by the statute 14 Charles II, c. 12. The volumes therefore include larger areas than their titles indicate. For instance, vol. vi. comprises the history of twenty-one townships and vol. vii. of fifteen. The annals of the parishes included in each volume, and of the townships comprised in them, have been carefully compiled by the editor, Mr. John Crawford Hodgson, who has taken his information from the record volumes for the county published by John Hodgson, from that historian's manuscript collections, placed at the disposal of the committee by his grandson Mr. John G. Hodgson, from the manuscript transcripts of Northumberland records at Alnwick Castle, from the charters in the Durham treasury, from the deeds of local landowners, from the publications of the Record Office, and from many other sources of authentic information.

The two Bywell parishes treated of in vol. vi. comprise the baronies of Baliol and Bolbeck, and to that volume Dr. Greenwell has contributed a very complete account of the kingly family of the Baliols, lords of the barony of that name. The account is illustrated by a facsimile charter and seal of Eustace de Baliol, granting the church of Bywell St. Peter to the convent of Durham, by a confirming charter and seal of Hugh de Baliol, and by reproductions of nine other Baliol seals from various sources. Vol. vi. also contains a description of Bywell Castle by the late Mr. C. J. Bates, the author of *Border Holds*, a history of the Premonstratensian priory of Blanchland by the editor, and pedigrees of Baliol, Neville, Darrayns, Menevill, Fenwick of Bywell, and many other Northumbrian families. Vol. vii. follows the same lines. The bulk of the volume is written by the editor, but Dr. Greenwell again adds a most valuable contribution. Edlingham was formerly part of the possessions of the Gospatrics, ultimately earls of Dunbar and March. Ninety pages of the volume are occupied by Dr. Greenwell's complete and exhaustive history of the great pre-Conquest house of Gospatric, and the account is illustrated by reproductions of many Gospatric charters and seals, and by an excellent pedigree from original sources of the Gospatric family. The volume also contains accounts of Edlingham Castle, Lemington Castle, Lemington Tower, and Brinkburn Priory, by the editor, assisted in architectural details by Mr. W. H. Knowles, and pedigrees of Acton, Bellingham, Carliol, Heselrigg, Lisle, Orde, Ogle, Swinburne, and many other families. Each volume contains a mine of information upon the subjects of local families, the Scottish wars, and north-country customs, and there are some references to the ancient tenure by drengage and to those peculiar north-country tenants who were known as 'self-odes.' The typography is good, and the volumes are well illustrated by maps of the districts, plans of the buildings, and by photo-engravings of old views and of modern photographs and original sketches of interesting and picturesque places. The four large volumes (vols. iv., v., vi., and vii.) so satisfactorily edited by Mr. John Crawford Hodgson will form a lasting memorial of that editor's gratuitously rendered ability and industry. The preparation of the next volume, which will include the history of Tynemouth Priory and Castle, has been entrusted to Mr. H. E. E. Craster. It was urged at the commencement

of the undertaking that the work should be preceded by the publication of additional records relating to the county. Though this proved impracticable, yet the course taken by John Hodgson, of first publishing the records so far as they were accessible in his day, was a wise one; and we will express a hope that in a work undertaken on so large a scale, and now being published once for all, no effort will be spared to make the preliminary searches complete and to utilise fully every available source of information.

F. W. DENDY.

*Verspreide Studien op het Gebied der Geschiedenis.* Door P. J. BLOK.  
(Groningen: Wolters. 1903.)

THIS volume contains twelve studies contributed by Professor P. J. Blok to various periodicals between 1886 and 1901. They deal with a considerable variety of periods and subjects, and are written in Dr. Blok's well-known style, clear, practical, and judicious. The essay upon Frisian affairs in the middle ages treats with lucidity and knowledge a somewhat obscure subject, and will repay perusal. The account of the agriculture and manufactures of the Frisians, and their trade relations with England and the Hansatic league, is interesting. To the student of the local and provincial history of the United Provinces the position and influence of the town of Groningen in relation to the surrounding district (*ommelanden*) has always been peculiar. The essay on the 'Council and Guilds of Groningen about 1525' (i.e. some forty years before the outbreak of the revolt) is therefore valuable in the light it throws upon the earlier political condition of the province known in the seventeenth century as *Stad en Landen*. The two studies entitled 'The Battle of Mookerheide' and 'John of Nassau' are reprints of addresses delivered at the inauguration of memorials to two of the brothers of William the Silent. These are rhetorical and popular in style, but give a spirited account of the part played by Louis of Nassau in the first campaigns of the revolt, and by John of Nassau in bringing about the union of Utrecht. The essay on the 'Religion of William of Orange' is a careful and, in the main, successful attempt to defend the prince against the charges of opportunism and insincerity so often brought against him in regard to his changes of religion. Dr. Blok certainly makes good his contention that William in his later years was a genuinely religious man and a convinced adherent of the reformed faith. No student, indeed, of the prince's correspondence with his near relatives can have any doubt on either of these points, for in these private letters the inner workings of the man's soul stand revealed. But, as Dr. Blok himself admits, William's well-known liberal and tolerant views were absolutely inconsistent with and opposed to the doctrines of strict Calvinism. If after 1573 the prince called himself a Calvinist, it can only have been with many reserves, and to some extent as a concession to political exigencies.

The sketch of the 'Official Life of Huygens' draws deserved attention to the remarkable career of a remarkable man. Constantine Huygens was private secretary and confidential adviser in succession to the three princes of Orange, Frederick Henry, William II, and William III. His

father, Christian, before him had been private secretary to William the Silent, and secretary to the council of state in the days of Maurice, to whom he was a trusted counsellor. His son Constantine the younger succeeded him as private secretary to William III. The subject of the present notice was a striking personality, a man of the most varied talents, and it is difficult to estimate the extent which his counsel and advice had for a period extending over sixty years in the direction of affairs, especially in the conduct of diplomatic relations with foreign powers. It is quite certain that it was very great, and that on many occasions his country was deeply indebted to his foresight, experience, and knowledge of affairs. Among other distinguished services it was he who arranged the preliminaries of the marriage between Frederick Henry's only son and the princess royal of England, and during the long minority of their son, William III, it was he who, as president of the prince's council, protected his interests and superintended his education at the side of, and often as intermediary between, the two princesses of Orange, his mother and grandmother. The name of Constantine Huygens is perhaps best known to posterity by the distinguished place that he occupies in the history of Dutch literature, but it is right that attention should be drawn to the far more solid, though less brilliant, service that he rendered during an official life which began in 1620 and continued almost without intermission until his death in 1687.

To myself, perhaps the most interesting study in Professor Blok's volume is that in which he gives an account of the life, the labours, and the critical methods of his distinguished predecessor in the chair of Dutch history in the University of Leyden. Of the merits of the late Professor Robert Fruin as an historian, and of the value of his contributions to the right understanding of the history of his country, Dr. Blok writes with an enthusiasm and a just appreciation which spring from intimate personal acquaintance with the man and a thorough knowledge of his writings and of the subject matter of which they treat. As a profound admirer of the late Professor Fruin's historical work, both as an original investigator and as a critic, I am glad to take this opportunity of adding my personal testimony to the correctness of this high estimate, which I do not consider to be in any way overdrawn. Robert Fruin's *Verspreide Geschriften*, which are now being published under the editorship of Dr. Blok himself, Mr. P. L. Muller, and Mr. S. Muller Fz, are invaluable to the student of Dutch history both from the variety of subjects with which they deal and from the thoroughness of the treatment. It will interest readers of this Review to know that Fruin's grandparents were English, and that the name was originally spelt Frewen or Frewin. An old house in Oxford, Frewin Hall, still records this family name. The grandfather of the Leyden professor was a paper manufacturer in Warwickshire, who settled at Rotterdam in the early part of the nineteenth century.

It seems needlessly confusing to speak, as Dr. Blok does (p. 133), of the first wife of William the Silent as Anna van Buren, instead of Anna van Egmont, the name by which she is ordinarily known. The expression *stadhouderlijke hof* (p. 197) is scarcely correct in 1667; at that time William III was not yet stadholder. It is to be regretted that the book has no index or table of contents.

GEORGE EDMUNDSON.

The sixth edition of Professor G. Maspero's *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* (Paris : Hachette, 1904) contains a good deal of fresh material. Notice has been taken of the most recent discoveries and investigations, e.g. the code of Hammurabi, and little of importance has been overlooked. The illustrations with which the book abounds have been happily selected and are superior to those which usually adorn popular works of this kind. The subject matter is admirably condensed, and the work as a whole shows no glaring traces of disproportionate treatment—only the Old Testament history has not, perhaps, been subjected to the same criticism which Professor Maspero has so conscientiously brought to bear upon the other records he has used. The bibliographical information is extremely full, and will be particularly helpful to students who would pursue any special branch more closely. There is a good index and three useful maps, so that the history is as complete as the severest critic could desire. In an appendix, Professor Maspero sketches the chief systems of ancient writing in use in the nearer East, with full tables and syllabaries. A handbook of this kind, consisting of some 800 pages, full of carefully tested material, covering the ancient history of the East from prehistoric times to the Macedonian conquest, can scarcely be reviewed at length in these pages. Professor Maspero is one of the best-informed scholars upon this subject, and this work, like his other brilliant volumes, is a standard authority which no student of ancient history can afford to ignore. He is too careful a scholar for one to differ from him lightly. Certain isolated statements and views, however, are extremely questionable, as when the old identification of Hierapolis (Mabug) with Carchemish is taken for granted ; but these are exceptional and do not lessen our appreciation of the valuable handbook with its fascinating story of the dead empires of the East. S. A. C.

At the present time all the standard works on Rome are out of date so far as they deal with the Forum, and satisfactory information about recent discoveries on its site can only be gathered from more or less scattered notices in periodicals, British and foreign. For the general but intelligent public, therefore, Mrs. Burton Brown's account of *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904* (London : Murray, 1904), comes at a very opportune moment. But this is not all. The authoress combines the advantages of a training in classical archaeology with residence in Rome, and scholars will find here not a few things which, so far as we know, cannot be learned elsewhere. We have been very favourably impressed with the freshness and originality, as well as with the completeness and general accuracy, of this little book, which should have a wide circulation. This is not the place for a minute criticism of archaeological details, but we would suggest that when a new edition is required there should be a revision of the passage on p. 107 which implies that the feuds of patricians and plebeians lasted till the first century before Christ. The Latin occasionally needs correction, e.g. *Curculius*, pp. 17, 222 ; *occulantissimus*, p. 84 ; *uso*, p. 95 ; *Colonna Rostrata of Diulius*, p. 115 ; to which we may add the rendering 'by the Etruscan shore' in the passage from Horace referred to on p. 136. G. McN. R.

Though Professor Robinson Ellis's lecture on *The Correspondence of Fronto and M. Aurelius* (London: Frowde, 1904) does not contain anything very new, it gives a full and sympathetic account of the literary qualities of Fronto. Due stress is laid on his rhetorical capacity, a side which the survival of his Letters has tended to obliterate. Some news is given of the often expected new edition of the Correspondence. A number of emendations, some of which have been already published, appear in an appendix.

G. McN. R.

The portion of Father H. Grisar's *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages* dealing with Gregory the Great has been translated into Italian by A. de Santi (*San Gregorio Magno*; Roma: Desclée, Lefebvre e Comp., 1904) and issued on the occasion of the thirteenth centenary recently celebrated at Rome, in the series *I Santi*. Grisar's work is too well known to require much notice here. If he comes before the world as the Roman Catholic 'Gregorovius,' he is none the less a very serious historian, and one could hardly find a fuller or more trustworthy account of the great pope than that contained in this convenient volume.

G. McN. R.

At the outset of his *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* (three volumes. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1904) Mr. S. P. Scott expresses diffidence on entering upon ground traversed by Prescott, and in this he does well, for much of Prescott's work will never cease to be valuable. But when the same diffidence is expressed with regard to Washington Irving, those who seek for history in these well-printed volumes have cause to fear that they are astray. This impression is confirmed as the book proceeds. Washington Irving seems to be its model, but it lacks his style, his elaborate old-fashioned graces, and his picturesqueness. It is indeed astonishing how little solid fact ekes out these thick volumes—fact, that is to say, relevant to their subject as stated in the title. The bulk is made up of commonplaces, weak and often incorrect generalisations, repetitions, contradictions, rhetorical overstatements, and excrescences. The writer's championship of the cause of Islam would have made his work interesting had he condescended to state new facts sufficient to justify his unconventional attitude. He does, however, nothing of the kind. He adopts a superior attitude towards things Spanish, and refuses to the heroes of the Reconquest even such slender virtues as they possessed over and above a valour beyond dispute. His hatred of the Roman catholic church amounts to frenzy. Hardly a mention of the clergy occurs without being accompanied by reckless slander of their public conduct and chiefly of their private lives. Typical instances are to be found in vol. ii. pp. 379, 422. This mental attitude seems to tell of a surfeit and indigestion of Buckle. Among rash overstatements we may quote from vol. i. p. 723: 'The incessant march of the Moorish armies for a quarter of a century obliterated every sign of animal and vegetable life' (*sc.* on the plains of Leon and Castile). No footnotes are given, so that it is impossible to find out who is the authority for statements new or extraordinary.

Yet it would be interesting to know, for instance, the evidence for the fact (vol. ii. p. 627) that during the siege of Malaga by Ferdinand and Isabella 'it was well known in Malaga that the agents of the Inquisition, while not yet officially recognised, were present with the army, and were treated with marked distinction by the Spanish Court.' The chronological difficulties, of which the subject is full, are merely slurred. Hardly a date is cited, and the writer ranges at will through the centuries. Though in the list of authorities consulted he cites Arabic books, he makes no claim to knowledge of the language. His transcriptions are erratic; not only are proper names defaced, but common words almost current in European languages assume strange and capricious forms. The letter *jim* has its equivalent in the English *j*, but even here Mr. Scott introduces variety, and we read of *Ghezirah*, *Gebal*, *Hajib*, and *Djihad*. The *l* in *Djalma*, used in the sense of *principal mosque*, is simply a mistake. The list of authorities contains no mention of the *Biblioteca Arabo-Hispana*, edited by Francisco Codera, or of the interesting series of *Estudios Arabes* now appearing at Saragossa; and it is silent with regard to Pons Boigues, the bibliographer of the Arabic writers of Spain (1898).

H. B. C.

It is difficult to take a serious view of Herr R. Baldauf's study entitled *Historie und Kritik*. I. 'Der Mönch von St. Gallen' (Leipzig: Dyk, 1903). The author attempts to prove, by the evidence of style, vocabulary, and so on, that the work *De Gestis Karoli Magni*, commonly attributed to a monk of St. Gall in the second half of the ninth century, is really from the pen of Ekkehard IV, the author of the *Casus S. Galli*. An example or two will serve to show the kind of argument which is advanced to prove this point. Both in the *De Gestis* and in the *Casus* the word *iocus* and its derivatives are of frequent occurrence. Since they are euphonious, authors who use them must have the musical temperament; can we suppose that two different monks of St. Gall had an ear? In both works neuter nouns ending in *mentum* are common. Both show a fondness for *tam*, *talis*, *tantus*, *tot*; the *Casus* are about three times the length of the *De Gestis*; if the two books were by the same author these words ought to appear in the former about three times as often as in the latter, which Herr Baldauf asserts to be the case. Both are fond of superlatives, make occasional use of Greek words, such as *Kyrie eleison* and *xenodochia*, and misspell Latin words on the same principles. Both show an acquaintance with the Bible, the *Aeneid*, Sallust, and Einhard's *Vita Karoli*. On these principles any two writers of the early middle ages might be proved to be not two, but one. The most amazing arguments are those intended to prove a remarkable knowledge of Greek literature in both the works under discussion. On p. 54 we are told that when, in the *De Gestis*, Charles the Great speaks of the northmen as 'dogs' heads' there is a plain reference to the battle of Kynoskephalai, and on p. 130 that both works show considerable familiarity with the *Iliad*; but Herr Baldauf conscientiously points out that this is the less surprising because there are remarkable similarities between the *Iliad* and the book of Genesis. It is a pity that he should have devoted so much time to comparisons which end in such results.

H. W. C. D.

The third volume of the *Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids, 1284-1431* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1904), covers the counties of Kent, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Middlesex (including London), and Norfolk. The history of these shires is, however, very unequally illustrated. While Lancashire and Middlesex fill only some fifteen pages each, Lincolnshire occupies 245 and Norfolk 267. The happy Lincoln or Norfolk topographer will therefore find an infinitely richer field for his researches than the student of Lancashire or London history. We are told, however, that in connexion with the former county the returns for the duchy of Lancaster are reserved for separate treatment; but these, we imagine, will include a great many entries that have nothing to do with the county palatine. The indexes are numerous and admirable. Some mistakes made in the arrangements are corrected in the preface. An interesting feature of the survey is the persistence with which the names of ancient feudal aggregations were retained long after they had ceased to be held by their ancient possessors. Thus we have the *feoda comitis de Ferrariis* in 1346, nearly a hundred years after there had ceased to be any Earl Ferrers. Another instance of such survival is the somewhat mysterious entry *feoda comitisse de Bolyngbrok*, which occurs under that same date and on several other occasions. This is illustrated by an analogous entry on p. 175 which speaks of a fief *in manu comitis Lincolnie* in 1303 as *feodum comitisse Cestrie de Bullingbrok*.

T. F. T.

The third volume of the *Calendar of Close Rolls of the Reign of Edward I, 1288-1296* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1904), is the work of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, and is therefore sure to be excellent. As an example of the extent to which these often consulted rolls can, when put together and indexed, yield a harvest of new detail to minute students, we may quote the fact that this volume reveals several fresh points in the biography of the guilty chief justice Thomas of Weyland, adding considerably to the extent already known of his scattered landed property, showing more clearly than ever the pains he took to save it from accidents by jointly enfeoffing his children with it, and in particular proving that Weyland's first wife (whose name I was unable to hit upon in 1899) was Anne, daughter of Richard de Colevill the elder, and giving the marriage portion assigned to her by her father and held 'by courtesy of England' by her husband after her death (p. 160). Moreover this Anne was certainly the mother of John Weyland, while Margaret, the justice's second wife, was certainly the mother of his daughter Eleanor. The index to the volume, the work of Mr. Woodruff, is excellent, but even with Mr. Stevenson's help an occasional farm has escaped precise identification. One or two of these need not have been left so vague as they are. 'Thlenelewey' (co. Flint) on p. 654 is clearly Llanelwy, *i.e.* St. Asaph, and should have been put under its modern names. 'Eagle Forest' is not very illuminating on p. 217, and 'Llanarth Derewen' must not be sought in 'co. Cardigan,' as on p. 605, but rather near Denbigh, where Edward was on the days preceding and succeeding that of his dating a close letter at Llanarth. But the best of index-makers must nod sometimes, and Mr. Woodruff is very seldom asleep.

T. F. T.

In his *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903) Dr. E. Gerland has published a number of Greek and Latin documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries bearing on the history of the archbishopric. Some of them are now published for the first time, and especially important are the deeds of sales and gifts of land derived from the library of Macerata. Dr. Gerland had the advantage of consulting the valuable papers of Carl Hopf, on which he had drawn for his recent work on the archives of the duke of Candia. A long and valuable introduction traces the history of Patras from the Latin conquest, shows clearly, for the first time, the organisation of the archbishopric, explains the circumstances in which the administration was transferred to Venice, and how, through the short-sighted policy of the Roman curia, Patras was recovered by the Greeks. The editor has devoted particular attention to economic conditions, and gives an instructive account of agriculture and industrial enterprise in the archbishopric. It is to be noted that the Greek documents in this volume furnish valuable lexicographical material. J. B. B.

In her edition of *Grace Book B, Part I., containing the Proctors' Accounts and other Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1488-1511*, for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 'Luard Memorial Series,' ii. (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), Miss Mary Bateson carries on the series which was admirably begun by Mr. Leathes by the publication of the register known as *Grace Book A*. The present *Grace Book B* contains both graces and Proctors' accounts down to 1501, after which it contains only the accounts. The work has been done in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, though some readers might have liked a little more explanation of technical or unusual words. On p. xix there is a slight slip: 'the university chaplain paid 1*l.* for the chair of canon law' should be 'is paid' (as is made evident by the Latin). On the same page Miss Bateson says that 4*d.* was required 'from every monk, "excepting mendicants," probably because these last, the friars, that is to say, did not take the Arts course.' But this surely was the case with all regulars. And, as Miss Bateson goes on to point out, the fact of not taking the Arts course was the very ground on which the payment was required. The claim of the mendicants to exemption was no doubt founded on their actual or supposed poverty. The editor is, no doubt, right in her explanation of the term 'gremials,' *i.e.* that they are 'those who have completed their Arts course.' It would be better, perhaps, to say 'those who had taken a degree in the university.' Scholars who had not taken a degree and been sworn to obey the university were not in the full sense members of the corporation. They presumably became gremials on taking a degree in a superior faculty, even if they had not previously graduated in Arts. The 'Bachelor in Geometry' who occurs in these pages is apparently unique in the whole history of universities.

H. R.

The ample literature of the Mississippi Valley finds a valuable addition in Mr. F. A. Ogg's *The Opening of the Mississippi* (New York: Macmillan, 1904), which gives a very full history of the subject from the



first Spanish discoveries to the admission of the State of Louisiana in 1812. The references to original authorities in the notes render the book valuable to students, though the writing shows no special distinction or charm. It is curious to find so careful an author perpetrating the slip that *Walpole* was in 1755 dictating the policy of the British government.

H. E. E.

In spite of the many works on British India there was room for a popular history of the East India Company based on the ample material existing in books, pamphlets, and state papers. This want Mr. Beckles Wilson has supplied in his *Ledger and Sword; or, the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies (1599-1874)* (London: Longmans, 1904). The first volume, which takes the history down to 1700, is more satisfactory than the second, which to a great extent covers ground dealt with in numerous volumes. The accounts of the Amboyna massacre (from the English side) and of Sir Josiah Child are especially full. A few slips in the book might have received correction. Burleigh is spoken of as if he were alive in 1599. Mun's *Treasure by Foreign Trade*, though published in 1664, was written before 1628, and Mun died in 1642, so that it is absurd to say, "Behold then," cried Sir (*sic*) Thomas Mun, who had not dared to air his views during the puritan ascendancy, "the true form," &c. The Ostend Company owed its origin to more deep-seated causes than the fact that interlopers were in the habit of taking in cargoes from England at Ostend. The venerable error of calling the Caribbean Sea 'the Spanish Main' is several times repeated. A less venial offence is the absence of an index. H. E. E.

Dr. C. Day's *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java* (New York: Macmillan, 1904) for the first time enables the English student who is ignorant of Dutch to reap some at least of the benefit of the mass of material concerning Java which is contained in Dutch books and periodicals. Starting from 'the native organisation' Dr. Day traces the economic history of Java through the period of the East India Company and, after its fall, through the periods of British rule and of the Dutch restoration, down to the present economic policy. Of the need of such a book there can be no question; *e.g.* the account of 'the culture system' current in English authorities, which has been popularised in Mr. A. Ireland's widely read work on *Tropical Colonisation*, would seem, on the authorities here given, far too favourable. In any case the three chapters on the culture system, under the heads of policy, government, and reform, cannot be neglected by any future student of the labour problem in colonies. Dr. Day assuredly holds no brief for the Dutch in all their proceedings. At the same time, depending for the most part on Dutch authorities, he is perhaps hardly fair to Stamford Raffles's character as a man apart from the question of his reforms. Thus it is stated in a note that Raffles 'was charged with making an improper personal gain out of the sales which he instituted.' It is not fair to say this without adding that after an elaborate inquiry by the court of directors at home 'the utter groundlessness of the charges . . . in so far as they affected his honour' was fully demonstrated. Patriotic Dutch historians

have a grudge against Raffles not really as the governor of Java but as, according to their view, the filcher of Singapore, and therefore they can hardly be expected to approach him from an altogether impartial point of view.

H. E. E.

An attempt to remedy the fragmentary and incomplete nature of Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* has been made by Mrs. Lomas in an edition in three volumes, with notes, supplement, and enlarged index (London: Methuen, 1904), which is of very great value and interest. Every effort has been made to correct the text of the Letters by reference to the originals, and to place the Speeches on a sound basis by careful collation. The revision is thorough, and the result is a new text which will astonish many who are familiar with the old biography. Welcome, too, is the Supplement, in which the editor has gathered together for the first time a large number of additional letters and speeches. Of these the latter are by far the most important, including those from the Army Council debates as reported in the Clarke MSS. We miss, however, the text of Cromwell's little address to Whitelock on his return from the Swedish embassy, which might well have been included. Other documents are inserted with a view to throwing fresh light on obscure points, so that altogether this Supplement is a necessary and useful addition. Another feature is an introduction by Professor Firth. The essay is brief, but very bright and interesting. Few of us have heard how Carlyle conceived the idea of writing his book and under what conditions he wrote, and all will be glad to read a short estimate of the failings and value of his work. Mrs. Lomas's edition is indeed very well done, and there is only one point on which more is sure to be said. To take a few words from the introduction: 'When a biography has become a classic,' should it not be left so? The present method is awkward. In the Speeches an impossible sentence may still be left in the text with an editorial note giving the original, or Carlyle's words may be ejected in favour of the real reading. This hesitation as to the extent of interference is only natural, but the result is not 'Carlyle,' and not a thoroughly new version. Moreover, it is evidently a difficult thing to sit in judgment on Carlyle's interpolations, and further the editor has made fresh ones in the shape of notes, which are not always in sympathy with the spirit of the original editor. Mrs. Lomas shows so much ability that an entirely new work under her name would be more than welcome.

C. L. S.

Nothing could be better done or in more excellent taste than the text of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, which opens the series of *Cambridge English Classics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1904). It is reprinted verbatim from the original folio issue of 1651, the errata being incorporated within square brackets, and some other obvious printers' errors being corrected in like manner. The few necessary changes in punctuation which have been made are enumerated in a note prefixed to the volume. Mr. A. R. Waller, who has taken charge of the edition and has added an index of proper names, is to be congratulated on the production of a beautiful and withal very cheap book.

B.

Mr. C. L. Raper's *North Carolina: a Study in English Colonial Government* (New York: Macmillan, 1904) is a valuable addition to the careful monographs on the colonial period of the different states which have been a distinctive feature in the American historical writings of recent years. It is true that a certain monotony results from the establishment of similar conclusions by somewhat similar evidence. Mr. Raper asserts that 'we find a condition of inefficiency, and even chaos, in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and we find the same condition in the administration of territorial, fiscal, and military affairs. This was due in part to the lack of intelligence on the part of the crown, to a lack of intelligence, industry, and character on the part of the crown officials in the province, as well as to a lack of intelligence and energy on the part of the representatives of the colonists.' This statement might with truth be made of other colonies besides North Carolina. In the chapters on the governor, the council, and the lower house of the legislature under the crown the history travels over somewhat familiar ground, though the conclusions are always based on the authority of the North Carolina records. The chapters on the territorial and fiscal systems contain a lucid account of a difficult subject. Mr. Raper throughout does full justice to the point of view of the English authorities, though it is hardly correct to write of British (military) colonial policy as 'distinctly one of expansion.' It is curious to find in so careful and learned a book the slip 'cotton, wool' (instead of cotton-wool) in the list of the enumerated articles under the Navigation Act. It may be noted that the book, which is referred to (with the statutes) in this connexion, is not responsible for the error.

H. E. E.

In *Russisch-französische Politik, 1689-1717* (Gotha: Perthes, 1902), a young Bulgarian scholar, M. Matthäus Vassileff, has put together, at the instance of Dr. Gustav Buchholz, a detailed account of the diplomatic relations between Russia and France from the accession of Peter to the treaty of Amsterdam. Hitherto the best account of these transactions had been the sketch which M. Rambaud prefixed to the first volume of the *Recueil des Instructions* (1890). This collection, along with the documents published in the *Sbornik* of the Russian Historical Society between 1878 and 1888, forms the chief material, but the *Letters and Documents of Peter the Great* and *Die Aktenstücke zur Geschichte Franz Rakoczys*, which were not consulted by M. Rambaud, have been used with advantage. Almost half of this useful monograph is devoted to the relations of the two years following the death of Louis XIV, when circumstances at length seemed, in many respects, favourable to a Franco-Russian alliance. The main interest is to determine the motives of the French government in rejecting the overtures of Peter, a policy for which it incurred severe blame from Saint-Simon. There cannot be much doubt that the French statesmen regarded such a policy as practically inconsistent with the Triple Alliance. Whether they were right or wrong is a question on which M. Vandal differs from M. Vassileff. Was the opposition between England and Russia in these years so grave that an alliance with the tsar would necessarily have meant for France a breach with England? M. Vassileff says yes, M. Vandal no. In any

case there was clearly considerable risk, and the choice practically offered to France was between safe inactivity secured by the Triple Alliance and a bold policy to which Peter's proposals invited her. She chose the former because she was politically and materially worn out.

J. B. B.

No family in modern Greece possesses a more romantic and more tragic history than the great Mainate clan of the Mavromichálai, the first volume of whose history has just been edited by K. G. Zesíou (*Oi Mavromichálai. Μέρος Α. 'Εν 'Αθήναις' Ἀνέστη Κωνσταντινίδου, 1903.*) The editor, anxious to avoid the partisan feeling which still clings round the history of a family two of whose members slew Capo d'Istria, has made a number of extracts from historians, mostly foreigners, who have described the doings of the Mavromichálai down to the arrival of Capo d'Istria in Greece, merely adding an introduction and a few words of explanation to each chapter himself. He has gone to the best authorities for the period of the war of independence, such as Finlay, Gordon, Gervinus, Pouqueville, and among Greeks Philémon and Trikoúpes. He shows that the first historical mention of the Mavromichálai occurs in a Venetian document of 1690, and he traces the origin of their name to the Mainate use of the word *μαῦρα* for 'orphans.' He tells the story of how their wealth and prosperity arose from the marriage of one of their number with a Nereid, who was dumb—a legend explained by a union with a rich foreigner who for long could not speak Greek. We first find the Mavromichálai fighting for Greek freedom in 1769, when their leader was 'Skyllogiánnes.' At the outbreak of the war of independence Pétro Bey Mavromicháles was prince of Maina, and he and his family played a conspicuous part in that contest. At the taking of Kalamáta, the battle of Valtétsi, in Euboeia, in Akarnania, and in Epiros, the Mavromichálai fought heroically, sometimes with the loss of their lives, for Greece. The volume contains a series of family portraits, some taken from the Pinakothek at Munich, some from the collection of the Ethnological Society at Athens, and a family tree. The compilation is well done, and the name of M. Zesíou is a guarantee for good style alike in the original matter and in the translations.

W. M.

In *Politische Ansichten des offiziellen Frankreich im achtzehnten Jahrhundert; ein Vortrag* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1903), Dr. Adalbert Wahl sketches the growth of the ideas of political freedom and the counter-claims of prerogative in France in the period immediately preceding the Revolution, as exemplified chiefly in the claims of the Parliament of Paris, and the counter-claims of the king. The claim of each to 'concentrate' the nation ended in the victory of the king. The process of development had been going on for some time previously. Dr. Wahl points out that in the eyes of political theorists like Bossuet the liberty of the subject and restrictions on the king were greater under Louis XIV than they had been considered under Francis I. The struggle of the eighteenth century is divided into two parts by the year 1750. Before that year the Parliament was chiefly bent on asserting its right of enregistering laws. Afterwards, under the influence of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*, and

through it of Locke, it tried to assert a claim to represent the people. Locke's idea of a threefold division of powers as adopted by Montesquieu was utilised by the Parliament to support its claim, though the claim actually violated it in spirit; since, while a judicial body, the Parliament claimed legislative functions. In asserting its counter-claim the monarchy theoretically recognised its duty, as representing the people as a state, to see that no one ever suffered innocently—two theories which were to cost the monarchy dear in 1789, when, through the destruction of the power of the Parliament, Louis XVI stood face to face with his people.

W. E. R.

M. A. Barbeau's exhaustive and charmingly written account of a remarkable and long-vanished phase of English social life, *Une Ville d'Eaux Anglaise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1904), should commend itself to English as well as to French readers. He has studied most minutely not only the literature directly relating to Bath, but also the journals, letters, and biographies of visitors to, or residents in, the pleasant town whose streets are full of memories of the motley crowd who drank the waters, bathed, danced, and gambled under Nash, the 'king of Bath,' and his less notable successors. M. Barbeau deals with the history of Bath from its earliest beginnings down to its decline and fall in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but by far the greater number of his interesting chapters are devoted to Bath in the time of its glory in the eighteenth century. His account of Beau Nash, based chiefly on Goldsmith's *Life*, lays due stress on the obligations of the town to Nash's powers of organisation, and the indebtedness of the visitors to his regulations for their pleasure and comfort. While 'persons of quality' became reconciled to the give and take of watering-place society, the rough and rustic insensibly acquired some measure of refinement from Nash's insistence on the observance of good manners and etiquette. His rule forbidding the wearing of swords at Bath helped to put an end to the frequent and senseless duelling of the eighteenth century, and thus conferred a direct benefit on society at large. M. Barbeau gives several chapters to the literary, artistic, religious, and scientific celebrities who contributed to the vogue of Bath in their own day and to our knowledge of it in this. Sheridan (whose romantic marriage to the charming Miss Linley is the subject of a whole chapter), Smollett, Miss Austen, Dickens, Anstey (of the *New Bath Guide*), Gainsborough, Lawrence, and many others owed a considerable debt to Bath, either for inspiration or for patronage. Herschel was still living at Bath as a teacher of music and organist when he discovered the Georgium Sidus; Ralph Allen, the philanthropist and organiser of the postal service, lived for years at Prior Park, close to the town; John Palmer, the originator of mail coaches, resided in Bath as manager of the theatre. From these names only it may be seen how wide a field M. Barbeau has covered. His book contains full and useful notes, in which obligations to his predecessors are scrupulously acknowledged. The usefulness of the work is greatly enhanced by the addition of a very complete index and bibliography. The numerous English extracts are as a rule correctly printed; in spite, however, of the evident care which has been taken to ensure correctness,

there are still a certain number of misprints which do not appear in the list of errata at the end of the volume. H. T.

The latter portion (chapters vii.-x.) of Major W. Wood's *Fight for Canada* (London: Constable, 1904) is a contribution of the greatest value to the history of the period. Based on the researches of Mr. A. G. Doughty, the printed portion of which now occupies six volumes, and ignoring all second-hand sources of information, these chapters deserve the hearty welcome of every serious student. The contention that the influence of sea power counted for far more in the final conquest of Canada than has been generally recognised is fully made out. It is well to remember that the British forces were represented by some 15,000 sailors, as against about 10,000 soldiers. Moreover, but for the skilful handling of the ships, which enabled a fleet of vessels of all sizes to penetrate up the St. Lawrence, the subsequent operations of Wolfe would have been impossible. As a specimen of the thorough methods employed by Major Wood may be cited the note on p. 332, in which the documentary authority for the statement that the plan, by which Quebec was taken, was due to the initiation of Wolfe and not to the advice of the Brigadiers, is set out in order of date. The note on the story of Wolfe repeating Gray's elegy, as the boats dropped down the stream, is less satisfactory, and adds little to the note of the late Professor E. E. Morris in vol. xv. p. 125 of this Review. Major Wood does not comment on the use of the word 'to-morrow' in the original account, whereas the boats did not really start till about 2 A.M. It is impossible, surely, to maintain that Professor Robison invented the story. Is it not probable that in his later life two facts stood out from his memory of the past: first, that he had been an actual partaker in that memorable night expedition; secondly, that the great Wolfe had actually said to him the words about Gray's elegy? It is not attributing too much to the fallibility of human evidence to suppose that in later years these separate facts tended to connect themselves with each other. It should be noted that, according to Sir W. Scott, Robison thought that Wolfe might have taken a copy of the poem from his pocket, a yet more extraordinary proceeding, considering the circumstances and the hour. Major Wood's narrative gains greatly in clearness by his familiarity with the St. Lawrence and its shores. Moreover, it is accompanied by a plan of the field of operations which is in every way admirable and greatly assists the understanding of the civilian reader.

H. E. E.

Dr. L. C. Hatch's *Administration of the American Revolutionary Army* (New York: Longmans, 1904) is a careful and interesting study of the difficulties which attended the raising by the American congress of a continental army. That congress made lamentable mistakes when dealing with such questions as the appointment of officers, the pay of the soldiers, and their supplies, is fully recognised. At the same time stress is laid on the enormous difficulties in its path. 'Fifty or sixty men' had, in the words of J. Adams, 'a constitution to form for a great empire, at the same time that they had a country of 1,500 miles in extent to fortify, millions to arm and train, a naval power to begin, an extensive

commerce to regulate, numerous tribes of Indians to negotiate with, a standing army of 27,000 men to raise, pay, victual, and officer.' On all the subjects treated Dr. Hatch throws valuable light, but it is to be wished that he had included in his researches the question of the extent of desertions from the American army. In the appendix, which contains the text of the Newburg addresses, in the letter from Armstrong to Gates of 29 April 1783, Dr. Hatch conjectures an additional 'f' ('break off' instead of 'break of sentiments like those contained in the anonymous address, and to prepare their minds for some manly, vigorous association with the other public creditors'). 'Break of,' meaning suggest, gives a perfectly clear meaning, while the emendation makes the sentence contradict itself.

H. E. E.

The interest of the fifteenth volume of M. F. A. Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1903), which extends from 8 July to 9 August 1794 (20 Messidor II—22 Thermidor II) centres round two points: the revolution of Thermidor, and the letter of Albitte, Saliceti, and Laporte denouncing General Bonaparte as a traitor implicated in a scheme fomented by Robespierre to hand over the passes of the Alps to the enemies of the Republic (6 August, 1794). The affair is well known, and forms one of the many incidents in the young general's early career which nearly buried the name of Bonaparte in oblivion. The other point of interest, Thermidor, forms the main subject of the second half of the volume. We are first apprised of the outbreak by the coalition of the Committees of General Security and Public Safety on the ninth of Thermidor, and by the omission of the names of Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just from the list of members present. It may be noticed that, in spite of the turmoil, the machinery of government continued to work; for, hidden away at the end of the sharp crisp orders of the combined committees, appear the usual dispositions of Lindet and Carnot for the commissariat of the army. Like its predecessors, the volume is essential to the historian for the light it throws on the management of the war and on the condition of the provinces, which can be examined in microscopical detail; while the references to Robespierre before and after the end of July, as in the case of Danton, will give an opportunity to the cynic to moralise on the value and constancy of political friendship.

L. G. W. L.

M. Émile Longin's edition of the *Journal des Campagnes du Baron Percy, chirurgien en chef de la Grande Armée* (Paris: Plon, 1904) is a notable addition to the sidelights on Napoleonic warfare. Percy served through the wars of the Revolution, and was chief surgeon of the Grand Army till 1809. He is a less familiar and a less attractive figure than his successor, Larrey, who was at Toulon with Bonaparte, accompanied him to Egypt, and remained faithful to him to the end. Percy was fifty years old when he first came into personal relations with Napoleon, and the hardships of campaigning were beginning to tell upon him. But he did his duty zealously, and he was much more than a mere operator. He was a distinguished man of science, with a singular

knack of hitting on practical improvements, as Flourens testified; he had broad views, and was indefatigable in his efforts to organise the medical service on a sound basis, and to provide it with trained assistants, instead of taking men haphazard from the ranks. Whether he or Larrey initiated field ambulances seems to be a disputed point. The diary which his fellow-townsmen, M. Longin, has brought to light is fragmentary. It begins in 1799 and ends in 1809, but there are several gaps in it. The fullest and most valuable part of it is concerned with the campaign of 1806-7 in Prussia and Poland. The difficulties under which winter operations were carried on in Polish mud, the sufferings of the troops on both sides, the terrible carnage of Eylau, have often been described; but perhaps they have never been painted more vividly than in Percy's diary from its very simplicity and the absence of all striving after effect. How the wounded survived the rough usage they necessarily met with is amazing, but, as he remarks, 'a sick man, exposed to the severities of the most rigorous season, is safer than if he were thrown with 500 others into a big house called a hospital.' He records several interviews with Napoleon, who had a high opinion of him and treated him well. His own mind was divided between awe and mistrust. On 28 Dec. he notes :

His Majesty is on the march every day, driving everybody to despair, and filling up our wretchedness; but the Emperor has immense views: we must wait for him to carry them out before we criticise or complain.

Two days later he says :

The Emperor is returning [to Warsaw] with the Guard. Heaven be praised! I trembled lest he should persist in prolonging his stay in this country cursed by nature, where there is nothing to drink but marsh-water, nothing to eat but potatoes and lean cow.

E. M. LL.

In a little volume entitled *Zur Text-Kritik der Korrespondenz Napoleons I.* (Vienna: Gerold, 1903) Professor August Fournier pleads with great force for a critical edition of the correspondence of Napoleon I. In the first fifteen volumes of the official correspondence the reader is left to conjecture whether he has before him a first draft or a fair copy, or whether the letter was ever sent off at all. The second commission paid more attention to the task before it. From the sixteenth volume onwards first drafts are unsigned, while fair copies bear the imperial signature, and the reader is informed whether the fair copy is printed from an original or not. Further than this the second commission did not go. The editors say nothing as to the relation of first draft and fair copy in cases where it was possible for them to compare the two texts; and MM. Lecestre and Brotonne, who have published supplements to the correspondence, are equally silent. Yet it is clear that a perfect edition should give all the variants, and this not in the interests of textual accuracy only. A comparison of rough draft and fair copy shows how the imperial cabinet worked, how the mind of Napoleon worked. The imperial archives of Vienna contain a collection of some 830 Napoleonic letters, of which some 120 have never seen the light. These will doubtless be published in time by Professor Fournier, who has



meanwhile rendered a real service to historical scholarship by his careful comparison of the Viennese texts with those already published by the two imperial commissions and by MM. Lecestre and Brotonne. An instance will suffice to exhibit the character of the results which may be obtained from this line of research.

*Correspondence*, No. 7745.—Ayez soin d'envoyer par votre courrier des numéros du *Moniteur* depuis quinze jours, soit à Berlin, soit à Saint-Pétersbourg.

*Viennese Text*.—Ayez soin d'envoyer par vos courriers, soit à Berlin, soit à Saint-Pétersbourg, des exemplaires du ' *Moniteur* ' depuis 15 jours. Peut-être ne savez-vous pas que cette méchante bête d'Addington est sortie du ministère. Il paraît que Fox et Pitt y sont entrés.

If Professor Fournier's hint should be taken in France, we hope that a serious attempt will be made to obtain careful copies of all the Napoleonic letters contained in the private collections in England. It would not surprise us to hear that they mount up to five hundred. But it is not every owner who will consent to publication. H. A. L. F.

The *Corrispondenza inedita dei Cardinali Consalvi e Pacca* (Torino : Unione tipografico-editrice, 1903), edited by P. Ilario Rinieri, is a bulky and valuable addition to the collection of diplomatic despatches relating to the sessions of the congress of Vienna. Papal diplomacy was chiefly concerned with the military occupation of Romagna by the Austrians and of the Marches by Murat. The negotiations for the restoration of these provinces to the Holy See are set out at great length, and, incidentally, Murat's intrigues, the doings of various members of the Bonaparte family, the proceedings of Talleyrand at Vienna, &c. The period covered is from September 1814 to June 1815. The volume is well printed, satisfactorily edited, and throws new light on many questions of detail ; yet there are obvious gaps, of which perhaps the most regrettable is the omission of all mention of Jules de Polignac's negotiations.

R. M. J.

The second volume of *Louis XVIII et les Cent-Jours à Gand*, edited for the Société d'Histoire Contemporaine by M. Albert Malet (Paris : Picard, 1902), consists chiefly of letters from Sir Charles Stewart to Castlereagh, and of letters from Count von Goltz to Hardenberg. Sir Charles Stewart had been accredited as British ambassador to the court of the Netherlands. When it became known that Napoleon had returned to France from Elba, King William repaired to Brussels, whither Sir Charles Stewart followed him. But hardly had Sir Charles Stewart reached Brussels, when Louis XVIII reached Ghent. As the British ambassador at Paris had been unable to follow the king of France, our government nominated Stewart ambassador extraordinary, and thenceforward he took his place at the exiled Bourbon Court. His despatches, printed here, do not perhaps tell us anything altogether new, but they confirm our previous impressions. Louis, as the least unreasonable man there, seldom fills much space. But we are told a good deal about the absurdities of Monsieur and his friends—how they wanted to name the most unsuitable ministers ; how

they marked their abhorrence of Marmont and Victor in the way most likely to rally all the old soldiers of the Empire round Napoleon; how they wanted a Saxon corps to be put under the command of one of the French princes, &c. Like all exiles, the sojourners at Ghent cherished the wildest illusions about popular feeling in the country they had lost, and believed that whole provinces were impatient to rise for their lawful king. Like all exiles, they were unwelcome guests, and aroused 'the extreme distrust of the Dutch government.' These and many other particulars Stewart relates with evident candour. M. Malet complains in his preface that he was furnished with almost indecipherable copies of the despatches. In spite of the pains taken by him and by his friend, M. Lacombe, in revising the text, we have noted at least one bad mistake. Stewart cannot have written 'rulercourse' (p. 167) for 'intercourse.' Count von Goltz was Prussian ambassador to Louis XVIII both before and after the flight to Ghent. His despatches in general confirm those of Stewart. They are better written, and though they give on the whole less information, they contain some curious enclosures, such as a memorandum by M. Guizot upon the state of public opinion in France under the Napoleonic restoration.

F. C. M.

M. Gossez has given us in *Le Département du Nord sous la deuxième République: 1848-1852* (Lille: Leleu, 1904) an 'economic and political study,' which should be useful to the historian of that troublous epoch of modern France. His treatise is based on the national, departmental, and municipal archives, on the files of the local press, and on such works as those of MM. Thirria and Weill for the general history. It evinces long research, and contains an excellent bibliography. Beginning with the famine and high prices of 1847, the author describes the troubles at Lille on the news of the Paris revolution of February 1848, the economic state of the department, the presidential election, and the futile demonstrations there against the *coup d'état*. His conclusion is that the second Republic committed suicide by failing to remedy industrial and agricultural distress. As a grandson of Bianchi, one of the leading democrats of Lille, he has an hereditary interest in his theme.

W. M.

In *A Century of Expansion* (London and New York: Macmillan, 1903) Mr. W. F. Johnson retraces in a very vivid manner the successive steps in the growth of the United States. The main contention that 'the annexation of the Philippines does not mark any "new departure" in our Asian policy or in our international relations' is supported with much vigour and acumen. The book belongs to the 'popular' class of history in that authorities are never cited for its statements, and the trenchancy of the author's conclusions is not qualified by any doubts. 'The infamous Berkeley,' 'Where Spotswood was bold as a lion Dinwiddie was a poltroon'—phrases such as these illustrate the methods of the book. Mr. Johnson finds difficulty in realising an adversary's point of view; e.g. the British case in the Oregon dispute

was surely stronger than it is here presented. The book, however, is eminently readable, in a field of literature where readable books are none too common.

H. E. E.

Dr. J. Franck Bright's book which was begun more than thirty years ago as an *English History for Public Schools* has changed both its title and its character as it has advanced into modern times, and the reign of Queen Victoria occupies two out of the five volumes of which the entire *History of England* consists. The last volume (London: Longmans, 1904) runs from 1880 to 1901, and its subtitle, 'Imperial Reaction,' marks the writer's political point of view. His judgments on matters of principle are consistently those of an old-fashioned radical, but his narrative of events is extraordinarily free from partisanship, at least for the first three-quarters of the period of which he treats. After 1895 there is somewhat of a change of tone, but in the earlier part it may even be thought that Dr. Bright is unduly depreciative of Mr. Gladstone's second administration. There is also some want of proportion; and one could have spared, e.g., the descriptive quotations on pp. 226, 232, in order to make room for a short account of the case of Mr. Bradlaugh and the Affirmation Bill, which is left unmentioned. A few obscurities have arisen probably from the necessities of compression. Thus on p. 11 we are told of the second reading of the Coercion Bill on 2 Feb. 1881, but on the following page it is said to have been brought in under the rule of urgency made subsequently. On p. 67 it would appear as though the Redistribution Bill was passed in December 1884, while in fact it did not reach its last stage until the following summer, during Lord Salisbury's ministry. On p. 121 or on p. 172 it should have been mentioned that the proposal for the establishment of district councils in the measure of 1888 was dropped. P. 127: Mr. Parnell was not respondent but co-respondent in a notorious suit. P. 254: General Woodgate was not killed on Spion Kop; he survived some weeks. Titles of offices are not always given correctly: thus 'chief secretary for Scotland' (p. 88); 'president of educational council,' for 'vice-president of the committee of council on education' (p. 186). Mr. Courtney's name is twice misspelled (p. 124). We conclude by expressing a hope that Dr. Bright may be persuaded to reissue his history of the late reign, possibly with some amplification, as a work by itself. A division into chapters and a larger type would make it much easier to read. Its merits are so solid and its independence of view so informing that it ought not to be confounded among school books.

C.

Dr. Vinogradoff's inaugural lecture as Corpus professor of jurisprudence at Oxford, on *The Teaching of Sir Henry Maine* (London: Frowde, 1904), was no mere tribute gracefully paid to the memory of a famous predecessor. It was a mature and sober estimate of the value of Maine's method and leading ideas. If, after reading this careful judgment, we are for a moment inclined to say that on the whole it only confirms what we in England have thought and been taught to think of Sir Henry Maine, we must hasten to add that this con-

firmation proceeds from one who is singularly well entitled to tell us that we have not been mistaken, and that few, if any, of us could have stated so accurately the grounds of our belief. D.

Many readers will be glad to possess the collected *Historical Lectures and Addresses* of Bishop Creighton (London : Longmans, 1903), especially since the majority, though not perhaps the most important, of them are now published for the first time. Among these is the inaugural lecture which he delivered as professor of ecclesiastical history at Cambridge in 1885, and which is full of interest and suggestion. Others, on the Friars, on Bishop Grosseteste, and on the congregationalists and baptists, are excellent specimens of the writer's extraordinary range of information and of his power of bringing home the lessons of history to a general audience. E.

The lamented death of Mr. W. E. Hall has prevented the fifth edition of his standard *Treatise on International Law* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1904) from receiving the benefit of his supervision. In Mr. J. B. Atlay, however, the publishers have found a thoroughly competent editor, in whose hands the authority of the work will suffer no diminution. The Hague conference, the Venezuela boundary dispute, and the Spanish-American and the South African wars furnish for the most part the material for the new matter. Mr. Atlay's remarks are especially illuminating on the subject of 'continuous voyages' and the seizure of the 'Bundesrath.' H. E. E.

Mr. Randall Davies's *Chelsea Old Church* (London : Duckworth, 1904) is an excellent though not very critical monograph on the famous old church of Chelsea. It is written in the style and with the spirit of Antony Wood or Gutch. No detail, particularly in the matter of inscriptions and pedigrees, that could be of service is omitted. The book is admirably printed, and has some excellent, indeed really valuable illustrations. It is partly a history of the church, partly a history of the families connected with it, and in each regard a considerable amount of matter which, if not exactly new, was difficult to trace or recover from out-of-the-way publications, has been collected and arranged in a workmanlike manner. Mr. Herbert Horne, who supplies a preface, suggests that 'the capitals of the responds of the arch between the [More] chapel and the chancel of the church,' which bears the crest of Sir Thomas More and the date 1528, were cut after a design of Holbein himself. Mr. Davies does not seem to be aware of the full investigation which Mr. Plummer has made of the questions involved in the passages referring to Cealchythe in the English Chronicle ; in one place, indeed, he seems to think the Chronicle was written in Latin. But when he gets to more modern times there seems to be nothing that has escaped his vigilance. F.

The third volume of the *History of Stretford Chapel*, edited by Mr. H. T. Crofton for the Chetham Society (1903), is of more interest

than its predecessors. It is enriched with a number of photographs of local antiquities (for instance, the pinfold) and of old houses, also with portraits of the Trafford family from the sixteenth century onwards. The volume is, like its predecessors, curiously miscellaneous in contents, partly historical and partly local and modern. The medieval history of Stretford, as it may be gathered from the public records, is grouped rather oddly at the end under the head 'Miscellaneous History,' while the post of honour is given to lives of local worthies, some of them far from conspicuous. The account of the Trafford family is as good as can be hoped for, pending the opportunity for a full study of the original charters, which at present appears to be withheld. Canon Raines's copies are reproduced in an appendix, but they contain many passages that call for collation with the original. Mr. Crofton begins his genealogy with Randle, a thegn 'temp. Canute,' and, noting perhaps Mr. Round's objections, says that 'for literary reasons' he has 'adhered to the form of pedigree adopted by the family.' Mr. Bird, who has written in favour of this pedigree in the *Ancestor*, no. 9, has produced documents to prove the genuineness of the early stages of the line of descent, but he is silent on the question what date we are to ascribe to the Ralph, son of Randle, a contemporary of one of the Hamon Massies, with whom the family history seems to begin. It is, as Mr. Round explains further in the *Ancestor*, no. 10, the date 'temp. Canute' which cannot be accepted. M. B.

M. Maurice Prou's *Recueil de Fac-similés d'Écritures du V<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1904) has been prepared for a definitely practical purpose—to place at the disposal of French students who wish to learn to read manuscripts, and have no teacher at hand, a cheap collection of specimens of the sort of writing with which they are likely to meet in actual experience. Hence, with the exception of two examples of the fifth and sixth centuries, M. Prou has taken his specimens from manuscripts written in Latin, French, and Provençal, all of French origin. For the same reason more than three-quarters of them are of later date than the eleventh century, and an even larger proportion is chosen not from books but from charters and documents. This latter feature forms a special advantage to students outside France; for we possess facsimiles in plenty of French manuscript books, but examples of charters and documents, particularly late ones, are not so easy to obtain. Each specimen is accompanied by a full transcript, with explanatory notes and a description of the original, with bibliographical references. This is all excellently done. We notice that M. Prou has omitted to state the character in which the specimen on plate vi. is written, though he has mentioned this in the table of contents; and in some of the later plates it would have been useful to beginners to indicate the distinction of book-hand and charter-hand. In plate xviii., from an index to St. Augustine, the reference to the book *De divinis Nominibus* (line 28, n. 5) should have been sought not among the works of that father but among those of the pseudo-Dionysius *De div. Nom.* iv., in the translation of John Scotus (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* cxxii. 1135), for this and the three following entries are taken from miscellaneous sources and not from St. Augustine. R. L. P.

The commemoration at Rome last spring of the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of Gregory the Great included an exhibition of manuscripts of the lives and works of the saint, of early sacramentaries, and of books illustrating the history of music down to the early part of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Vatican library. Of this we are glad to possess a permanent record in the *Catalogo sommario della Esposizione Gregoriana*, prepared by the staff of the library and now issued in a second and revised edition (Roma: Tipografia Vaticana, 1904). The number of manuscripts exhibited was 191, but a good many more are briefly indicated at the ends of the sections to which they belong. Some of the latter are also described under another heading, and cross-references should have been less sparingly supplied. But the list now published goes some way towards furnishing a classified guide to the contents of the Vatican library, now enriched with the Barberini collection, so far as concerns the special subjects dealt with; and this is a very real boon. In the musical section the compilers acknowledge their particular obligations to the Rev. H. M. Bannister, who placed his stores of liturgical learning at their disposal. It is interesting that an English clergyman should have been permitted to co-operate with the authorities of the Vatican in doing honour to the memory of the founder of the English church. Mr. Bannister's help has been the more valuable since a large number of the specimens of early musical notation are found in fly-leaves of manuscripts of various contents, or appear at haphazard in places where they would not be expected, and only an expert who had gone through the entire library for the purpose could have discovered them. The musical manuscripts are classified according to the type of notation which they present. Throughout the catalogue the places from which the books came is, wherever possible, stated; and an index of *provenienza* is given, as well as an index of the volumes described. G.

The *Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits exhibited at Oxford 1904* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) appears to be a reprint of the letterpress of the first issue with the addition of some forty illustrations. It is to be regretted that the opportunity was not taken to revise the identifications, which are in many cases simply traditional. The portraits here published, many of which are unnamed, form a highly interesting series, and show the development of the art of portrait-painting in England from the small half decorative heads on panels to the large canvases which display much flowing drapery. If somewhat slight, Mr. Cust's introduction is written with knowledge and judgment, and deals with the history of portrait-painting rather than with the pictures exhibited. The biographical notices given are for the most part accurate. But they are wanting in proportion, and while details concerning famous men could have been spared, more facts about comparatively unknown worthies would be welcome. For instance, William Stocke, born in 1528 (not 1524), was called to be one of the first fellows of St. John's College on account of his great learning, and was twice principal (not president) of the allied foundation of Gloucester Hall. In an Oxford publication it might have been recorded that Anthony Blencowe was a trustee under Sir Thomas Bodley's will for the foundation of his library. H.

*A List of Books (with References to Periodicals) on the Philippine Islands in the Library of Congress*, by A. C. P. Griffin, with lists of maps by P. Lee Phillips (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), is prefaced by a bibliographical abstract of the most noteworthy authorities on all the topics connected with the islands, and this—as the collection is a large one, containing *inter alia* 1,715 book titles—will be welcomed by students. The *résumé* itself is important and interesting, as it indicates the most valuable of the Spanish historical sources, and shows that, with the exception of the 1814 translation of Zúñiga's *Historical View*, there was no adequate history of the Philippine Islands in English down to our own time.

A. F. S.

The *Biblioteca Filipina*, by T. H. Pardo de Tavera (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), contains a bibliography which was placed at the disposal of the Library of Congress and is here printed. It is given to us substantially as it left the author in Manila, who had bestowed much labour upon it. The arrangement of the 2,850 titles of books is mainly alphabetical, and it is particularly valuable on account of the number of Manila imprints included in it.

A. F. S.

## *Notices of Periodical Publications*

- The recently discovered Acts of Paul*: by the rev. F. BACCHUS.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 51. July.
- Catalogue of Latin hagiographical manuscripts in the public library at Rouen*: by A. PONCELET [who prints metrical lives of SS. Maurilius and Briomagus, a fragment of a Fécamp history, the prologue to *Miracula SS. Ravenni et Rasiphi*, *Passio SS. Diodoroti et Rodopiani*, *Laudatio S. Hilarii episcopi Pictavenensis*, *Historia S. Severi episcopi Ravennatis*, the epilogue to a life of St. Briomagus, *Miracula SS. Sebastiani, Gregorii papae, et Medardi*, and *Translatio S. Vulgani*].—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 2, 3.
- The earliest life of St. Ursmer of Lobbes, an acrostich poem by St. Ermin*: printed by G. MORIN.—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 2, 3.
- The Passio sexaginta Martyrum and the Legenda S. Floriani et sociorum suorum*: printed by H. DELEHAYE.—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 2, 3.
- Hebrew-Latin shetaroth from Barcelona [1065-1092]*: by R. J. H. GOTTHEIL.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 64. July.
- The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*: edited by M. N. ADLER, continued.—Jew. Qu. Rev. 64. July.
- Coptic inscriptions from Shenoute's monastery [of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries]*: by W. E. CRUM.—Journ. Theol. Stud. 20. July.
- Royal Documents and Acta Imperii [1237-1340]*: printed by J. SCHWALM [who collected them with a view to the edition of *Constitutiones* in the *Monumenta Germaniae*. Prefixed is a document, seemingly of 1230, which makes reference to an unknown constitution of Frederick II].—N. Arch. xxix. 3.
- Documents of Albert I and Henry VII for the dauphins of Vienne [1301-1310]*: printed by J. SCHWALM.—N. Arch. xxix. 3.
- Letters from German princes to Philip the Fair [1307-1308]*: printed by J. SCHWALM.—N. Arch. xxix. 3.
- Letters of Clement V to Philip the Fair [1310-1311]*: printed by J. SCHWALM.—N. Arch. xxix. 3.
- The Nemus Unionis of Dietrich of Niem*: by J. B. SÄGMÜLLER [who shows that the title of the fifth tract is *Calles reflexi*, not *Colles reflexi*].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.
- Cardinal Peter Philargi's sermon at the opening of the council of Pisa [26 March 1409]*: by F. B. BLEMETZRIEDER [who shows its materials to have been derived from the tracts of Conrad of Gelnhausen and Henry of Langenstein].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.
- On the materials for the history of the councils of Basle and Trent*: by S. MERKLE [in criticism of J. Haller's edition of the texts].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 1-3.
- The preface to Nicolas de Fara's Life of St. John a Capistrano*: printed by E. HOCEDEZ.—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 2, 3.
- Georg Friderich Schott and his forgeries of documents*: by H. WIBEL [who examines in detail the imperial diplomas down to Henry V contained in his collections].—N. Arch. xxix. 3.



*Jean-Baptiste Maugérard*: by L. TRAUBE [who explores the doings of this man, who, from a monk at St. Arnould's at Metz, became in 1802 government commissioner *pour la recherche des sciences et arts* in the Rhenish departments and used his opportunities for the robbery of libraries. Most of these manuscripts, from Echternach, Erfurt, Hildesheim, and Murbach, are now in the ducal library at Gotha].—Abhandl. Bayer. Akad. Wissensch., Kl. III. xxiii. 2.

*History, ethnology, and historical perspective*: by F. RATZEL.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 1.

*Recent lights on ancient Egypt*.—Quart. Rev. 399. July.

*Recent excavations in Carthage and in Aegina*: by Miss M. MOORE and the baroness A. VON SCHNEIDER.—Monthly Rev. 46. July.

*The rehabilitation of Theramenes*: by B. PERRIN.—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 4. July.

*On the history of political writing during the transition between the republic and the principate*: by R. PÖHLMANN [in connexion with the pamphlets *ad Caesarem* often printed among the works of Sallust].—SB. Bayer. Akad. Wiss. (phil.-hist. Cl.), 1904, 1.

*The first Christians and the charge of maiestas*: by C. CALLEWAERT.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.

*The attitude of the Flavian emperors towards Christianity*: by A. LINSINMAYER.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.

*The patrocinia vicorum*: by F. THIBAUT [who endeavours to show that the so-called protection extended to poor landholders by more powerful neighbours during the later Roman imperial period was really a fraud on the revenue].—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.

*The history of magic*.—Edinb. Rev. 409. July.

*Clement of Alexandria*.—Church Qu. Rev. 116. July.

*Pictorial relics of third-century Christianity* [in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome]: by Miss M. C. TAYLOR.—Monthly Rev. 47. Aug.

*The ancient church of Armenia*: by the rev. W. H. KENT.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 51. July.

*Maximus, bishop of Geneva* [elected 512-3]: by M. BESSON.—Anz. Schweiz. Gesch. 1904, 3.

*Classes, wergilds, and coinage of the Carolingian period*: by P. HECK [disputing the conclusions of B. Hilliger (in vol. i. 175 sqq.)].—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.

*The evidence for the papal authority over Rome in coins and documents down to the middle of the eleventh century*: by J. VON PFLUGK-HARTTUNG. II.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.

*The exempt position of the Hospitallers*: by H. PRUTZ.—SB. Bayer. Akad. Wiss. (phil.-hist. Cl.), 1904, 1.

*The policy of the Hohenstaufen emperors*: by A. CARTELLIERI.—N. Heidelb. Jahrb., xiii. 121.

*The French in Apulia and Epirus in the time of the Hohenstaufen*: by E. BERTAUX.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.

*Marsilius of Padua and Aristotle's theory of the State*: by M. GUGGENHEIM.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 3.

*The retreat of Charles VIII from Naples*: by A. SEGRE [on the negotiations between Milan, Rome, and Venice in the spring of 1495].—Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th ser. xxxiii. 2.

*The Cambridge Modern History*, ii.—Edinb. Rev. 409. July.

*Adrian VI*: by Bishop L. C. CASARTELLI.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 51. July.

*List of nuncios sent to France between 1524 and 1592*.—Bibl. École Chartes, lxxv. 1-3.

*The contest of Paul IV with Charles V and Philip II*: by M. BROSCH.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 3.

*Lady Anne Bothwell* [the daughter of admiral Christopher Thronðsson, who was deserted by her husband, James, earl of Bothwell, almost immediately after their marriage in 1560]: by the rev. J. BEVERIDGE.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 4. July.

- The embassy of Girolamo Lippomano at the Porte and its tragic end*: by P. A. TOBME [who shows that his fault was probably communication with Philip II, rather improper than actually treasonable, and his end suicide at sea].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.
- England in the Mediterranean* [on J. Corbett's work].—Edinb. Rev. 409. July.
- Voyages to India in the time of Henry IV of France*: by C. DE LA RONCIÈRE.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.
- Wallenstein's designs against Venice* [1629]: by M. RITTER.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 1.
- The navigation acts as applied to European trade*: by D. O. MCGOVNEY.—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 4. July.
- William III, Bavaria, and the grand alliance of 1701*: by G. F. PREUSS.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 2.
- The French-American war of 1798–1801*: by G. N. TRICOCHÉ.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.
- General Dupont at Baylen*: by count DE SÉRIGNAN [who shows that he acted in obedience to Napoleon's express orders and was not properly supported. The story that he surrendered unnecessarily in order to save the plunder he had obtained from Cordova is a figment of the emperor's].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.
- Napoleon and Pius VII* [in connexion with the appointment of baron d'Osmond to the archbishopric of Florence in 1810, and the pope's refusal of canonical institution]: by P. MARMOTTAN.—Rev. hist. lxxxvi. 1. Sept.
- The deputation of the electoral colleges of the kingdom of Italy at Paris in 1814* [from the papers of its secretary, Giacomo Beccaria]: by E. VERGA [illustrating the ambition for at least autonomous administration, a representative system, extension of territory (e.g. to include Genoa), and recovery of works of art from Paris].—Arch. Stor. Lomb., 4th ser., iii.
- General Dufour' mentioned by Mazzini in connexion with the disturbances in Savoy in 1834*: by A. STERN [who shows that he was a Frenchman, count Gustave de Damas, whom Mazzini by some mistake called Dufour, and who has been erroneously confounded with the Swiss general of that name].—Jahrb. Schweiz. Gesch. xxix.
- Memoirs of M. Czajkowski, in the service of the Turks during the Crimean war, continued*.—Russk. Star. Aug.
- The preliminaries of the war of 1866* [in connexion with Bismarck's memorandum of 2 May]: by F. MUTH.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 1.
- Theodor Mommsen*: by J. KAERST.—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 3.

### France

- The life of St. Romanus of Le Mans* [attributed to Gregory of Tours]: printed by R. POUFARDIN [who places it not earlier than the Carolingian period].—Anal. Bolland. xxiii. 2, 3.
- The French monarchy in the eleventh century*: by L. HALPHEN [who criticises J. Flach's *Origines de l'ancienne France*, iii].—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.
- Letter of St. Louis sending certain reliques to Guy, bishop of Clermont, by the hand of friar William of Chartres* [1269], with a facsimile.—Bibl. Ecole Chartes, lxxv. 1–3.
- Jehan Boine Broke, burgess and draper of Douai*: by G. ESPINAS, continued.—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.
- Antoine de la Salle and his relations with the house of Anjou*: by L. H. LABANDE. I.—Bibl. Ecole Chartes, lxxv. 1–3.
- French protestantism and republicanism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*: by G. BONET-MAURY.—Bull. Soc. Hist. Protest. Franç. liii. 3, 4. May, July.
- The trial of six French bishops charged with Calvinism* [1563–1566]: by A. DEGERT. [Though all were condemned, only one was actually deprived].—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.
- The reformed churches in the south; cardinal Mazarin and Cromwell*: by A. COCHIN. Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.

- The royal council and the protestants in 1698*: by P. GACHON. I: The enquiry into the conditions to be imposed on the *nouveaux convertis* [especially the compulsory attendance at Mass]. II: Bâville's proposals. III: The attitude of the bishops; Bâville and Bossuet].—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2, lxxxvi. 1. July, Sept.
- The problem of the Man in the Iron Mask*: by W. BRÖCKING [who gives a summary of the controversy, and accepts Funck-Brentano's identification of the mysterious prisoner with the Italian Matthioli].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 3.
- The nuns of Orange during the reign of terror*: by the countess DE COURSON.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 51. July.
- The correspondence of Napoleon I*: by A. HERRMANN.—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.
- Michelet and his family*: by G. MONOD [who defends him against the aspersions of Madame Adam].—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.
- Report to the chamber of deputies* [8 Feb. 1904] on the reorganisation of the French archives.—Bibl. Ecole Chartes, lxxv. 1-3.
- Gaston Paris* [† 5 March 1903]: by M. CROISSET.—Bibl. Ecole Chartes, lxxv. 1-3.—By W. P. KER.—Quart. Rev. 399. July.
- Auguste Molinier* [† 19 May 1904]: by C. BÉMONT and G. MONOD.—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.—By P. MEYER.—Bibl. Ecole Chartes, lxxv. 1-3.
- Anatole de Barthélemy* [† 27 June].—Bibl. Ecole Chartes lxxv. 1-3.

### Germany and Austria-Hungary.

- On the antiquity of the Translatio s. Dionysii Ariopagite* [edited by Koepke in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, xi.]: by S. RIETSCHEL [who argues in favour of the middle of the eleventh century and rejects Koepke's grounds for placing the composition two or three hundred years later].—N. Arch. xxix. 3.
- The oldest Bohemian Chronicle*: by J. PEKAŘ, continued.—Český Čas. Hist. July.
- On early Bohemian constitutional history*: by H. SCHREUER [chiefly with reference to recent discussions of the value of the traditions recorded by Cosmas].—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 3.
- On the question of the origin of the earliest German taxes* [with special reference to the archbishopric of Salzburg]: by G. VON BELOW.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 3.
- The tariff of tolls on the bridge of the Lech at Augsburg*: by K. T. VON INAMASTERNEGG [showing that the oldest parts of the ancient tariff printed in the *Monumenta Boica*, xxii. 4 sqq., probably belong to the end of the twelfth century and the rest to the thirteenth (before 1276)].—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.
- The treaty between Everard of Katzenellenbogen and archbishop Gerard of Mainz* [1291]: by H. SCHROHE.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 3.
- The curia and the church administration of Bohemian lands in the pre-Hussite period*: by K. KROFTA, continued.—Český Čas. Hist. July.
- Three documents on the history of Frederick III* [1488-1492]: by B. HAMMERL.—Mitth. Oesterreich. Gesch. xxv. 3.
- Bartholomew von Usingen and his contest with the reformers*: by dom M. SPITZ.—Dublin Rev., N.S., 51. July.
- Posts in the seventeenth century*: by J. RÜBSAM [1. The service from Frankfurt to Bremen; 2. A Hildesheim postal tariff of 1669; 3. Postal arrangements at Cologne, 1671-1686].—Hist. Jahrb. xxv. 3.
- The mother of freiherr von Stein and her correspondence with Lavater*: by A. STERN.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 2.
- Kant and Burke*: by the late P. WITTICHEN [who gives reasons for thinking that the former read and denounced the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*].—Hist. Zft. xciii. 2.
- The industry of the grand duchy of Berg in 1810*, in supplement to the memoirs of Beugnot: by C. SCHMIDT.—Rev. Hist. mod. et contemp. v. 525, 605.
- A memorandum by Christian von Rother on Prussian finance during the campaign of 1813-1814*: printed by F. MEINECKE.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 2.

- Seven letters from Ranke to Friedrich von Gentz* [1828-1830]: printed by P. WITTICHEN.—Hist. Zft. xciii. 1.  
*The surrender of Kosnicsy* [during the Hungarian campaign of 1849]: by A. SHEPELEV.—Istorich. Viestnik. July.

### Great Britain and Ireland

- Ptolemy's Alta Ripa and Tamia*: by C. M. ROBERTSON [who places the one on the Oyke, the other on the Tummel].—Celtic Rev. 1. July.  
*The laws of the Anglo-Saxons* [in connexion with F. Liebermann's publications].—Quart. Rev. 399. July.  
*The ancient hundreds of Buckinghamshire*: by A. MORLEY DAVIES [who holds that these hundreds are arranged in Domesday Book in a regular order, which facilitates the reconstruction of their extent and shows that their grouping in threes was earlier than the Survey. The names of the hundreds and the character of their detached parts are also discussed; and it is argued that the hundreds are older than the county].—Home Counties Magazine, 22. April.  
*The Northamptonshire geld roll*: by J. TAIT.—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.  
*Cornage and drengage*: by G. H. LAPSLEY.—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 4. July.  
*The succession of the bishops of Dunkeld*: by bishop J. DOWDEN. III: 1391-1515.—Scott. Hist. Rev. 4. July.  
*Nicholas Radford*, recorder of Exeter: by Mrs. G. H. RADFORD [who prints documents relative to his murder in 1455 by the servants of sir Thomas Courtenay, afterwards sixth earl of Devon].—Trans. Devon. Assoc. xxv. 251-278.  
*Reginald Pole and Thomas Cromwell*; an examination of the *Apologia ad Carolum V*: by P. VAN DYKE.—Amer. Hist. Rev. ix. 4. July.  
*Sir John Davis*.—Edinb. Rev. 409. July.  
*Oliver Cromwell*: by GOLDWIN SMITH.—Atlantic Monthly, 563. Sept.  
*Oliver Cromwell and some of his proceedings as protector* [in criticism of Carlyle, S. R. Gardiner, J. Morley, and C. H. Firth].—Church Qu. Rev. 116. July.  
*The Jews and the English law*: by H. S. Q. HENRIQUEZ. VI [in relation to Cromwell's policy].—Jew. Qu. Rev. 64. July.  
*Scottish industrial undertakings before the union*: by W. R. SCOTT [on the Greenland fishing and soap works company (1667-1785), and the sugar-refining and rum-distilling companies at Glasgow].—Scott. Hist. Rev. 4. July.  
*The diary of Sir John Moore* [a severe criticism of the writer and of his editor, sir F. Maurice].—Edinb. Rev. 409. July.  
*Highland place-names*: by W. J. WATSON.—Celtic Rev. 1. July.

### Italy

- Publications relative to medieval Italian history* [1900]: by C. CIPOLLA.—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.  
*German publications relative to medieval Italian history in 1901 and 1902*: by E. VON OTTENTHAL.—Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 2.  
*Communications by road and water, ancient and medieval, in the territory of Lodi*: by G. AGNELLI [suggesting modifications in the maps of Mommsen and Spruner-Menke].—Arch. Stor. Lomb., 4th ser., ii.  
*The rural counties of the Milanese*: by E. RIBOLDI [on the gradual break-up of the five original counties into smaller units, and the increasing encroachments of the commune of Milan].—Arch. Stor. Lomb., 4th ser., iii.  
*A new theory on the origin of the commune*: by G. VOLPE [in criticism of F. Gabotto's view of the commune as originating from the multiplication of signorial co-proprietors descended from the families of *Procuratores*, which entailed representation for purposes of administration].—Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 2.  
*The economic beginnings of Venice*: by L. M. HARTMANN.—Vierteljahrschr. f. Soc. u. Wirtschaftsgesch. ii. 3.

- The school of Flagellants of Mestre*: by U. CASTELLANI. [It was founded in 1314 and suppressed by Napoleon in 1806, but still exists as a hospital and almshouse. A lay institution, its resistance to ecclesiastical taxation and episcopal interference was supported by Venice. It suffered from the Spanish sack of 1513. Its loans to the state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were complicated by the canon against usury. Its archives are in admirable custody].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.
- The restoration of Jacopo di Dante* [under an amnesty of October 1325]: by A. DELLA TORRE. [In 1335 a question arose whether he was entitled to its benefits, but the decision is not known].—Arch. Stor. Ital., 5th ser., xxxiii. 2.
- The wool and cloth 'of Garbo'*: by R. DAVIDSOHN [giving evidence that medieval Italy derived not only wool but the art of its manufacture into fine cloth from 'Garbo,' i.e. the Mohammedan west, Al Garb or Al Maghrib].—Hist. Vierteljahrschr. vii. 3.
- A Sicilian chapter in Greek* [1338]: printed by I. DI MATTEO.—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxviii. 3, 4.
- The treasury, library, and archives of the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Monreale*: by G. MILLUNZI. II [with eighty-two documents, accounts, inventories of reliques, treasures, and books, dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century].—Arch. stor. Sicil., N.S., xxviii. 3, 4.
- Marriage customs and ceremonies in Italy at the time of the renaissance*: by E. RODOCANACHI.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1.
- Venice and the league of Cambrai*: by A. BONARDI [with extracts from the unpublished diaries of Girolamo Priuli].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.
- The Venetian history of Pietro Bembo*: by C. LAGOMAGGIORE. [He began in 1531, and in 1534 the first five books reached the Council of Ten. Book xii., which contains the account of the sack of Prato, was apparently finished in 1543, after a delay in 1540 owing to his election to the cardinalate].—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.
- Unpublished letters of cardinal Gasparo Contarini* [to cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, 1535–1542, omitted in the correspondence published by W. Friedensburg]: by E. SOLMI.—N. Arch. Venet., N.S., 14.
- The surveillance of the French émigrés priests in the states of the church in 1793*: by G. BOURGIN [who prints a letter of count Antonio Greppi].—Rev. hist. lxxxv. 2. July.
- Plans for the embellishment of Rome under Napoleon*: by A. COULON.—Rev. Quest. hist. lxxvi. 1. July.

### Russia

- Ivan the Terrible and Russia in the sixteenth century*: by V. TIMOSTCHUK.—Russk. Star. June–Aug.
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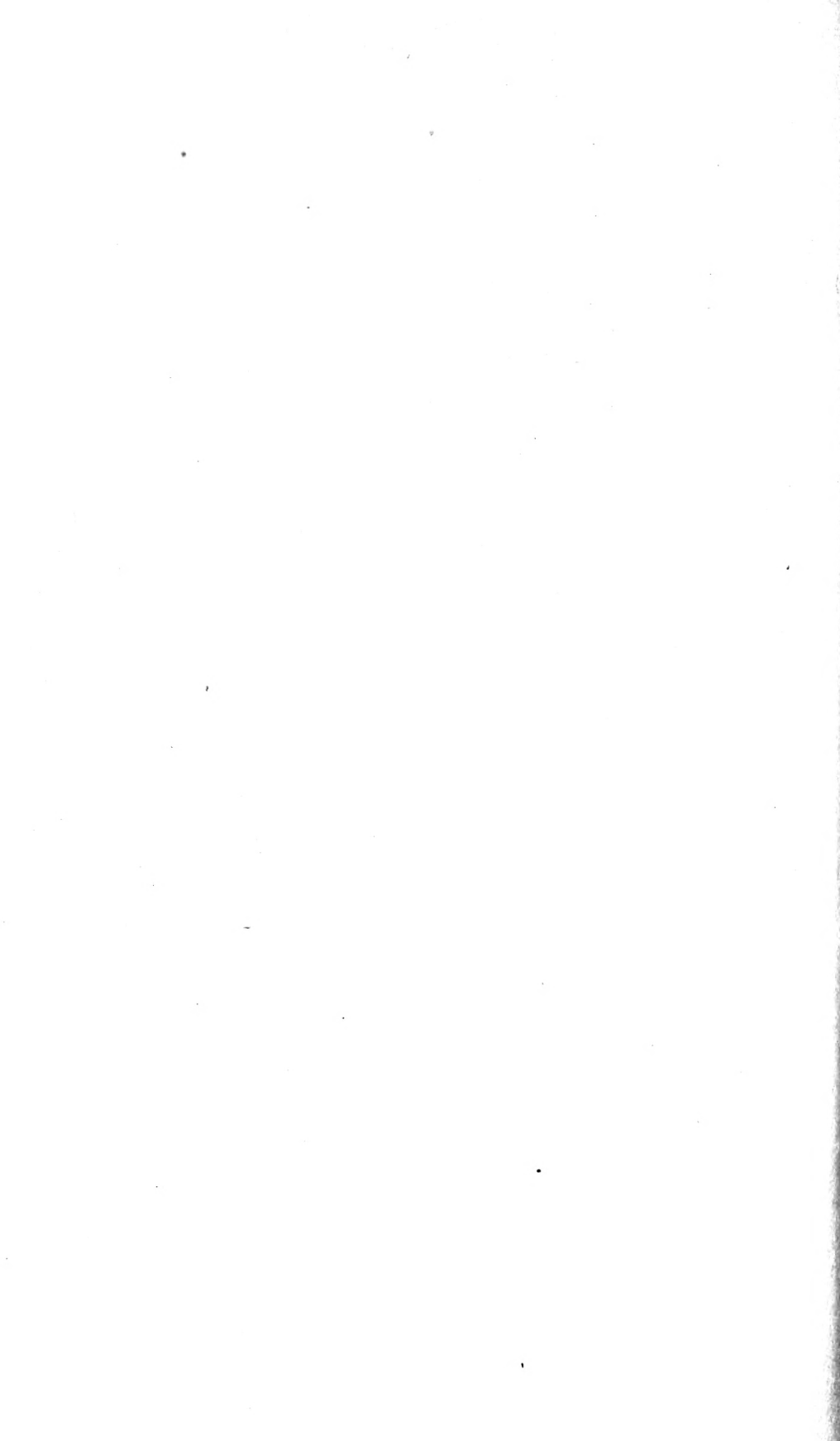
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